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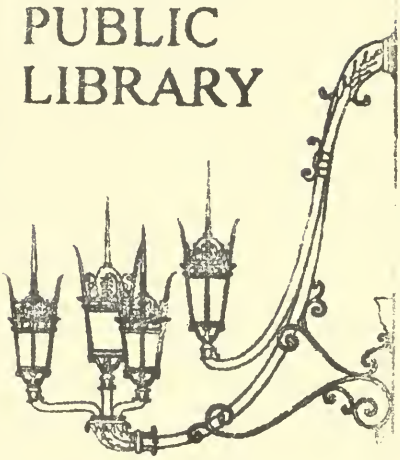

HISTORY

OF THE

TOWN OF HARVARD

MASSACHUSETTS.

1732–1893.

BY

HENRY S. NOURSE, A. M.

HARVARD:

PRINTED FOR WARREN HAPGOOD.

1894.

Reprinted by -

HIGGINSON BOOK COMPANY
148 Washington Street, Post Office Box 778
Salem, Massachusetts 01970

Phone: 978/745-7170 *Fax:* 978/745-8025

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INTRODUCTION.

Boston, November 19, 1891.

Hon. Henry S. Nourse.

My Dear Sir:—For many years it has been my ardent desire to see written a history of Harvard—my native town—beginning with the period when the Indians first saw the smoke ascending from the hearth-fires of the white men in the Nashaway Valley and coming down to modern times.

In no part of our country were the pioneers beset by greater trials, toil and danger than in New England; and probably none suffered more than those who lived within sight of Wachusett. The little colony at Lancaster was for many years constantly menaced by savage foes, and as the larger portion of Harvard was originally included in Lancaster, she shared the same experiences. The tale of the perils and sacrifices and the many thrilling incidents in the lives of her founders should be so woven into the story that the student may readily comprehend what hardships the brave men and women of that day endured, to secure for themselves and their posterity civil and religious liberty and the many blessings which attach to home in a civilized land.

The town of Harvard was made up of sundry tracts from other towns, and if these can be so mapped as to represent the manner of their combination into the present harmonious whole, it would be "a consummation devoutly to be wished." The causes which led to the separation from Lancaster, the town's prosperity after the dismemberment and her more recent decline, the educational, civil and religious conditions

at various epochs, are subjects which should have due attention.

At my advanced age I cannot think of undertaking this work myself, and it must be entrusted to younger and abler hands. In casting about for some suitable person to carry forward the enterprise it has occurred to me that "thou art the man." Your experience as author of the "Early Records," the "Military Annals," and the "Birth, Marriage and Death Register" of Lancaster, is a sufficient guarantee that the task will be well and faithfully done. By education and natural gifts you are fitted for this laborious undertaking; you are acquainted with the sources of information; you are familiar with our state, town and parish records; and no one ever has questioned your courage and fidelity. May I not then submit the work to your hands, feeling sure that no record will be left unsearched, no tradition unscanned, to make this one of the most complete of the many excellent town histories our Commonwealth can boast?

In case my decease occurs before the work is finished, it is my wish that you have a sufficient number of copies printed and bound—say three hundred—to give one to each deserving family in the town of Harvard, and one each to a few libraries where it will be of value. If all the copies are not thus disposed of, it is my wish that the remainder be deposited in the public library of Harvard, to be bestowed from time to time by the managers of that institution as they may deem advisable. All reasonable charges for writing, printing, binding and distributing the book will be cheerfully paid by me or by my executors, and this letter will be sufficient order to them for that purpose.

Trusting then, in your ability, persistent energy and integrity, and hoping that the work may be as speedily accomplished as is consistent with accuracy and perfection. may I now submit the task to you?

I am, with great respect,

Your ob't serv't,

W. Hapgood.

LANCASTER, MASS., November 20, 1891.

WARREN HAPGOOD, ESQ.

My Dear Sir:—Your proposal that I shall write, and superintend the printing of, a comprehensive history of the town of Harvard, Massachusetts, comes to me when I have prospective leisure for such work, and I consent to undertake it. I do so with great diffidence, however, when I note your too flattering estimate of my abilities, and your high expectations of excellence in my workmanship. I am fully aware of peculiar difficulties in the task set me. My not being Harvard-born is one very serious disqualification. The venerable men and women who inherited the family traditions of two centuries, and whose memories could throw clear light upon the personality and doings of generations long turned to dust, have all, or nearly all, vanished from Harvard homes; with them we have forever lost much that would have given significance or romantic interest to local story. There is little left for the historian's use save the curt and prosaic public records; but fortunately those of parish and town have been well preserved. I enter upon the work as you have outlined it, with the understanding that the time for its completion is not limited, for I would not consent to discredit myself, the town of Harvard, or your generosity, by anything wrought in haste or unverified by thorough study of all available authorities.

Very respectfully yours,

HENRY S. NOURSE.

As the foregoing correspondence tells, this volume originated in the generous impulses of Warren Hapgood, a native of Harvard, whose successful career has honored his birthplace. Not only has he liberally provided for all outlay incurred, but his personal interest and aid have been untiring and invaluable.

To all who by information or encouragement have assisted the author in his search for historic material he renders his

cordial thanks. He gratefully acknowledges special obligations to Reverend John B. Willard, Elder John Whiteley, Honorable Samuel A. Green of the Massachusetts Historical Society, C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian, Professor Daniel Denison Slade, Miss Katherine L. Lawrence, and Miss Mary R. Farwell for many favors. The illustrations are mostly from photographs by Alice G. Chandler of Lancaster, kindly taken especially for this volume. The map was drawn for reproduction by Harold Parker of Lancaster and owes much to his knowledge of local geography derived from experience as civil engineer and surveyor in this and adjoining towns.

To the people of Harvard the author respectfully submits his work—the result of patient research and pains-taking labor—trusting it may aid them to a higher appreciation of their pleasant heritage, and a deeper respect for the brave men and women who faced the deprivations of pioneer life to win that liberty of thought and conscience which they now enjoy.

Lancaster, January 1, 1894.

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HISTORY

OF

HARVARD, MASSACHUSETTS.

I.

SETTLEMENT AND INCORPORATION.

1643–1732.

I. THE NASHAWAY PIONEERS.

THE historic beginning of the New England town usually antedates by many years its legislative creation. That of Harvard may be said to have preceded the act of incorporation by more than three-fourths of a century. With the character, the purposes, the deeds and the trials of the founders our story properly opens.

Eight or ten years before the middle of the seventeenth century some adventurous white men from the English settlements on the river Charles began to traverse the upper Nashaway valley, in eager pursuit of the profits of trade with the Indians who at that time were encamped between the Washacum lakes, or in nomadic bands pitched their rude summer wigwams on the shores of the ponds which lie scattered between the Wataquadock and Wachusett ranges of hills. These traders, chief among whom were Thomas King, George and John Adams of Watertown, Henry Symonds and John Cowdall of Boston, soon made known to their kin in the bay towns the great attractions of this favored region—

the domain of the hospitable Sagamore Sholan, who was then ruler over the remnant of a once powerful tribe known as the Nashaways. They brought back, with their cheaply bought packages of otter and beaver peltry, glowing accounts of the fertility of the gently sloping hillsides; of the abundance of trout, salmon and shad in the clear streams; of the grapes, plums, many sorts of berries, and groves of nut trees everywhere common; of the deer, turkeys, water-fowl and other game that frequented the park-like woodlands, the dense thickets of the swamps, or the countless water-courses and ponds hidden in the forest; of the kindly disposition towards Englishmen shown by the gentle-mannered sachem and his simple-hearted people. But what stirred their land-greedy hearers to restlessness more than all else that they told, was their description of the broad and almost treeless intervales, stretching for miles along the rivers, and clad in late summer with a rank growth of flowering herbs and grasses breast-high to the tallest man; offering rare advantages to the pioneer husbandman and his herds. "A desirable place as any in the country," Sergeant Phillips said of it at Cambridge, when questioned about it after a visit thither in 1650.

It was not long after that two groups of sturdy immigrants, gathered from Dorchester, Charlestown, Boston and Watertown, began settlements in the valley, having bought the Indian title to the land, and obtained town grants and political rights from Colonial authority.

The two little meeting-houses, the central points around which these communities were clustered in obedience to legislative injunction and Puritan custom were about twelve miles apart as the crow flies, and an interval of a little more than two hundred rods separated the southern boundary of the one township from the parallel northern boundary of the other, as they were finally determined by the surveyors. Soon the friendly intercourse between the two hamlets had trodden a winding bridle-path through the meadows along the east bank of the Penecook, as the main Nashua river was then called. Doubtless this at first was but the hunter's track, naturally clinging where possible to the water courses. It

very probably followed the old Indian trail which led from Washacum, the headquarters of the Nashaways, by the "wading place" near the meeting of the waters that form the Penecook or Nashua, to Wamesit, the chief town of the Pawtuckets, on the Merrimack.

After the house-lots were assigned — twenty acres of upland to each family — and twenty acres of intervale adapted for tillage were set apart to each householder, the lands most sought for were the grass-bearing meadows and other tracts fit for the plough and spade. A fair division of these by lot was one of the first acts of the assembled townsmen. This and later divisions were proportionate to the estates which the settlers brought with them. The hunter's or Indian trail soon became, with slight changes at some points, a cattle path — the herdsman's way to the common pasturage grounds. It led by the great fenced fields of grain — perhaps sometimes through them, for we read of swinging gates hung and maintained at certain places where the planting fields were fenced off from the commons. Along this way was harvested much of the fodder that kept the herds alive during the long winter.

This common thoroughfare in 1658 was formally laid out as a public highway between Groton and Lancaster, and is thus described by the recording clerk:—

Way to the plumtrees & groten . . One way: from that entervaile way downe along all the entervailes to the Still riuer and towards grotten on the east side of the riuer two rods wide.

This road served the pioneers passably well, but the towns prospered and the increased travel and gradual substitution of carts for pack-horses demanded better ways. The intervale path with its sticky sloughs, its risky fords, and its rickety bridges, was constantly calling for costly repairs, and periodically it sank out of sight in the bosom of a broad, shallow lake, when the annual freshets poured their fertilizing floods over the bottom lands. Finally, in 1673, it was in part given up for a road laid out upon higher ground by a joint committee from the two towns. Where the hills crowd the Nashua, near the point at which it is joined by Still

River, the new highway turned away from the meadows and gradually climbed to the height then known by its Indian name, Makamachekamuck's Hill, north of Bare Hill Pond. The committee's report of their location, which has come down to us in Groton's records, though it affords no very legible description of the modern situation, belongs to Harvard history:—

Wedensday 4 of June 1673. fforasmuch as the countrey hye way as it was formerly layd out by Lankaster and groaten vpon seuerall yeares triall, proued to be very insufficient and very difucult to be made passable in regard it was for the most part lyeing in the Intervailes wheirin their are seuerall soft places and litle brookes vpon which bridges and other mater for making the same passable is apt to be raised and torne vp by floods and vpon experiance of the same Lancaster made aplication to groaten for Remouing of the said way to Run more vpon the vpland which was Readily atended and John Prescott seni=and Roger Sumner for Lancaster and sergent Parker and corperall Knop for groaten wer chuse committe by both to townes to lay out the said hye way as aforsaid which was atended the day aforsaid as followeth (viz) first within the bounds of groaten they toke their begining at their meeting house to the mille of Jonas Prescott by Matthias ffarnworths his house six Rods wide turning of out of the common mill way near twenty Rod aboue the mille and then it Runs 4 Rode wid through the land of the aforsaid Jonas Prescott acording as it is described by trees marked by the men aforesaid and from the said Jonas Prescotts land to penicooke Riuer in Lancaster through swan swamp 6 Rod wide as it is already marked out by the comitte aforsaid and from the way aforsaid butting upon Penicook near to the night pasture wading place, they tak the way as it is left in width through the intervayle and ouer nashaway bridge and soe to the meeting house and as it is to be vnderstood that the way within lancaster bounds Runes neare the mideway betweene the brook medow and plum-trees medowes ouer a hill called Mahaneknits hill and soe along on the vpland to the pond path as it Runes near to the Still Riuer medow and Josiah Whits medow vntill it come to the Swan Swamp path as aforsaid, and to the confirmation hereof the comitte aforesaid haue here vnto put their hands the day and year aboue said

JOHN PRESCOTT
ROGER SUMNER
JAMES PARKER
JAMES KNOP

It is noteworthy that, although this highway for nearly three-fourths of a mile passed through territory belonging neither to Lancaster nor to Groton, no mention of this fact

appears in the committee's report, and it may have been unknown to them. Three years before—May 31, 1670—upon the report of a committee appointed the previous autumn, all lands unappropriated and enclosed between the towns of Lancaster, Groton, Concord, Sudbury, Marlborough and the Indian plantation of Nashoba, were granted by the Court to George and John Hayward, Joseph Wheeler, Shadrach Hapgood and others, who had petitioned therefor. This extensive territory, described by the committee as "the greatest part of it very meane land," was incorporated as a township May 16, 1683, and thereafter dropped its sonorous native name, Pomposetticut, for the very curt one, Stow. It included, projecting westward, a strip of land about two-thirds of a mile wide, which extended the whole length of Groton's boundary from Littleton to Lunenburg, over seven miles. This long, narrow tract soon became known as Stow's Leg. May 18, 1730, Lancaster elected Jabez Fairbank and Joseph Wilder, Esq., a committee "to go to the General Sessions of the Peace to get a Country Road through Stow [Leg], and to get the Country Road in s^d^. Lancaster both to Stow and Groton Recorded as they are now laid out in s^d^. Lancaster."

Along this highway—which in the main is the one in use today—where it lay within Lancaster's bounds, the proprietors had before 1673 apportioned among themselves all the choicest upland adapted for tillage. Upon it was located Major Simon Willard's "Still River Farm," which with its outlands measured over five hundred acres. The major, in 1659, coming from Concord, bought of John Tinker, the licensed trader with the Indians for the region about Groton and Lancaster, all his proprietary rights in the latter township, amounting to five hundred pounds estate—by far the largest in either plantation. Under these rights his second division allotments were laid out for him in the vicinity of Still River and Bare Hill. This location was doubtless his own selection. Perhaps there glowed in the heart of the old Kentish soldier a love for the grandeur and beauty of Nature which moved him to secure command of a site with so glorious a landscape outspread before it, wherein elm-embowered valleys are encircled by a rolling expanse of hills rising with

graceful curves to violet-hued mountains which melt into cloudland. But more probably the motive of his choice was agricultural rather than esthetic. The chief portion of this Harvard estate was thus described by the surveyor:—

* * * * first he hath a peice of upland Laid out to him Sumtimes Called by the name of Still Riuer farm bounded Southwest by the enteruail & South or Southeast by sum second diuision Land of Ralph Houghton & easterly it buts partly upon sum meadow of Goodman Wilder and the most part upon Common upland and westerly it buts upon the highway to the plumtrees enteruail and northerly it is bounded by sum second deuision Land laid out to William Lewis and part by sum other Land Laid out to the estate aforementioned and this peice of Land is Laid out for one hundred ninty six acres be it more or Less highways to Groten to pond meadows & brook meadow allowed for in meashur :

100 acres 2 deuision More thare is another peice of upland Laid out to the estate aforesaid known by the name of winter plain which buts northerly upon Common Land Sum part pine Land & partly oak Land & Southerly it buts upo Sum other Land Laid out upon the same acount and easterly it is bounded by hills of Rockey Land which is Common and westerly it is bounded by Common pine Land sum part of it and sum part oake Land Lying betwen the s^{d} Land & plumtree meadows and is Laid out for one hundred acres be it more or Less :—

Three other lots were laid out adjoining or near these, and one of a hundred acres lay "upon the side of Bare hill." Though Major Willard never lived upon these lands, one of his sons first built upon them, his grandsons peopled the region about them, and his descendants at the present day hold many of the originally allotted acres. In some sense he may be styled the founder of Harvard.

Near this roadway to Groton, upon Nonacoicus Brook and within Groton's bounds, John Prescott had built a grist-mill and placed his youngest son, Jonas, in charge of it. There is no reason to suppose that any of the householders in either township had at that date taken up their residence on their outlying "second division" lands. The Prescott Mill was the first building of any importance erected within the territory now belonging to Harvard. Its site is today known as the Old Mill, and the water privilege has been utilized until quite recently.

John Prescott, in 1654, built the first grist-mill, and, in 1659, the first saw-mill, in Lancaster; and he had managed

them with great success. The Groton husbandmen were resolved to secure a mill within their own bounds, but none of their number were found competent, or plucky enough, to undertake the enterprise of building one, and attempts to bargain with others ending in disappointment, they naturally sought Prescott's aid. A committee chosen at a town-meeting in August, 1667, was authorized to make a contract with him, which resulted in the following agreement and the prompt erection of the mill:—

This Indenture made the twenty ninth day of Sep^{t}. In the yeare of our Lord, one thousand six hundred sixty & seaven. Between John Prescott Sen^{r}. of Lanchaster in the Coun̄ of Midlesex in the Mattachusets Colony in New England Blake smith on the one party, and James Parker, James Knop, John Page, and Elliz Barnes, agents & ffeoffees in trust in the behalfe of the Inhabitants of Grotton in the above named County on the other party, Witnesseth that the above named John Prescott Sen^{r}. hath covenanted, granted & Comissoñed, and by these presents for him the said John Prescott, his heyres, executors, and administrators, doth fully, clearly, & absolutely, coven^{t}, grant, and condition to and with the said James Parker, James Knop, John Page, and Elliz Barnes to Build and errect in sum meet place, within the bounds of the abovenamed Towne of Grotton, a good and sufficient corne mill or mills, and the same to finish so as may be fitting to grind the corne of the said Towne, by the 29th. of Septemb^{r}. next, next ensuing the date hereof or within foureteen dayes after, and from time to time and at all times after the errection or building thereof to keep and maineteyne the said towne mill in good & sufficient repayre, and therewith to grind the corne all and eure part thereof that shall from time to time be thither brought by the Inhabitants of the said Towne, for such a reasonable allowance and towle as the law of the Country doth pmitt, and at such seasonable times, as shall be orderly agreed upon for the mutuall accomodation of both partyes (inevitable causaltyes by fire, water, or other sudden exegences always excepted) in wch case or cases the sa^{d} John Prescott Sen^{r}, his heyres, executors, adm̄strators, & assignes of the said mill shall from time to time and at all times make reparation of any such breach or breaches as may so happen, without any unnecessary delay or neglect.

In consideration whereof the above named James Parker, James Knop, John Page, & Elliz Barnes, by the appoyntm^{t}, and in the behalfe of the Inhabitants of the abovesaid Towne of Grotton, and by the Power to them betrusted and given, do give and grant unto the said John Prescott his heyres and assignes five hundred acres of Lands within the limitts of the abovesaid Grotton Towne, to be layed out in any place or places as may best accomodate the said mill, and also twenty acres of meadow land in any place not yet in propriety at the choyce of the said

John Prescott, also free liberty to vse and improve any streame, or streames of water within the said Towne, and to raise the same to such height as may be for the best good of the said mill or mills, provided he destroy not any mans property already layd out. Also towards the building of the said mill, or mills; two dayes worke of a man for every house lott or family within the limitts of the said Towne, and at such time or times to be done and performed, as the said John Prescott shall see meete to call for the same, upon reasonable notice given, also freedome and release from all taxes and rates that the said mill and accomodations of lands above granted may at any time be lyable vnto for the vse of the said Towne, for the terme of Twenty years next ensueing the time of the first grinding of the said mill, and finally that no other person or persons whatsoever shall be allowed or pmitted to build any other corne mill within the said Towne, unless he will do it for his owne private vse only and on his owne propriety. To haue and to hold the above granted lands and premisses, and evry p^t^ and parcell thereof vnto him the said John Prescott Sen^r^. his heyres and assignes forever to his and their only propper vse & behooffe. And to the true performance hereof both partyes do mutually bynd themselves their executors & administrators each to other firmly by these psents.

In Witnes whereof the abovenamed partyes haue interchangeably put their hands and Seales the day and yeare first above written.

In line ye 25 the word (one) was defaced, before this Covenant was signed as these witnesses can testifie.

JOHN PRESCOTT, *his marke & a Seale*
Signed & deliv^rd^ JAMES PARKER
In presence off JAMES KNOP
SAMUEL WILLARD JOHN PAGE
WILLIAM LAKIN ELLIZ BARRON

This Covenant was owned by the partyes Concerned herein the 1^st^. of the 5^th^. mo. 1668. Before mee SIMON WILLARD, *Assist^t^.*

Entred and Recorded Decemb. 30^th^. 1669.
By THOMAS DANFORTH, *Record^r^.*
[Middlesex Registry of Deeds, III., 399, 400.]

The Nonacoicus Mill, with its monopolies and generous land endowment, was a wedding present from the father to his son. In John Prescott's will, signed in April, 1673, is the statement:—"And in reference to his third son Jonas Prescott it is hereby declared that he hath Received a full child's portion at nonecoicus in a Corne mille and Lands and other goods." In tradition the story of the old mill is bright with a gleam of romance which the lapse of two centuries has not dimmed. Jonas was a stalwart youth, good to look upon,

efficient at his father's forge and mills, successful in every manly sport, a favorite withal; but his education had been only that of labor and life upon the frontier. When he won the heart of the Sudbury belle, Mary Loker, her ambitious parents flouted at his suit, and bestowed their favoring smiles upon a rival aspirant for Mary's hand — one who boasted the culture of the schools and asserted high social claims. Their daughter being earnest in her own choice, and proving contumacious, was kept under close surveillance; but love's messages, as usual, laughed at threats, bolts and bars. Then the vexed parents secretly sent the damsel to an out-of-the-way place, in the hope that long separation might chill the affection which had grown only more ardent under their opposition. Fortune favored the lovers, for accident gave Jonas a clue which soon led him to the farm-house where his sweetheart was hidden. Whether with or without the blessing of her father and mother is not known, but Mary and Jonas were married at Lancaster, November 14, 1672, and perhaps took up their residence at or near the Nonacoicus mill.

Less than two miles from the mill they had a neighbor in Major Simon Willard, the chief military officer of Middlesex County; and, if the vote by which he was year after year elected Assistant may testify, the most popular magistrate in the colony. He had built a mansion at his Nonacoicus farm, and, probably in 1672, moved thither from Lancaster, where he had spent nearly thirteen years, the most eventful of his busy life. A five hundred acre grant at this locality, laid out for him in 1657 as payment of a debt due him from a Pawtucket sagamore, was described to be "betweene Lancaster and Groton," and perhaps it was thought it might not fall within the bounds of either. Groton's grant was two years the earlier, but the township lines were not defined by survey until 1668; then the major's five hundred acres were known to be wholly within them. The site of his residence cannot be identified with certainty, but on an ancient plan of the Nonacoicus Farm was located near the boundary line between Harvard and Ayer, north of Robbins Pond. His house must have been of very ample proportions to suit the

convenience of his large and growing family, to fill the needs of his natural and enforced hospitality as a magistrate, and to furnish suitable accommodations as a garrison and military headquarters of the county. Jonas Prescott had other and possibly much nearer neighbors upon the Lancaster road to the north — Farnsworth and Stone families — but they cannot now be accurately located.

II. THE NASHAWAYS.

No word is found in the proprietors' books or other documents to indicate that any of the aborigines had homes upon Harvard soil subsequent to the first crossing of the Wataquadock Range by the white men, and it is rare indeed to find a stone weapon or utensil telling of their former presence here. In an early assignment of land at the northern end of Bare Hill mention is once made, however, of an old "Indian Planting Field," and "Wigwam Meadow" in the same neighborhood is a suggestive title. The tribal headquarters was at Washacum. For twenty years the white and red men in apparent harmony jointly occupied the Nashaway Valley. The Indians' title to the lands which had passed into the Englishmen's possession had been honestly bought and honestly paid for. Although the price now seems ridiculously small, the grantees were well content with their bargain. They parted with that they had no need for, reserving such rights as they valued; for the deed of sale expressly forbade "molesting the Indians in their hunting, fishing or usual planting places." The colonial grant gave the planters their only legal title to the township, with the same reservations for joint occupancy in favor of Sholan and his people.

Until association with white men had created in them artificial wants, we find only record of friendliness and gracious offices in the intercourse between the Nashaways and the pioneers. When Sholan first extended the hospitality of his wigwam to John Eliot, and listened with awe to his teachings, the sons of the forest were few, but they far outnumbered their white neighbors, and the two races were helpful to each other in many ways. Upon Sholan's death, in 1654, the choice of a successor fell upon one who bore the apos-

tolic name, Matthew, and with the name had high repute for his christian virtues and liking for Englishmen and English ways. There were rival candidates for the rank of sagamore of a much ruder, though perhaps more heroic type of humanity; and one of these, Shoshanim alias Sam, came into authority at the death of Matthew, elected by the voices of the younger warriors, who were growing more and more jealous of the rising power of the whites. These copper-hued politicians no doubt shrewdly raised as a party shibboleth the cry of "Nashaway for the Nashaways," and the prudent counsels of the old men who remembered the lessons of the Pequot War were wasted upon deaf ears. None of the writings of the time tell us that the relations between the tribe and the planters were ever seriously strained before the savage blow fell; but incidents point to causes which were sufficient to awaken the savage instincts that had been slumbering. While Eliot and a few like him were unselfishly devoting their lives to the intellectual and spiritual instruction of the heathen, land-grabbers and traders, in their sordid greed, were teaching them all the vices of civilization. Now and then a trader was convicted of breaking the colonial laws, which strictly forbade the selling of strong drink, guns and ammunition, to the Indians. Occasionally a degraded rum-peddler was publicly whipped or set in the stocks, but more often it was his victim, a red man crazed with rum, that fell into the hands of the constable. The illicit trade went on until many of the braves were as well armed as the Englishmen, and most of them had acquired a craving for intoxicants which they indulged without thought of restraint whenever a chance came. The contact of the two races then, as always, resulted in a degradation of standard in each — a mutual demoralization. The colonists rapidly grew in numbers, encroached year by year upon the reserved rights of the tribe, and began openly to show the dislike and contempt they naturally felt for the dirty shiftless, and often besotted communists. It was a part of the Indian's religion never to forget or forgive an injury or an insult. Out of drunken brawls, rivalry in the hunt, and chance quarrels between young men, there grew bad blood. When the town

constable, with his brass-tipped, black staff of office and armed posse, arrested and dragged away a warrior to answer for some alleged violation of the colonial statutes, no doubt the culprit and his friends indignantly denied the court's jurisdiction, pleaded their inalienable birth-right to personal liberty, and asserted their allegiance to be due to none save their own elective sachem.

But perhaps what most contributed to the growth of distrust, and prepared the way for that shedding of blood which alone will satisfy racial antipathy, was the cool neutrality shown by the colonial authorities in the perennial warfare between the Massachusetts Indians and the Mohegans and Mohawks. When, in 1663–4, the Mohawks devastated the Indian villages on the Connecticut and carried death and dismay to the inland clans even as far east as Wachusett, the white men offered little aid in repelling the blood-thirsty invaders. It was not until Major Willard reported to the governor that several of their Indian allies had been slain, that he was authorized to furnish the friendly sachems with a small quantity of powder and shot. Again when, in 1669, the Massachusetts tribes combined in sending an expedition to wreak vengeance upon their traditional foe, the Englishmen stood aloof, obviously indifferent to the result. This was hardly the kind of neighborliness which Sholan and his people had shown to Eliot and Prescott. When the immigrants were few and feeble, reciprocity was less one-sided, and it cannot be thought strange if the proud savage Shoshanim and his hot-headed young braves resented this selfish colonial policy—especially after their final disastrous encounter with the fell warriors of the west—or that they lent favoring attention to the wily plans proposed by Philip of Pokanoket.

The final, fierce struggle of the combined New England tribes to recover their birthright began in June, 1675, and will ever be known in story as King Philip's War; not because the far-sighted sachem of the Wampanoags led the clans in actual conflict, for it is doubtful if he ever did; but because his shrewd policy and artful eloquence effected a league which made the contest a desperate one for existence be-

tween the two races. This cunning intriguer, upon whose shoulders the mantle of Massasoit had fallen, was, next to Satan, the chief bugaboo in every Puritan council and household—his reputation won neither by prowess in the fight nor by any marked respect paid to his haughty claims by the savage allies. In the sanguinary forays upon Lancaster and Groton, at least, Philip had no part, as all contemporary records go to show. Our local historians, who have quite uniformly asserted his presence with fifteen hundred warriors at the sack of Lancaster, all follow without question the statement of Reverend Timothy Harrington, made in his "Century Sermon," seventy-five years after the event, upon evidence that must be set down as gossip only; since no hint of it is elsewhere found, and sundry trustworthy documents of much earlier date, contradict it. Philip was then a fugitive from his own land with less than fifty armed men owning allegiance to him. Mrs. Rowlandson, after nearly a month's captivity, saw him for the first time on the west bank of the Connecticut River. He had passed the winter near Albany, whither he went in the hope of winning the coöperation of the Mohawks, and to procure powder of the Dutch.

The Nashaway sachem, Shoshanim, and probably Monoco, with all their people, secretly left their wigwams at Washacum and Wachusett early in July, 1675, and joined their friends the Quabaugs near Brookfield. There Ephraim Curtis, the Sudbury scout, saw Shoshanim about the middle of July, and there on the first of August the Nashaway warriors distinguished themselves in the victory over Captain Thomas Wheeler and the destruction of Brookfield. On August 4, Major Simon Willard, by order of the council, set out from Lancaster with Captain James Parker and a mounted company consisting of forty-six troopers and five Indian scouts, in order to prevent the Nashaways or Wachusetts from joining the hostile confederacy—being ignorant of the fact that they were already leading spirits in it. When not far upon his march, a messenger riding post haste from Marlborough overtook him with the news that some travellers had just returned to that place, frightened back from their journey to Connecticut by the sight of burning buildings and the noise

of musketry at Brookfield. The major at once made a hurried march for that town, and, narrowly escaping an ambuscade, arrived in time to rescue the beleaguered garrison. Other troops soon came from the bay towns, and the savages, jubilant with their first success and its spoils, retired to safe hiding-places in the wilderness northward. Monoco, the Nashaway chief, saw in the absence of the military commandant and so many soldiers from the frontier towns about Groton an opportunity for plunder, and set out thither with a picked company upon a marauding expedition. Notice was brought to the major that this band had been seen prowling about Chelmsford, and on August 15 he dispatched Captain Samuel Mosely with his command of sixty volunteer troopers to search for it. The one-eyed warrior easily outwitted the dashing dragoon, got into his rear, and on Sunday, August 22, in the afternoon, stole into the outskirts of the Lancaster settlement, burnt a house and murdered seven persons.

Early in September Major Willard returned to his home at Nonacoicus, but not to rest. Although past three-score and ten years of age, he was constantly in the saddle, directing the garrisoning and other military affairs of the country, and attending to his many duties as magistrate. Winter came on apace and with unusual severity — so much so as to render raids by the Indians almost impossible, and prevent all military movements in force by the white men. It was a gloomy season throughout New England. Incompetence and vacillation prevailed in high places. The stupor of despair settled upon the hearts of the frontiersmen. On the last day of December two heroic Christian Indians, James Wiser *alias* Quanapohit, the Nashaway, and Job Kattenanit of Maguncook, were persuaded by Major Daniel Gookin, commander-in-chief of the Massachusetts military forces, to go to the enemy's camps and ascertain their location, the number of fighting men, and the intentions of the chiefs. In about three weeks' time Quanapohit returned from his perilous mission, bringing full and accurate information. He warned the authorities that a large force would, in about twenty days, assail Lancaster, first destroying the only bridge by which

assistance could reach the place. His story was deemed so important at the time that two reports of it were written, one of which is preserved in the Massachusetts, the other in the Connecticut archives; but the lethargic government apparently made not the slightest preparation to meet the danger. The second spy, Job, brought to his employer, late at night on the ninth of February, confirmation of Quanapohit's statements, announcing that four hundred warriors were already bearing down upon Lancaster and would make an attack upon it the next morning. This thoroughly awakened Gookin and the Council from their sloth, but too late to avert misfortune. During the following day most of the humble homes in the Nashaway valley sank one by one into heaps of ashes, and over fifty persons were ruthlessly slaughtered or carried into captivity. Muttaump, the Quabaug sagamore, was nominally the commander of the savage horde, but Shoshanim and Monoco evidently planned and were most prominent in this despoiling and massacre of their old neighbors.

One month later a large part of Groton was burnt by Monoco. The Nonacoicus mansion of Major Simon Willard was the first destroyed. He had removed his family to Charlestown a short time before, for his public duties made it impossible for him to attend to the defence of his own home. In these days of trouble and sorrow, the most disheartening of all his toilsome life, when there seemed scarce a gleam of hope that the exultant savages might not extend the realm of their desolating victories much farther towards the sea, he was struck down by a prevailing influenza of an unusually malignant type, dying in the midst of his family at the age of seventy-one years. About his last work had been for his neighbors of the two frontier towns that claimed him as their foremost citizen — the impressment of carts, which he sent with a guard of mounted men to bring the survivors of the massacre and the little remnants of household gear which had been saved from the flames, to some place of safety. Thus went out, not prematurely, yet in its full vigor, the life of a useful, brave, hard-working, God-fearing man, of whom his contemporaries, in an exacting

age, record no guile, and whom his neighbors trusted as they trusted no other.

By some chance the mill of Jonas Prescott seems to have escaped destruction in Monoco's raids, for in Groton records under date of June 15, 1680, mention is made of Prescott's lands "that lye wheir the mill now standeth." The next year Jonas Prescott set up a mill upon Stony Brook, in what is now Chelmsford; no doubt removing thither such portions of the Nonacoicus mill as could be utilized; and thereafter "the old mill place," in records designates the historic site, and has given name to the district. When the mill lands, four hundred and forty acres, were transferred by Prescott in 1710 to Jonathan Farnsworth, there is no mention of any buildings thereon.

Before the end of March, 1676, both of the Nashaway settlements had been abandoned to the wolves and savages, their surviving inhabitants finding such shelter as they could in the older towns. Mrs. Rowlandson, upon her return from captivity, May 2, found but a single dwelling standing in Lancaster — probably a farm-house upon the Wataquadock hills, for John Moore's house was there; but the narrative gives no details.

Disaster and massacre followed each other in quick succession. Company after company of the Puritan soldiers marched blindly into ambuscades cunningly set for them. Village after village suffered from torch and tomahawk. Medfield, Chelmsford, Northampton, Hatfield, Marlborough, Weymouth, Rehoboth, Sudbury, Scituate, Bridgewater, each in turn experienced the horrors of savage warfare. The English captains, rashly brave, always made the mistake of despising their crafty enemy, and were very slow to gain prudence even from bitter experience. Though the foe were five to their one, they rushed their little platoons along the forest paths and into strange defiles without flankers, entirely trustful that Providence would not permit the heathen to prevail against His — self-elected — saints. Their superiors were so deliberate in their plans, and showed so little energy in carrying them out, that the Indian chiefs, in conversation with Mrs. Rowlandson, scoffed at their sluggishness. The

Christian Indians had proved themselves brave and trustworthy, and were invaluable scouts; but they were nearly all driven by abuse into the hostile camps, or imprisoned. The generalship of the Nashaway and Quabaug sachems was the only generalship shown in the contest. Monoco at Groton, March 13, not unreasonably proud of his prowess, boasted his intention to burn Boston. The threat was not altogether presumptuous, since that town had been, and remained, in a chronic state of apprehension, and more than once the alarm was sounded in her streets when rumors came that the savages were but a few miles away. But, luckily, soon after jealousies ripened into dissension among the clans. Philip never had won real leadership. Canonchet, chief of the Narragansetts, was accidentally captured and slain. The tribal league, without an acknowledged head, fell in pieces, and the tribes were one by one exterminated. Sagamore Sam, Monoco and Muttaump expiated their atrocities upon the gallows in Boston, September 26, 1676.

III. THE STILL RIVER AND BARE HILL SETTLEMENTS.

When the Lancaster survivors of the massacre, after four years' exile, began to build upon the cinders of their old homes, a few, noting the greater safety of the highlands east of the river against surprise by the savage enemy, abandoned their home lots upon George Hill and the Neck for new sites upon their "second division" lands along the sunnier side of the Wataquadock range. On its numerous natural watch towers from four to six hundred feet above tide water, they had a clear view of the country to the west and north, their far-away horizon outlined by the shapely domes of New Hampshire mountains. They could see every homestead west of the Nashua and detect, fifteen miles or more distant, the movements of a hunting party or the lurking-place of a band of marauding Indians, by the thin, bluish columns of smoke rising from their camp-fires. Such an outlook over the broad and varied landscape dominated by Wachusett, a little group of families enjoyed, whose hearthstones were set upon

the hills east of the Still River meadows. In the listing of the Lancaster garrisons in March, 1692, Henry Willard, Joshua Atherton, John Priest and John Warner, with their families, and two soldiers detailed to their aid, formed the eighth Lancaster garrison, with their fortified rendezvous at the Still River farm of Major Simon Willard.

Henry Willard was the fourth son of the major, born at Concord, Mass., June 4, 1655. He had lived at the Nonacoicus Farm, his father giving him one-fourth of that estate upon his marriage with Mary Lakin, July 18, 1674. He was a resident of Groton in 1684–5, but probably removed to Still River two years later. In a rate list of 1688, including the names of those whose estates were charged with the building of the minister's house given to Reverend John Whiting, Henry Willard appears, as also do his younger brothers, Benjamin and Jonathan, John Priest, John Warner, John Bush, John Willard and Joshua Atherton. Henry Willard married for his second wife Dorcas Cutler, in 1689. He died in 1701, his will being proved August 8 of that year. He left an extensive landed estate, and nine sons to perpetuate the family name, all of whom married, and most of them spent their lives in Lancaster and Harvard.

Joshua Atherton was the second son of James Atherton, one of the earliest proprietors of the Nashaway Plantation. He was born in Lancaster May 13, 1656, and died at Still River in 1721. His first homestead of over one hundred acres was upon the west side of the highway in Still River extending to the Nashua, and his first residence probably occupied the site of the home of his descendants, Oliver and Galen Atherton. Joshua was a tanner by trade, and came here from Milton about 1687.

John Warner and John Priest were immigrants from Woburn. They were church members, young men, and evidently were deemed a desirable acquisition; for as an inducement to their coming hither the Lancaster proprietors voted to each of them a special grant of thirty acres on the easterly side of Bare Hill. At their coming the two families seem to have lived together, or at least very near each other, for the sixty acre grant was made to them jointly, and the record

specifies one part of it as "Laid out for 36 acres, be it more or Less, on which they have built." John Priest died in 1704, and John Warner in 1722.

Adjoining the Warner and Priest grant thirty acres were given by the proprietors to Nathaniel Wales, upon condition of his settlement thereon. He failed to appear, and the concession was transferred to James Frost, probably of Billerica, who, with wife Hannah, became a resident of Lancaster, though it is not certain that he built upon this thirty acre grant at East Bare Hill. Frost sold his rights to Thomas Sawyer in 1708.

John Bush, probably of Sudbury, also had a thirty acre grant from the proprietors, and a gift of a lot from Major Simon Willard, "neer Mahamachecamack's Hills . . . . . and plum tree meadow." He built upon his lands, but died in September, 1688, leaving a widow Hannah and children Sarah and John. Shortly after coming of age, John, in 1710, sold the lands to Benjamin Bellows and Samuel Willard.

Another recipient of a thirty-acre gift of land adjoining the Willard farm, and therefore undoubtedly a proposed, if not an actual resident, for a brief time, upon Harvard territory, was John Willard. What relationship he bore to Henry Willard, the commandant of the garrison, has not been discovered, though kinship seems probable from the location of his acres and his known residence at Groton. His story is given place here because it connects the first planters of Harvard with the mad persecution for witchcraft in 1692, at Salem village. John Willard, according to the historian, Charles W. Upham, was a thrifty farmer with a wife and three children. He had some land interests at Salem — perhaps received with his wife, there being good reason to suppose that she belonged to a Salem family — and he was there resident when the hideous delusions began which ended in so many judicial murders. Nathaniel Hawthorne, perhaps without historical proof, speaks of him as a shrewd, active and honest man, who had a "little place of trade, where he bartered English goods for Indian corn and all kinds of country produce." Willard was one of those who fell into the merciless clutches of the witch hunters. Robert Calef,

in his "More Wonders of the Invisible World," tells us that Willard had been employed by the authorities to arrest several persons accused of practicing witchcraft, but after a time being ordered to bring up for trial some whom he respected too much to believe guilty of wrong practices, he refused the ungracious office; "and presently after he himself was accused of the same crime, and that with such vehemency, that they sent after him to apprehend him; he had made his Escape as far as Nashaway, about 40 Miles from Salem; yet 'tis said those Accusers did then presently tell the exact time, saying now *Willard* is taken." John Putnam, the Salem constable who made the arrest, delivered him to the court May 18, 1692. He was tried, convicted upon some of the most contradictory and absurd testimony recorded during the trials for witchcraft, and suffered on the gallows August 19, 1692 — the date of that wholesale hanging, in the historic picture of which two characters stand forth in distinctive prominence: Reverend George Burroughs calmly repeating the Lord's Prayer, standing in the dignity of conscious innocence under the instrument of ignominious death, and Cotton Mather, on horseback, youthful in years but old in priestcraft and self-assertion, busily haranguing the mob with jesuitical arguments, and skilfully exciting superstitious fears, in order to smother the merciful inclinations of the people towards the victims.

Within Groton's bounds in 1692, the garrison nearest the site of Jonas Prescott's grist-mill on the Lancaster road, had assigned to it ten men of military age in eight families, the heads of which were: John Farnsworth, Matthias Farnsworth, Benjamin Farnsworth, Samuel Farnsworth, Richard Farnsworth, Simon Stone, John Stone, Nicholas Hutchins. It is not probable that any of these had their homes upon Harvard soil, although Caleb Butler in his History of Groton says that they "lived in the south part of Groton, * * * and that part of Harvard called Old Mill." Jonas Prescott had fixed his residence in the central part of Groton. There was a small garrison at the Nonacoicus Farm, which had come into the hands of Hezekiah Usher.

Of the Nashaways, not a family now remained any where

within the limits of the old tribal hunting grounds. The warriors who rashly entered upon the war-path in that last desperate struggle for savage liberty had mostly perished miserably, by bullet, disease, famine or the hangman's rope; and their squaws and children were shipped to the Bermudas, to be sold as slaves on the sugar plantations. A few Christian converts of the tribe dwelt at Natick and Nashoba, or led the nomadic lives congenial to their race. Here and there a boy or girl lived, a bond-servant in some farm house. The very few who had deserted their sachems in time to avoid capture with them, or for other reasons had escaped the Englishmen's judicial vengeance, found refuge with the Pennacooks in New Hampshire, or were absorbed into one of the New York clans. These survivors did not forget the beautiful valley residence of their fathers, nor cease to desire revenge upon those who had driven them from their heritage. The leaders of the savage marauders from Canada, whose atrocities stain the history of the period known as King William's War, 1688–1698, never lacked guides intimately familiar with all the approaches to, and weak points of defence in, each frontier town; and Indian spies and scouting parties were constantly skulking about the settlements to pick up information or waylay the unwary.

In Sir William Phips' unsuccessful expedition against Quebec in 1690, Benjamin Willard and Joseph Atherton served, the former as lieutenant. They were both of Still River. Captain Francis Nicholson, in August, 1688, going through Groton and Lancaster, found the inhabitants "very much afraid;" and the following summer in an address to the Council they describe themselves as "being under some fears of being surprised by y^{e} Indians." In 1692 and in 1695 bold bands of savages committed murders in Lancaster and escaped unscathed. But the bloody incursion of September 11, 1797—when nineteen persons were slain, among them Reverend John Whiting, the beloved minister of the town—emphasized the lesson of previous raids in regard to the weakness of the garrisons upon the west side of the river for defence against surprise from their stealthy and elusive foes. For many years thereafter the growth of the settlement was

chiefly along the highways to the eastward, and abandoned farms first began to trouble the tithe collectors. The official assignment of the people of Lancaster to their several military posts, dated April 20, 1704, shows that besides the old garrison at the Still River Farm another had been established east of Bare Hill. Of the former were: Simon Willard, Benjamin Bellows, John Willard, Henry Willard, Joshua Atherton, James Houghton and two men, Joseph Hutchins, Joseph Waters, Hezekiah Willard, and James Smith—twelve men of military age in ten households. At the Bare Hill garrison were: John Priest, Senior, and a man, John Priest, Junior, John Warner and two men, Caleb Sawyer and a man, James Atherton, Senior, and James Atherton, Junior—ten men of military age in six families.

Simon Willard, commandant of the older garrison, was the second son of Henry Willard, born at Nonacoicus October 8, 1678. He was licensed as an innholder in 1705, being the earliest upon Harvard soil, and died in 1706. His children sold his estate to their uncle, Samuel Willard.

Henry Willard was the oldest brother of Simon, born at Nonacoicus, April 11, 1675. His home was in the northerly part of the Still River settlement. John Willard was the third son of Henry Willard, Senior, born at Groton, September 3, 1682. By his wife, Anne Hill, he had one son, John, born in 1715, who was accidentally drowned while riding a horse across the river; he was twenty-four years of age, and the fatal accident was but a few days before the date appointed for his wedding. Hezekiah Willard was the fourth son of Henry, and lived on the slope of the hill east of the Plumtree meadows.

Benjamin Bellows was from Marlborough, the son of John, born in 1677. He married in 1703 or 1704, Dorcas (Cutler), the widow of the first Henry Willard. A locality upon the intervale to this day bears the name Bellows' Hole, and probably perpetuates his name, as Bellows' Falls, New Hampshire, does that of his son, Benjamin, who was born at Still River, May 26, 1712. Reverend Henry W. Bellows, D. D., in a historical sketch of his ancestor, Colonel Benjamin Bellows, relates a tradition that Benjamin Bellows, the first of that

name, was "adopted by one Benjamin Moore of Lancaster, and inherited his fortune which was for the time considerable," and that this inheritance was lost in a protracted lawsuit with an English army officer. This story is not sustained by the records. *John* Moore of Lancaster deeded lands to Bellows in 1698, "in Consideration of a Considerable Quantity of Fence made" for him; and April 13, 1700, deeded him the rest of his Lancaster real estate for the consideration of a life support for himself and wife. The peculiar terms of the agreement have interest for the information they give of habits and prices at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and an extract from it follows. Bellows promises to pay:—

> Yearly and every year the Certain Sum of eight pounds unto him the said John Moore and Judith his wife and also to either of the longest Livers of ye said John and Judith Moore in Specie as followeth: In provision, in Wheate not less than two bushels at five shillings per bushell, in Rye not less than six bushells at four shillings pr Bushell, twenty shillings in Butter and Cheese, Cheese at four pence pr pound, ten shillings worth, and ten shillings in Butter at six pence pr pound, or so much in money for want of Butter, one Barrell of Cyder at six shillings price and ye sd. Moore to find the Barrell. Also fifty shillings in good and merchantable Porke and Beef an equall proportion at three pence pr pound, and the rest remaining to Compleate y^e^ afore mentioned Specie and payments to be eight pounds, is to be in Indian Corne at three shillings pr Bushell; all these sorts of graine and other provisions to be good and merchantable, and to be paid yearly.

The delivery was to be at Concord where Moore went to reside, but he reserved a right to half his house, garden and orchard, in case he should desire to return to Lancaster. He died in 1703, at Lancaster, and Bellows sold the lands in 1706, residing at Still River from that time until 1728 or 1729, when he removed to Lunenburg. He was a licensed innholder in 1705 and 1711, was constantly dealing in real estate, often figuring in lawsuits, and at times seems to have been in financial straits. He died in 1743, at Lunenburg.

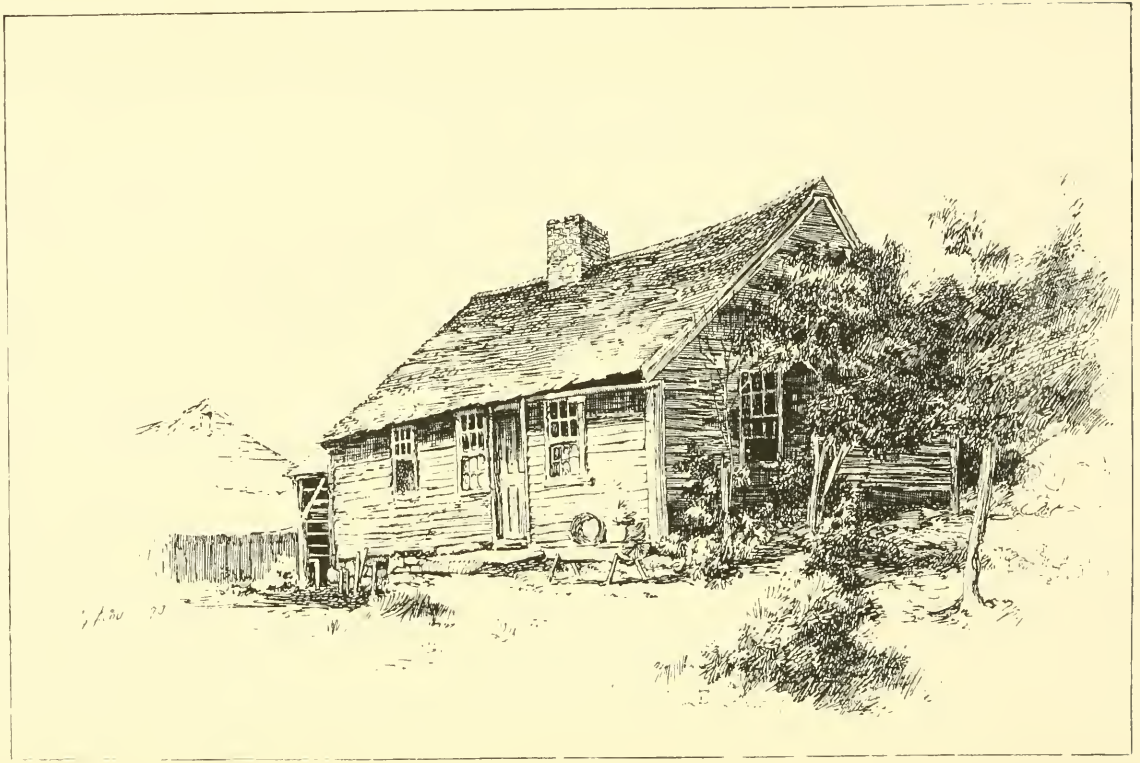
Caleb Sawyer was a grandson of John Prescott, the founder of Lancaster, being the fifth son of Thomas Sawyer, one of the first proprietors of that township, and Mary Prescott. Thomas was the son of John Sawyer of Lincolnshire, Eng-

land. Caleb was born at Lancaster, April 20, 1659, and married Sarah, the daughter of Ralph Houghton, December 28, 1687. He received a special grant of thirty acres from the Lancaster proprietors, as well as lands from his father, laid out upon the east side of Bare Hill, and probably built upon his lot shortly after the massacre of 1697. Near his home was the "Rendezvous Tree," often mentioned in old records of lands and highways, tantalizing us with suggestions of a romance, no detail of which has been preserved by history or tradition. He outlived all the Harvard pioneers, dying February 13, 1755.

The Athertons sold their homestead upon Lancaster Neck in 1702, and built a new dwelling at the south end of Bare Hill. James and Hannah Atherton were among the earliest comers to the Nashaway Plantation, being from Dorchester. It is supposed that he was a younger brother of Major Humphrey Atherton. His oldest son, James, was born 1654, 3 mo. 13 day, and married Abigail Hudson, June 6, 1684. The father gave his Lancaster home to James, Jr., in 1686, and died at the age of eighty-four years in Sherborn, while living with his daughter, Deborah Bullard, his will being dated January 3, 1707–8. The Harvard Pioneers were James, Jr., and his son, born February 27, 1684–5.

The birth of Joseph Waters is the earliest *recorded* in Lancaster, dating April 29, 1647. He had a wife Elizabeth, and a son Joseph, born April 2, 1682, who is the one named as belonging to the Still River garrison. He sold his Harvard lands to Isaac Hunt, a blacksmith from Cambridge, whose wife was Mary, daughter of Henry Willard. Waters removed to Groton, where he died in 1720. Hunt died in Sudbury, A. D. 1724, leaving the Still River estate to his son Ebenezer, who never came to reside upon it, and house and land after a time fell into possession of Joshua Atherton.

James Houghton was the son of Ralph, the first clerk of Lancaster. He was born about 1650, just before the coming of the family to the Nashaway Plantation. He removed from the Neck to Still River after the massacre of 1697, with his brother-in-law, Caleb Sawyer, and built upon lands given him by his father. He had eight children. The second son,



CALEB SAWYER HOUSE.

Ralph, was a soldier in the Acadian Expedition of 1710, and died in the service. His brothers and sisters became the progenitors of many Harvard families.

Joseph Hutchins married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wilder. He came from Bradford, and bought of Benjamin Willard, in 1700, certain lands which had fallen to him in the division of Major Willard's estate.

James Smith bought a portion of Benjamin Willard's land, but he died in 1700, leaving a widow Hannah and eight children, the oldest being the James mentioned as one of the Willard garrison. The family does not again appear in Harvard history, their estate being soon transferred to Simon Willard.

John Priest the elder dying in 1704, John Priest, Jr., and the widow Rachel came into possession of the Bare Hill estate, the other children being minors. John ultimately built a new home, more than a mile from the first Priest and Warner garrison, on the northern slope of Bare Hill. His mother died in 1737, and his only son in 1738, when he sold his homestead to John Forbush, and removed to Bolton, where he died in 1756.

In John Warner's garrison the "two men" were his oldest sons, Samuel and John. A younger son, Ebenezer, in due time had a family, and inherited the original Warner homestead, but survived his father only a year, dying in 1723, leaving a widow and four young children. The farms of the three brothers adjoined each other.

The French and Indians under Chevalier Beaucour, in their determined but unsuccessful assault upon Lancaster, on Monday, July 31, 1704, did not cross the Nashua, and no share of the heavy losses of that anxious day fell upon the inmates of the eastern garrisons. In fact it is doubtful if, after the universal devastation of 1676, any considerable body of hostiles ever entered the territory of either Bolton or Harvard. There may have been one exception. On Wednesday, October 25, 1704, John Davis of Groton was killed by a party of Indians, supposed to be nearly thirty in number, and the murderers were seen near Still River and pursued by the Lancaster and Groton men, but escaped. No inmate of the

eastern garrisons was slain, wounded or captured during the war; but the yeomanry who defended them were not exempt from days of dread and nights sleepless with care; from unremunerative toil and soul-killing anxiety. Their chosen spokesman, Thomas Wilder, in a petition dated November 15, 1704, says of them:—

.....most of ye Inhabitants on y^{t} side have had but little or no help or protection in their Garrisons, but have been necessitated to watch and ward a third part of their time at least, besides Rangeing the woods often when Rumours and Allarms have hapened, so that near halfe our time is spent in actuall service and when we are about our own worke we cannot Keep to it but lose a great part of what we Labour for, being forced to get our bread with y^{e} peril of our Lives which hang in Doubt continually & but little peace day or night. * * *

The meeting-house of Lancaster having been burned by the enemy, a contest arose in 1705 about the location of a new one. The votes in town-meeting proved that the householders living east of the Nashua outnumbered those on the west. They were nearly two to one, but it was only after two years of wrangling and sundry petitions to the Great and General Court, that the majority secured the building of the house on their own side of the river; and then it was placed as near the bridge as a proper site could be found safely elevated above the flood plains. Thenceforward the families about Bare Hill each Sabbath journeyed four miles, instead of five as heretofore, to listen to the pointed exhortations of Reverend John Prentice, the youthful new minister; and as there was always an afternoon as well as a morning service, the first day of the week could hardly be called a day of rest, unless the tithing men were negligent in their duty.

The Puritan under all circumstances took life in saddest earnest, treating himself as a sojourner in hell's suburbs; but the pious fathers and mothers of the Nashaway valley, at this period more than ever, needed the consolation of their Puritan belief that the more complete their discomfort in this world the more ecstatic would be their joys in the world to come. Small bands of savages were constantly prowling about the settlement, and every year they surprised one or more victims in Lancaster and Groton, usually some lone

traveller, or a farmer at work in his outlying field. To every man, sleeping or waking, on the road, at his work, even at church, his musket became an inseparable companion. The whole people were greatly impoverished through wasted labor, inability to properly plant and till their crops, and the expense of sustaining the garrisons. The hooting of an owl, the howling of a wolf indistinctly heard, every unusual sound sent pallor to the cheeks and a shudder of fear to the hearts of wives and mothers, lest it might be the dread war-whoop of the savage demons from Canada, or the last cry of despair from the absent husband, son or father; and murky forms with fiendish faces made terrible the dreams even of children. Every man of military age able for service took his turn with the scouting parties that were frequently sent out to discover signs of the enemy's presence near the towns, under direction of Captain Thomas Wilder, military commandant of Lancaster.

A company of soldiers drafted for the service, under command of Captain William Tyng of Chelmsford, was distributed among the garrisons and billeted upon the inhabitants. That officer and some of his men lost their lives in encounters with the savages. The bills for the burial expenses of some of these soldiers are found in the state archives [volume LXXI, 128, etc.], and well illustrate certain customs of the period, and especially the funeral feast. In a well-to-do family the refreshments expected by those who came to pay their tribute of respect to the dead often doubled the expense and trouble of the sad occasion. The burial of private John Carter, of Lancaster, was probably not exceptional in ceremony:—

An acompt of funeral Charges &c: of John Carter a Souldier under ye Comand of Capt. Will$_m$. Tyng who deceased March ye 26 1704/5.

Imprimis To two Jurneys to Concord for y^e Doctor	o= 7=o
To one Jurney to Boston for things for said Carter in his sickness. –	o=11=o
To nursing one week. – –	o=10=o
To 4 Gallonds Wine– – –	o=15=9
½ a barrill Syder. – –	o= 4=o
To Sugger fruit & Spice– – –	o= 5=6

To 6 paier of Gloves. [*for the bearers.*]	0= 9=0
To y^e^ Coffen and Grave- - -	0= 8=0
	3£=10^s^=3^d^

An official review of the frontier garrisons in November, 1711, gives us a more detailed account than usual, though it unfortunately omits the names of the heads of families. The garrisons of Bare Hill and Still River had then increased to four:—

Hezekiah Willard's	3	families	4	men	1	soldier	8 souls
Mrs Houghton's	4	"	5	"	1	"	25 "
Mr Priest's	6	"	7	"	0	"	25 "
Caleb Sawyer's	2	"	3	"	1	"	11 "
	15	"	19	"	3	"	69 "

This was the census in 1711 of the Lancaster portion of what is now Harvard. There had been in the seven years between 1704 and 1711 but slight increase in the number of families and men of military age. "Mrs Houghton" was Mary the widow of James, he having died that year.

The garrison houses of the time were not distinctively different from other dwellings. They were built of wood—sometimes perhaps of logs or squared timber, but much oftener framed—the spaces usually left vacant between the outside sheathing and the inside plastering or wainscot being filled in solidly with brick, flat stones or oak plank, so as to render the walls everywhere bullet-proof. The windows were protected with plank shutters in which were loop-holes for muskets. The flankers projecting from diagonally opposite corners of the building, often mentioned as belonging to the more noted of the earliest garrisons, seem to have been generally omitted at a later period; either because awkward adjuncts to a dwelling, or because, after the savages were provided with fire-arms, they were unsafe stations for the defenders. The building and its offices had to be commodious, for therein in times of alarm were crowded, by night and by day, all the families of a neighborhood with their provisions, clothing, and such of their more precious movables as could easily be brought with them. Very commonly

a tall stockade of half-hewn logs encircled it, the entrance to which was by narrow portals guarded with strongly hung gates and a watch tower.

Some of the earliest garrisoned houses of Harvard can be readily located, though in those that have survived the wrecking forces of time and accident, nearly all tokens of antiquity are covered from sight by modern alterations and repairs. A few of these will be particularly noticed in later pages.

For more than a century all town highways determined upon had to be approved by the proprietors of the original grant and their legal successors, at their stated meetings — which were always town-meetings — and located by committees specially chosen for the purpose in each case. An allowance of four rods in width was reserved through allotments lying where a roadway was sure to be called for in the near future; and when a way was granted through lands where no such reservation had been made, the owner was awarded generous compensation for damages, paid in land where most convenient to him in the undivided commons. Under such methods it was somewhat easy for an influential proprietor to bend the highway out of the direct course in order to favor convenient rectangles for his hay and corn fields, or to afford a better site for his buildings; and local changes in the established road were often made to suit private advantage. This may account for some of the short crooks and abrupt turns so common in our older thoroughfares. Flagrant encroachments upon the highway were constantly complained of, and town action was taken in regard to them long before Harvard won its autonomy. Though town after town was severed from the original eighty square miles granted the Nashaway company, the proprietors retained their possession of these highways until troublesome questions often arose because of the divided jurisdiction and ownership. Finally, February 7, 1791, it was voted by the proprietary to —

* * * Relinquish to the several towns in the bounds of Old Lancaster, all their Right to the Rodes in the Respective Towns and that each Town have a Right to dispose of and alter said Rodes within their limits, not to injure the Publick.

In 1715 Lancaster was "under presentment for want of a Grammar School," which is proof that its families then numbered one hundred at least; the law of 1647 requiring every town possessing one hundred householders to establish a grammar school, the master of which should be competent to fit youth for entrance to Harvard University. After 1715 the more frequent proprietary action respecting roadways denotes a rapid increase in population. The records of roads laid out during the next ten years in the neighborhood of Bare Hill possess historic interest, but the meagreness of the descriptions and the frequent subsequent alterations, deprive them of much value for comparison with the locations of today. The earlier ways were for the husbandmen's convenient access to the great meadows, or led from village to village; when the meeting-house was built most of the highways converged to that as a central point.

April y^e^ 8 1717 * * *

2 Samuell Warner put in a proposision to y^e^ Town Requesting them to Grant a Hiway to Pin hill medow: the Town thereupon made Choyce of Jonas Houghton Sr David Whetcomb & Jacob Houghton to be a commity to vew y^e^ same & make report to y^e^ Town at there next Meeting.

April y^e^ 22th 1717 * * *

4. Y^e^ Town Voted that no Land be laid out from Pin hill Medow to barehill Roode with out an alowance in it for a hiway of foure Rods wide

Lancaster February the 3 1717/18 att the Stated Meeting for propriatie, * * *

4 the town in answer to the propozition of Samuell Carter then made Choyce of John Houghton Esq John Wilder Sr & Jabaz ffairbank to be a Committy to stake the hieway through plumtrees entervail as neer where it was first Layed out as they can, by the best Enformation they can Gitt

LANCASTER February the 1st 1719/20 att a meeting, of the proprieters first made Choyce of Jabaz ffairbank for a Moderator and then in the first place Granted a hiway to brook medow & the medows ajasant in answer to the propozition of Joshua Atherton & Joseph Hutchins towit to pinhill and to a medow of aaron Willard and a medow called pollopod and down the west side of brook medow till it com to the Land of John Willard also then made Choyce of Capt Wilder Josiah White and Joseph Wilder to be a Committy to Lay it out thre Rods in wedth and make Report to the propriete

* * * * *

3 They Receved and Exsepted the Return of a Hiway att y^e^ barehill Medows of a Committy to witt John Wilder Jonas Houghton & Jacob

Houghton which was as followeth Lancaster May the 15th 1719 we John Wilder Jonas Houghton & Jacob Houghton being chosen a Committy to Lay out ye waies from ye Randevo tree to the Medows down that Brook as also up the Brook to John Sawyers and from thence to ye medows att ye North East Corner of the Town as it is now staked out and marked. Wee haue accordingly don ye same: and for what Land we haue taken from John Sawyer att his Hous place for ye benifit of sd Hiway we haue alowed to him two acres of Land on the west side ye Brook below his house provided he Leve Room for a Conveniant Hiway between said Land and the Hill on the west side of the same. JONAS HOUGHTON
JACOB HOUGHTON

The following report records the laying out anew of the Lancaster and Groton highway, from Stow Leg southerly through the Still River farms. Although it was the thoroughfare between the two towns, it was but a bridle-way made passable for carts, and its generous breadth of five rods was given to afford ample room for a choice of paths, as well as to reserve material for improvement and repairs:

They Exsepted the Returnes of Severall Hiwaies of the Committys appointed to vew and Lay them out to wit of the Contery Rode to Groton brought in by Cpt Wilder Josiah White and Joseph Wilder as followeth February ye 9 1721/22 Then prossed on sd Service first began at ye north line of Lancaster Township and marked a small white oke tree, and from thence to a white oke neer ye Corner of Seth Walkers Land from thence to a stump by the side of sd Walkers fence from thence to ye Corner of Walkers northermost Lott from thence to ye Corner of Samuell Rogerses Land & so along upon ye hed of that Lott to ye Corner of ye Land of Henry Willard to a Chestnut tree from thence to a Red oke neer ye brow of ye hill and so to a Walnut in the Riseing of ye Hill and from thence to a black oke at ye bottom of Said Hill from thence to a Rock a gainst Henry Willards barn and so bareing ye breth of five Rods to ye Eastward of all ye afore sd marks and so bareing the same wedth through betwixt ye Walls of Josiah Willard as marked out and so along upon ye heds of the Lots of Hezakiah an Joseph Willard baring ye bredth of five Rods to ye est from there fences as they now stand till itt Coms to ye Corner of Joseph Willards Lott from thence made an angle Runing to a small White oke bush standing in Joseph Willards hedge from thence to a white oke tree from that to a heep of Stons upon Hezakiah Willards Land makeing an angle Runing a Cross the Lott of Jonathan Willard from a heep of Stons to a small black oke from thence to ye Corner of Cpt Willards wall sd way Lying five Rods wide to the East ward or Sow est of all ye aforesd marks & so through betwix ye wall of Capt Samuel Willard and John Willard bareing ye same wedth to ye South East Corner of Capt Willard wall & then with a straight line to a small white oke

marked at a Rock where y^e^ former Committy Left marking the way Lying to the Sow east of sd line and also marked a Rode from sd Rode down the north side of Jonathan Willard lott to y^e^ hed of y^e^ lott of Joseph atherton of three Rods Wide sd Return was Exsepted by a vote Exsepting at Capting Willards at his Request it was alowed to go down ner his hous he promasing to Leve the hiway there Wider by Considerable then five Rods JOSEPH WILDER *Clerk*

The highway next described starts from the Lancaster and Groton road near E. Warren Houghton's, and in a devious way runs to the Boston road in the northeast corner of Bolton, and most of the distance in that town:—

3 a hiway petistioned for by Capt Willard a Report there of was made by Hooker Osgood Ebenezer Wilder and Jonathan Houghton who informed the propriety that they judged the sd way Should goo by David Whetcombs & so in to the bay Rode & that it should leve Groaton Rode at y^e^ South side of Joseph Hutchinses lott and to Run along by y^e^ sd Hutchinses lott till it Came over y^e^ brook at Round medow Joseph Hutchins allso appeered and offered y^e^ Propriety to Give so much Land as would be nesesary for y^e^ Hiway in that place according to y^e^ Report of y^e^ Committy; but at y^e^ Re[quest] of Thomas Houghton the way was Granted by his door & was to Lye South of his hous so far as that y^e^ north side of y^e^ way should be thre Rods from his door and said way was Exsepted and Confermed to be three Rods Wide exsept where it pases through y^e^ Land of Jacob & Henry Houghton and there to be but two Rods Said Committy Reports that they began to marke at y^e^ Land of Thomas Houghton and ran through it by his hous sixty seven Rods & a half and through Ephriam Houghtons Land sixty four Rods & through Edward Houghtons Land 100 Rods and through James athertons Land fourty six Rods and through Jacob Houghtons Land fourty five Rods and throu the Land of Jacob Houghton & Benjamin Athertons Land ninty eight Rods and then it Ran upon Common Land till it Croses the Rode that pases to barehill February y^e^ 25 we began at barehill Rode and went through y^e^ Land of Jacob Houghton Seventy Rods and through y^e^ Land of Henry Houghton by his hous eighty two Rods and then we Ran in Common till we Come to the Land of Hezakiah Whitcombes in his Land we Ran on hundred and twelve Rods through the Land of David Whitcombes twenty Eight Rods and then we ran in Common Land and in Land of David Whitcomb & y^e^ Hairs of John Whitcomb Decesed in which there was alowance made for a hiway in y^e^ Laying out of said Land: and then we Ran through a small Corner of y^e^ Land of Nathanil HapGood in to y^e^ Bay Rode, then we began at the Bay Rode neer Joseph Sawyers and marked a hiway a Cross to y^e^ afore sd Rode and it Coms in to y^e^ aboue said Rode abought eighteen rods from David Whitcombs barn and y^e^ said David whetcomb is satisfied for y^e^ Damage it doth to

him if he may haue the old Rode which was formerly Layd out behind his feeld all which was Confermed by a vote. sd Report was Signed HOOKER OSGOOD EBENEZER WILDER JONATHAN HOUGHTON

Entered upon Record by JOSEPH WILDER *Clk*

Lancaster February the 3d 1723/4 the propriety meet: * * *

Lastly they Granted ye Request of Jonas Houghton in Remoual of a Hiway which Goeth to barehill Medows where it Runeth through the Land that was Danil Hutsons that it might Run along upon the South Edge of it by the Land of Joseph Fairbank

Lancaster May ye 20 1724 * * *

4 they Receved a Report of a Committy sent out on the propozition of John Warner John Darbey and Jonathan Whitney which was as followeth viz May the Eighteenth 1724 we the Subscribers marked Severall Waies viz one Hiway Begining at the Hiway neer to Caleb Sawyers barn and Ran as the markes directs to a white oak a Corner of John Warners Land: and do alow it to Run Twenty Rods along side of John Warners Land; but Samuell Warner appeered in said Meeting and made an offer that if the Town would Lay out the said Hiway along by his Hous and Gabriell Preists Hous through there Land that they to wit Gabriell Preist and Samuell Warner would Give the Land free and would be at half the Charge of Makeing and Keeping in Repare the way through there Land the Committey also Gave there voice that it might be as servesable to the publick

another Hiway is marked out begining neer to the westerly end of Caleb Sawyers Feeld at the Hiway and Runeth as the mark trees direct upon to barehill and along by Land that was Laid out to [Josiah] White and it Runs along by the Southerly end of the Land that [*leaf torn*] Danil Priest by the northerly side of a Corner Mark at the westerly end of a piece of Land of Nathanil HapGood and then it Runs by said Land the whol Lenth of it then it Runs eigty four Rods through Land of Samuell Warners to Jonathan Whitneys and Jonathan Crouches Land and ten Rods by said Crouches Land and we think said Warner ought to be alowed three acres in Lew of one or according to that proportion

We also mesored the Hiway in John Darbes Land and find it to Run in his Land on hundred and fifty Rods and we think he ought to be alowed thre acres for one JACOB HOUGHTON JONAS HOUGHTON *Committey* this return was exsepted the hiwayes alowed and ye alowances Granted by the propriety

The collection of the tax levy was one of the duties of the constables in colonial days, the selectmen, or assessors when there were any chosen, furnishing them with a list of the tax-payers and their assessments. As every male sixteen years of age or over was chargeable with a poll-tax of one

shilling and eight pence, the lists included many minors. From the scant fragments of records pertaining to Lancaster's town-meeting action in the early years of the eighteenth century, it seems that it was the custom to choose three constables each year: one for duty on the west side of the Nashua; one whose district embraced all householders along the highways that led towards Marlborough; and a third who was responsible for those along the roads to Groton and Stow. Two of the constables' lists for the year 1723 have by chance been preserved, and one of them is that of Samuel Warner, who lived at Bare Hill. This may serve as a census of polls for that year in the Lancastrian portion of Harvard, though allowance must be made for a few who lived upon what is now Bolton soil. The list contains sixty names, with a total assessment of 27£ 11^{s} 9^{d} for minister's rates, and 34£ 6^{s} 10^{d} for town rates; which was almost exactly one-third the total amount of the town's taxation in 1723. The names are given below in their original order, as this may furnish some clue to the neighborhood of families. The Bolton names are in italics:—

Samuel Willard	Joseph Hutchins	*Nathaniel Hapgood*
Hezekiah Willard	Thomas Houghton	*Josiah Whitcomb*
Josiah Willard	Benjamin Bellows	*John Wilder*
Joseph Atherton	John Houghton	*Josiah Wilder*
John Warner	*Jeremiah Wilson*	*Jonas Wilder*
Jonathan Willard	*Samuel Wilson*	Shatuck Brooks
Mary Atherton	James Atherton	Seth Walker
John Atherton	[Jonathan] Whitney	Samuel Rogers
Jacob Houghton	John Whitney	Samuel Rogers, Jr.
Caleb Sawyer	Isaiah Whitney	Henry Willard
Jacob Houghton, Jr.	Jonathan Crouch	Abraham Willard
Elias Sawyer, Jr.	Samuel Warner	Henry Willard
Jonas Houghton, Jr.	Gabriel Priest	James Willard
James Houghton	Joseph Priest	Edward Houghton
Josiah Houghton	Jonathan Sawyer	Ephraim Houghton
Jonas Houghton	Joseph Fairbank	John Willard
Hezekiah Whetcomb	Benjamin Atherton, Sr.	Joseph Willard
Henry Houghton	John Nichols	John Priest
Benjamin Atherton	*David Whitcomb*	Samuel Chamberlain
Daniel Houghton	*Jonathan Whitcomb*	John Sawyer

Of these sixty rate payers, forty-five bore the familiar

names of the earliest settlers in the valley. They were lineal descendants, of the second and third generations, from Major Simon Willard, John and Ralph Houghton, Thomas Sawyer, Thomas Wilder, James Atherton, John Whitcomb and Jonas Fairbank, with the sons of John Warner and John Priest. The ten Willards were the eight surviving sons and two grandsons of the elder Henry Willard; and his widow and daughter Sarah are represented in the list by their husbands, Benjamin Bellows and Samuel Rogers, Sen. Of those bearing family names new to the soil, Samuel Rogers had bought of John Goss, November 25, 1717, one hundred and sixty-five acres of land with a house and barn, on the west side of the Lancaster and Groton road, extending to the Plumtree intervales. His house was probably near the present home of Abel Willard. Goss removed to Lancaster and built a mill in what is now Clinton. Seth Walker had recently come from Billerica, having bought lands near Rogers' of the Carters, along the Lancaster north line, in 1719. He sold these to John Daby in 1732, removing to Groton, and later to Westminster. John Nichols married Mary Priest, March 20, 1721, and lived near his brother-in-law, east of Bare Hill. Samuel Chamberlain was a recent acquisition from Chelmsford. He married Rebecca Whitcomb, January 2, 1723, and soon disappears from Harvard. Jonathan Crouch was of a Charlestown family, but probably came from Stow to Harvard, and acquired land of John Priest as early as 1721, on Bare Hill. The Whitneys were recently from Stow, but all descendants of John and Ellinor, who came from England to Watertown in 1635. Isaiah, the smith, bought land of Caleb Sawyer east of Bare Hill, in 1722. John bought a farm of John Priest, and Elijah of James Atherton; Richard and Jonas were of Stow Leg. In 1720, John Wetherbee and his son John made their home near the summit of Oak Hill, and Robert Foskett built near them in 1725. Their farms were near the Lancaster north line, and Thomas Wheeler of Stow Leg was a near neighbor.

In 1711 Lancaster answered to a presentment for not having the regular reading and writing school which the law enjoined upon towns of fifty families, to support, stating that

John Houghton — then town-clerk — had been frequently employed as writing-master and teacher, and was at the time engaged in the work. The selectmen added:—

* * * but under our present Dangerous Circumstances it is very Hazardous sending our children to schoole living so scattering, yet we are willing to do herein what Possibly is to be done, not onely to answer y^e^ Law but for our own benifitt and therefore humbly pray there may be no farther Proceedings upon said Presentment

In yet earlier days, when the pioneers all dwelt within sight of the meeting-house, or at least within hearing of the drum that summoned them to Sabbath exercises, the minister served also as school-master, and the bible and catechism long continued to be the chief, if not the only school-books. The first proprietors were far from illiterate. Scarce one but wrote his name legibly, and many of their signatures are full of character and indicate considerable skill with the quill. In this respect they must have been superior to the average of the people in the English counties from which they came. Their wives may not have been quite so well educated. It is noteworthy that the mother of the college-bred Master Joseph Rowlandson, and the wife of John Prescott, could not write their names. Town and county records indicate that the succeeding generations, bred upon the frontier during times rarely free from the dangers and constant unrest caused by the fear of Indian forays, as might be expected, possessed less culture than their fathers. Their hand-writing, at least, was less legible, their spelling more erratic, and their diction less concise and idiomatic. It will be of interest to discover what educational opportunities were offered the builders of the town of Harvard, and who were the school-masters that taught them. We shall find that their privileges were greater than might be anticipated, both in the time given to instruction and in the character of the instructors.

As has been before stated, the town was sharply warned of its obligation to maintain a regular grammar school — with requirements which correspond to those of our high-schools — as early as December, 1715. An examination of court files shows that Mr. Pierpont of Roxbury — probably Jonathan, graduate at Harvard College the preceding year —

was at that time engaged as a grammar-school master; although the town fathers appeal to the court as follows:—

* * * we would crave leave further to acquaint your Honr^{s}. that we are Humbly of the oppinion that we are scarcely liable to Presentment for we have but very lately had ye number of families y^{e} Law Requires, and a considerable number of them are either single Persons widows or poor families noways able to Contribute to y^{e} Charge nor yet subsist without Reliefe, therefore Humbly pray that no fine may be imposed upon us, nor be as yet enjoined to be constantly provided with Gramer Schoole master, but that a writing schoole may answer till our number be Increased.

Nothing was said in this appeal about the hazards attending the sending of children to school, but only a year before a complaint had gone to the council that a band of Indians frequented the country about Washacum, stole corn from their fields, killed their horses in the wood—"being a Terror to y^{e} women and children for fear of some ill Design."

How long Mr. Pierpont served as school-master, the absence of town records for the period prevents us from knowing; but in 1718 Samuel Stow of Marlborough, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1716, was hired at a salary of 40£ a year, just half the annual stipend of the minister. The records again fail us for a time, but from 1721 to 1726 the master was Edward Broughton, whose antecedents are not found. The selectmen in their report of the management of the town's "prudentials" in the year 1725, noted that they had "Reckoned with Mr Edward Broughton for his servis for keeping school and find he hath kept School on ye neck 150 days; and at Still River 75 days, and he hath Received of y^{e} Town Treasurer 27£ 1^{s}." In their accounts rendered March 1, 1724–5, they state that:—

They have Received Lists of ye Subscribers to Each School, viz: of that at Stephen's Hill, and that at Bare Hill or Still River, and do herewith present them to y^{e} Town, and have also Computed y^{e} time ye School master ought to Keep School at Stephen's Hill and it is 104 days & $\frac{295}{850}$ of a day; and at Still River and Bare Hill: 82 days and $\frac{745}{850}$ of a day; and at or on y^{e} Neck: 177 days and $\frac{660}{850}$ of a day.

As the selectmen divided the school money, giving to each of the three sections of the town a share proportionate

not to the number of children but to its taxation, these records indicate that about one-fifth of the taxes in Lancaster then came from the Bare Hill neighborhood. Stephen's Hill was the centre of a larger population in what is now Bolton. The regular annual appropriation for schools at this period was £50. Usually but one grammar school-master was employed for the year, each section of the town enjoying his teaching in turn as might be determined by the selectmen. The use of the word "subscribers" in the report refers to the privilege given the citizens of choosing to which section they would belong and pay their school rate.

In 1726, Ebenezer Flagg of Woburn, Harvard graduate in the class of 1725, was school-master. During the next three years Samuel Willard, Thomas Prentice and Jacob Willard were paid various sums, "for Keeping school at Still River and Bare Hill." The first named was the graduate of 1723, and father of Joseph Willard, a president of Harvard College. Prentice was of the class of 1726, and became the minister of Charlestown. Jabez Fox of Woburn, a graduate in 1727, served the town from 1730 to 1733, and the school money for 1730 and 1731 was thus divided :—

	1730	1731
Still River and Bare Hill–	10£ 7^{s} 11^{d}	11£ 10^{s}..5^{d}
Wataquadock	9 2 10	10. 18 ..4
The rest of the town	31 19 0	27. 2 ..5

It appears then that the youth of the community around Bare Hill were instructed, for about twelve weeks in each year, by some student, at the most enthusiastic period of his life, fresh from a collegiate course. This custom of employing young university graduates as teachers prevailed throughout Massachusetts towns, and was one potent cause of the superiority of her schools and scholarship. No better plan could have been devised for the discovery and development of the genius or special talents everywhere awaiting the Ithuriel touch of encouragement and sympathetic help to awaken their dormant powers for usefulness.

The breaking out of Father Ralle's, or, as it is best known in Massachusetts, Lovewell's War, renewed the terror and distress of earlier days in all frontier towns. Garrisons were

strengthened and guards set over them; and Lieutenant Jabez Fairbank, then local military commandant, kept companies of scouts scouring the country around, though always within a day's journey of the town. No large body of the enemy probably ventured near, but there were signs enough of their neighborhood to keep the people in constant fear. For instance: early in August, 1722, several Indians were apprehended by the scouts and committed to the jail in Boston. Proving to be of a western tribe, on a hunting excursion, they were dismissed by resolve of the general assembly, and their expenses to the Connecticut River paid; Lieutenant Jabez Fairbank being detailed to conduct them to Westfield. August 27, the *New England Courant* reported that :—

A Woman at Lancaster, as she was at work alone in the Field, was taken by two Indians, one of which cou'd speak English and examin'd her about the Indians lately taken and imprison'd at Boston. After she had inform'd them that 8 of the Number were dismis'd they cut off the Hair on one side of her Head, and order'd her to lay it down in the Place where she had been at work, and come to them again. The same Day some People who were searching for the Woman, found her Hair lying in the Field, and concluding she had been carried away by the Indians, immediately raised some Men to go after them, who came so near to them as to be within their Hearing; where upon the Indians stript the Woman and dismis'd her, who when she arriv'd at the Garrison fainted away with over much Joy at her deliverance. The men miss'd of the Indians by reason of the Thickness of the Woods.

The same newspaper, October 7, 1723, gave this item:—

On Sunday the 22^{d} past, a lad of about fifteen years of Age, being out with his Gun at Nashaway discover'd an Indian wading over a River, and fired on him. The Indian made his Escape, but 'tis since discover'd that he was very much wounded, having been tracked by his Blood for a considerable Distance from the River.

A bounty of one hundred pounds offered by the colonial government for each scalp of a male Indian over twelve years of age (women and children half price), enlisted the services of several partisan leaders like Captain John White of Lancaster, and Captain John Lovewell, who with large bands of rangers followed the trail of the savages to their lurking places on the shores of the New Hampshire lakes and in the

mountain valleys. They were sometimes absent from their homes four or five weeks in the pathless wilds. Each man furnished his own subsistence and was paid from the public treasury two shillings and sixpence—then worth about twenty cents in silver—per day. Henry Willard and James Houghton of Still River, and Jacob Gates, Ephraim and Reuben Farnsworth of the northern section of Harvard, were among the volunteers of the expedition under Captains Lovewell and John White, who by a night surprise captured a war party of ten Indians near the sources of the Salmon River in New Hampshire, and brought home a thousand pounds worth of scalps; and March 10, 1725, on their return, marched with their bloody trophies displayed through the streets of Boston, the applauded heroes of the day.

In 1725, Captain Samuel Willard of Still River, under orders from Lieutenant Governor Dunmer, led two military expeditions into New Hampshire. In the second there were about one hundred and eighty-nine men under his command, including several Indian scouts. He explored the Merrimack to its sources, ascending the Pemigewasset, and returned down the Saco; marching over five hundred miles, surmounting many difficulties and enduring many hardships, but finding no enemy to try his prowess. Henry Willard accompanied him with the rank of ensign. The rangers in this war drove the remnant of the Penacooks beyond the White Mountain barriers, and were the discoverers of the beautiful valleys along the rapid streams and island-studded lakes of New Hampshire. They opened the pathway for the pioneers of a new commonwealth.

IV. THE CONTEST FOR AUTONOMY.

When rest from war's alarms permitted, the townspeople began the discussion of a domestic question which proved troublesome to settle, and ominous of dissensions to come. It is one evidence of the greatly increased and increasing population of Lancaster that the meeting-house built in 1706 would not hold the church-goers of 1726. At a town-meeting January 23, 1726–7, the subject of absorbing interest was

whether the meeting-house should be enlarged or the old site abandoned, and two houses built so as to accommodate the people better. The whole matter was finally referred to a committee, which reported in February, favoring an extensive enlargement of the existing building. The voters, a large minority of whom were already studying over changes in the map of Lancaster by which they hoped for personal advantage, would authorize only a twenty-foot addition to the length of the old house. This extension was made, the seats redignified, and the minister's salary raised from eighty to one hundred pounds. But this settlement of a vexatious question was known to be merely a temporary compromise, and the dissatisfied gained numbers and arguments as months rolled by. Meanwhile Still River lost its most prominent citizen, Captain Samuel Willard, who, in 1727, removed to the west side of the river.

In June, 1728, a petition headed by Captain William Jennison was presented to the General Court, with a plan for a new county, to be formed from certain towns of Suffolk and Middlesex. Lancaster in August favored this scheme, contingently upon the holding of certain courts at Marlborough and Lancaster; but reconsidered this vote in the following February, and joined in the petition for the erection of a new county in the western part of Middlesex, which resulted in the creation of Worcester County, April 2, 1731. Lancaster was the oldest, had the largest number of inhabitants, and was the wealthiest of the fourteen towns that were thus set off from Middlesex.

A warrant calling a town-meeting on Monday the eighteenth day of May, 1730, discloses the ambition of the villagers at Bare Hill, an article in it being:—

> Also to Consider Conclude and act what may then be thought proper to be done in Setting off a part of y^e^ Town of Lancaster by meets and bounds or by allowing a dividing line to be made, begining at the Southern end of y^e^ Causey near to the House of Samuel Wilson and Run West northwest to y^e^ west line of Lancaster Old Township, or so much Land lying on y^e^ northerly side of sd Causey as may be Judged soficient for to make a Township with that part of Stow and Groton whose Inhabitants have agread and Covenanted with the petitioners; namely: John Sawyer, John Nichols, Hezekiah Willard, John Priest Jr. Stephen Houghton,

Simon Atherton, Henry Houghton, Jun^r., James Whetcomb, Isaiah Whitney, John Whitney, Robert Foskett, Jonathan Crouch, John Witherbey, Benjamin Atherton, Uriah Holt, Joseph Atherton, Joshua Church, Henry Willard Jun^r, Joseph Willard, Samuel Rodgers, Seth Walker, Abraham Willard, Samuel Rodgers, Jun^r., John Willard, and Jonathan Whitney.

The town voted not to accede to the wish of the petitioners. Propositions to the same end met the voters of Stow and Groton at the same time. At a town meeting in Stow, March 2, 1729–30:—

* * * the question was put wether the town will set off the Land beyound Beaver Brook with the inhabitance and it pased in the negative.

Groton was more kindly disposed to the scheme, for, March 3, 1729–30:—

Upon the motion and application of Simon Stone Jun^r. Jonathan farnsworth Eleazer Robbins Jonth farnsworth Jun^r Ephraim farnsworth Jeremiah farnsworth & Eleazer Davis, voted that the town is willing that the Persons forenamed with the Land on the Southerly part of the town as far as to the brook about six pols Southwardly of James Stone's house at that place where y^e highway croses said brook so Easterly & westerly on a parrelel Line with y^e South Line of y^e township to y^e towns of Littleton & Lunenburgh be annexed to some part of y^e town of Stow & Lancaster for a seperate township when y^e General Court Pleases — the farm called cauicus or major Willard's farm or such part thereof as shall fall with y^e Line aforesaid excepted — the property of said Lands Devided or undevided Remaining to y^e Proprietors thereof.

The associated secessionists from the three towns at once appealed to the General Court in a petition which is preserved only in such abstracts as were incorporated in town-meeting warrants, and in a later plan of the lands petitioned for. The petition was read in the House of Representatives July 2, and notice of a hearing was ordered given to the towns concerned. August 7, 1730, the voters of Lancaster were warned to a town meeting:—

* * * to show cause (if any the town have) by agents or otherwise on y^e second Tuesday of y^e next session of y^e General Court, why y^e prayer of a petition signed p Simon Stone Juner, Jonathan Whitney and Thomas Wheeler, on behalfe of themselves (and as they say on behalfe and at y^e desire of sundery of y^e Inhabitants of y^e Towns of Lancaster, Stow and Groton) wherein they pray that a Considerable part of y^e Towns of s^d Lancaster, Stow and Groton may be incorperated into a Distinct and Seperate Township, should not be Granted.

The town voted that their representative "do oppose said petition on behalf of y^e^ Town," and appointed a committee to survey the part of Lancaster petitioned for and to obtain all necessary information in regard to the numbers and estate of the petitioners.

In Groton, at the town-meeting August 17:—

The Petition of Simon Stone Jun^r^. Jont. Whitney and Thomas Wheeler, In behalf of Theirselves & others Refering to a New town ship to be made out of y^e^ towns of Lancaster Groton and Stow Refered to y^e^ Great & General Court at their Session in June Last was Read Togather with the town's vote of March Last Refering to the Said affair and some Debate had thereon. It appeared to y^e^ Town that if the Said Petition be Granted this town will be greatly hurt and many of the Inhabitants much Damfnifyed and Incomoded Therefore voted that Benj^a^. Prescott and Nathaneil Sawtell Esq^s^. together with y^e^ Representative Mr John Longley be a Committee Jointly or Severally to make answer to the Said Petition and use their best Endeavors That: No part of this Town on the West Side of Nashua River; nor any more on the East Side of the said River than what is Discribed In the Town vote above mentioned may be set off or annexed to the town Petitioned for &c. Any former vote to y^e^ Contarary Not with Standing.

On the first Monday in September, 1730, Stow adopted the following remonstrance, prepared for presentation to the voters by a committee chosen August 20:—

To his Exelency Jonathan Belcher Esqr. Capt. General and Governor in Cheife in and over his majestyes province of the Massachusetts Bay in new england to the Honourable Councell and House of Representatives in General Court assembled: Sept. 1730.

The answer of the town of Stow to the Petition of Simon Stone Jun^r^. Jonathan Whitney and Thomas Wheeler on the behalf of themselves and others prefered to the Great and General Court July: 2^d^. 1730, praying for a Township to be made out of the Towns of Lancaster, Groton and Stow &c. Humbly Sheweth. That the Township of Stow is but of small extent and a Great part of the Land contained in it Barrain and uncapable of improvement and therefore there is but fiew Inhabitance and some of them very poor, by Reason whereof they Labour under Great Diffcultise and can hardly support their minister and Bear other town Charge.

That the Land petitioned for contains about one seventh part of the inhabitance and a much greater proportion of the Improveable Land in Stow and should your Excelency and honours set off the Land petitioned by Stone and others as afores^d^ with the inhabitance thereof the town will be unable to bear the Charge Arising in it without help from others.

Therefore the said town of Stow humbly hops your Excelency and honours will take their Curcomstances into your Consideration and dismiss the petition of s^d^. Stone and others as far as it Relates to Stow and suffer the whole Town to continue Togather and the said town as Bound in Duty shall ever Pray &c.

The earnest opposition was enough to secure the dismissal of the petition by the Council, September 22, 1730, but the House of Representatives non-concurred, and —

Ordered, that Major *Brattle* and Mr *Jennison* (with such as the Honourable Board shall appoint), be a Committee to repair to the Lands petitioned for, view their Situation, and the Circumstances of the Inhabitants thereof (seasonably notifying the Towns of *Lancaster*, *Groton* and *Stow* of their coming) and that they Report to this Court what may be proper to be done thereon, at the next session. The Charge to be borne by the Petitioners.

An amended petition with additional signers met the legislature October 9, 1730, when copies of it were ordered furnished to the three towns with notice of a hearing at the next session of court. On Monday, November 23, the voters of Lancaster met at the summons of a warrant, the chief articles in which were:—

* * * to shew cause (if any the Town have) by agents or otherwise on the first Thursday of ye next Sessions of the General Court why the prayer of a petition signed by Jonas Houghton, Simon Stone Jun^r^., Jonathan Whitney and Thomas Wheeler may not be Granted, wherein they pray that a certain tract of Land (with the Inhabitants thereon) belonging to the several Towns of Lancaster, Stow and Groton, beginning at y^e^ Southerly end of the Causway near the House of Samuel Wilson in Lancaster and Runing west northwest about one mile over Lancaster River, then beginning at the aforesaid Causway and Runing south east and by east to Lancaster east Line, then Runing northerly on the east line until it comes to Bever Brook, then Runing down said Brook to Litleton Line, then Runing on s^d^ Line to the northwesterly corner of said Litleton on Brown Hill, then north westerly till it comes to Capt. Prescott's Sawmill standing on Sandy Brook, and then Runing a line parralel with Groton south line about one mile over Lancaster River, and then Runing southerly to the westerly end of the line first mentioned.

Also to act and do what the Town shall think fitt relating to the Desire of a considerable number of the Inhabitants of the Town of Lancaster which Request that the Town would keep together (and not Joyn with any other Town or Towns) and that they would come into some way by a vote of the Town that there may be two Meeting Houses Built and

Ministers setled sooner or later as the Town shall think fitt, where said Meeting Houses shall be judged most sutable to accomodate the whole Town, and that the Town would pay the Charge of Building s^d^ Meeting Houses, and setling and maintaining of the ministers equaly out of the Town Treasury, or as the Town shall think fitt and Conveniant.

The town voted to oppose separation, and chose Captain Samuel Willard and James Wilder to act as their agents before the legislature. The new proposition, so far as it affected Groton and Stow, was practically the same as before, but differed materially from the first one in the acreage demanded of Lancaster. The earlier plan contemplated severing the whole northern third of the old township, or about thirty square miles. The Lancaster citizens west of the river within this tract were nearly all bitterly opposed to being set off with the new town, and Jonas Houghton's scheme was obviously an attempt to appease them, but secure the river and its intervales. Another Houghton now complicated the situation by a supplementary prayer; Monday, November 30, Lancaster being called upon to consider:—

the proposal of Jacob Houghton and others who desire that y^e^ Town would doe something in order to their reliefe relating to building a Meeting House, voted that the Town are free and willing that the east part of the old Township of Lancaster be set off and made a seperate Township, if ye General Court see cause; viz: one halfe of said Town Runing a line near a south and north point, Runing parralel with the west line of said old Township at four miles distance therefrom, the Inhabitants of each Town to be rated for their Improvements in the Town where they respectively Dwell:

This vote was well adapted to break the alliance between the three groups of petitioners. It proposed to give for a new township fully half of the original grant to Lancaster proprietors, including the territory which Harvard finally received and all that afterwards given to Bolton and Berlin. But the householders upon Wataquodock and along the Marlborough and Bay roads preferred to bide their time. They were already shaping a township of their own. The petition of Jonas Houghton with the answers from the three towns were read in the House of Representatives December 29, when it was:—

Ordered, That Maj. *Brattle* and Mr. *Samuel Chandler*, with such as the Honourable Board shall appoint, be a Committee (at the Charge of the Petitioners) to repair to the Land Petitioned for to be a Township, that they carefully view and consider the Situation and Circumstances of the Petitioners, and Report their opinion what may be proper for this Court to do in Answer thereto at their next Session.

March 22, 1731, Jacob Houghton had the town of Lancaster again called together to consider another proposition:—

* * * the prayer or Request of Jacob Houghton and others to y^e^ Town was Read as sett fourth in the warning which was as followeth *viz:* that ye Town would sett them off five miles from the north line of y^e^ Township and west to the former vote of ye Town; and the question being put whether the Town would grant their Request and it passed in y^e^ affirmitive.

This would fix the south line of the new town nearly through the center of what is now Bolton. The legislature considered this plan March 29, 1731, and referred it to the Committee before appointed. The same disposition was the same day made of a remonstrance of "John Beaman and ten others, Inhabitants of the *Southwest* part of the *Northeast* quarter of the old Township of Lancaster," who objected to being separated from that town.

The original seceders were now reasonably sure of attaining their wishes, with some compromise in regard to the western boundary of the town. Groton had uniformly acceded to the division provided no land should be taken west of the Nashua. Lancaster had finally prescribed lines of division which gave them more than they had sought. The peculiarly inconvenient situation of the dwellers in Stow Leg, and the comparatively small amount of land involved rendered the persistent opposition of Stow obviously unreasonable.

The rude plan from a survey by Jonas Houghton, preserved in Massachusetts Archives, Maps and Plans I. 37, gives the names of the petitioners and the estimated acreage to be taken from each town. The petitioners from Groton asked for a tract of 4850 acres. They were:—

Eleazar Davis.	Jonathan Farnsworth.	Daniel Farnsworth.
Ephraim Farnsworth.	Jonathan Farnsworth Jr.	Eleazar Robbins.
Jeremiah Farnsworth.	Reuben Farnsworth.	Simon Stone Jr.

Opposed to the petition were:—

John Burk. [Burt] John Burk Jr. John Davis.

The proposition which was at the same time advanced, taking 785 acres more from Groton, is shown upon the plan as including the following residents:—

John Anderson.	—— Haild.	Benjamin Richardson.
William Farwell.	James Harrod.	James Stone.
Benjamin Hadley.	James Patterson.	Nathan Whipple.

In Stow Leg, estimated at 3740 acres Jonathan Rand is set down as "nutor." The petitioners were:—

John Daby.	Jonas Houghton.	Thomas Wheeler.
Jacob Gates.	Samuel Mead.	Jonas Whitney.
Shadrack Hapgood.	John Taylor.	Richard Whitney.

There was another name now illegible.

Lancaster's petitioners, asking for 11,430 acres, besides the mile west of the river—which seems not to have been included in the estimate—were:—

Benjamin Atherton.	Amos Johnson.	John Wetherbee.
James Atherton.	—— Martin.	James Whitcomb.
John Atherton.	John Nichols.	Elijah Whitney.
Joseph Atherton.	Gabriel Priest.	Isaiah Whitney.
Peter Atherton.	John Priest Jr.	John Whitney.
Simon Atherton.	Joseph Priest.	Jonathan Whitney.
Joshua Church.	Samuel Rogers.	Abraham Willard.
Jonathan Crouch.	Samuel Rogers Jr.	Henry Willard.
Joseph Fairbanks.	Caleb Sawyer.	Hezekiah Willard.
Robert Foskitt.	John Sawyer.	James Willard.
Ephraim Houghton.	Jonathan Sawyer.	John Willard.
Henry Houghton Jr.	Seth Sawyer.	Joseph Willard.
Stephen Houghton.	Seth Walker.	John Wright.
Thomas Houghton.	Samuel Warner.	Samuel Wright.
Joseph Hutchins.		Thomas Wright.

Three other names are illegible; perhaps John or Amos Atherton, John Houghton and John Warner, Jr. Jacob Houghton at first proposed to take 4640 acres more from Lancaster, but the opposition of John Beaman and others reduced his demands by more than half. His backers were:—

Benjamin Atherton.	Jacob Houghton Jr.	Hezekiah Whitcomb.
Daniel Houghton.	Jonathan Houghton.	Jonathan Whitcomb.
Henry Houghton.	David Whitcomb.	Widow Whitcomb.
Jacob Houghton.		

In the journal of the House of Representatives, June 22, 1731, it is recorded that:—

Ebenezer Burrel Esq, brought down from the Honourable Board the Report of the Committee appointed by this Court the 30th of December last, to take under Consideration the Petition of Jonas Houghton and others, in behalf of themselves and sundry of the Inhabitants of the *Eastern* part of the Towns of *Lancaster*, *Groton* and *Stow*, praying that they may be erected into a separate Township, Likewise a petition of *Jacob Houghton* and others, of the *North-easterly* part of the Town of *Lancaster*, praying the like. As also a Petition of sundry of the Inhabitants of the *South-west* part of the *North-east* Quarter of the Township of *Lancaster*, praying they may be continued as they are. Pass'd in Council, *viz.* In Council, *June* 21, 1731. Read, and *Ordered*, That this Report be accepted. Sent down for Concurrence. Read and Concurred.

The original report is not discovered, but was doubtless incorporated in the bill as presented by Colonel Stoddard from the Committee on Petitions a year later—June 17, 1732—which fixed the western bounds of the new town upon the river and ignored both Jacob Houghton's proposed annex on the south and that of James Stone and others on the north. No name for the town was inserted in the bill which was engrossed on the twentieth of June, 1732, but *Harvard* was inserted in the handwriting of Secretary Josiah Willard. This is thought to be the first instance of the engrossment of such an act with the space for the title of the township left blank; subsequently the omission was not uncommon, the governor inserting the name when he appended his signature.

The act of incorporation was approved and published as follows:—

Anno Regni Regis Georgü Secundi Quinto & Sexto.

An Act for erecting a New Town within the county of Worcester, by the name of [Harvard].

Whereas the Inhabitants of the extream parts of the Towns of Lancaster, Groton and Stow have laboured under much difficulty and inconvenience by reason of their remoteness from the places of publick

Worship in the Towns to which they respectively belong, & have supported the Cost and Charge of preaching among them for several years past without any Consideration from their Towns, and have addressed this Court for Relief, & that they may be set off a distinct township by themselves.

Be it therefore Enacted by His Excellency the Governour, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled & by the authority of the same that the Land in the extream parts of the Towns of Lancaster, Groton and Stow as the same are hereafter bounded and described be and hereby are set off, & Constituted a seperate & distinct Township by the name of Harvard viz^{t}. begining at the Southerly End of the Causeway, near the House of Samuel Wilson in Lancaster and from thence running North West and by West till the line meets with Lancaster River, & from said Causeway running South East & by East to Lancaster East bounds then running Northerly in the East Bounds of Lancaster till it comes to Beaver Brook, then bounding on said Brook till it comes to Littleton Bounds, and then running on said Littleton line near to the Northwest corner thereof vizt. so far as that a West North West Line shall leave the dwelling house of James Stone in Groton six perch to the Northward, and continuing the same Course to Lancaster River aforesaid, excepting Coyacus Farm or so much thereof as shall fall within the bounds above said; and to bound West on said River and that the Inhabitants of the said lands as before bounded and described be and hereby are vested with all the powers privileges and immunities which the Inhabitants of any Town in this province are or by Law ought to be vested with.

provided that the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the said Town Settle a learned and Orthodox Minister among them within the space of two years and also erect an House for the publick Worship of God.

and Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid that the aforesaid Town of [Harvard] be and hereby is Declared to be within the County of Worcester, Any Law Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

1732 June 20th. This Bill having been read three several times in the House of Representatives passed to be Enacted

1732 June 21st J. QUINCY *Spk^{r}*

1732 June 29 This Bill having been read three several Times in Council passed to be Enacted J WILLARD *Secry.*

By His Excellency the Govern^{r}.

June 29, 1732. I consent to the Enacting of this Bill

J. BELCHER

Townsend's incorporation dates from the same day with Harvard's. The creation of the latter made the number of towns in Worcester County fifteen, and those in the State one

hundred and twenty-three. The reason for naming it in honor of the early benefactor of the university at Cambridge is not positively known. The Willard family, who were the first settlers and the largest proprietors in Harvard, had close affiliations with the college. Major Simon Willard's second and third wives were of the household of its first president. His son Samuel, father of Josiah Willard, the Secretary, was acting president of the college 1701–7. Governor Belcher, himself a graduate of the university, may have found some suggestion in these facts which led him to give the new town this honored name.

II.

THE NEW TOWNSHIP AND ITS HOMES.

I. TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY.

THIS township, the evolution of which has been set forth in the preceding chapter, was compact and regular in contour, nearly six miles long from north to south, and over five miles wide from east to west. The exsection of about sixteen hundred acres from the eastern side, granted to Boxborough in 1783, has somewhat marred its original symmetry of outline. Its area was roughly estimated by the surveyor, Jonas Houghton, in 1732, as twenty thousand acres, but the survey of Silas Holman in 1830 determined the area of the town, as at present bounded, to be sixteen thousand four hundred and thirty-one acres; indicating that the estimate of 1732 was about two thousand acres too large. Jonas Houghton evidently included the whole of Stow Leg in his calculation; for a measurement made in 1892 between the western bound stones of this tract, now standing on the line between Lunenburg and Shirley, proves the breadth of the Leg to have been a little over two hundred rods, its length being about eight miles. But the portion of Stow Leg west of the Nashua river, two and one quarter miles in length, was not given to Harvard, remaining in possession of the mother town until twenty-one years later, when it fell to Shirley. Stow's original contribution to the new town was therefore about two thousand six hundred and fifty acres only, and Lancaster gave considerably more than twice as much as Groton.

By the public highways Harvard is thirty miles west from Boston, and twenty-two north-east from Worcester. By the railway the Still River station is twenty-three and one-quarter miles, and the Harvard station twenty-five and one-half miles, from Worcester. In geographical position the Unitarian meeting-house is located by the Massachusetts Astronomical and Trigonometrical Survey in 42° 30′ 08″, 49 north latitude, and longitude 71° 35′ 25″, 82 west of Greenwich. The Baptist meeting-house in Still River is in latitude 42° 29′ 29″ 22, and longitude 71° 37′ 24″, 63.

The river Nashua—a modern perversion of an Indian name which the pioneer white men spelled as they heard it pronounced, *Nashaway*—constitutes the western boundary of the township, being from six to eight rods in breadth, and in its winding course seven and two-tenths miles in length. This stream was always called the Penecook by the aborigines and by the English who settled upon its banks, the name Nashaway belonging exclusively to the south branch in Lancaster. Often in early records and deeds the main river is called the Lancaster or Groton river, according to the residence of the scribe. The title Nashua slowly obtained popular possession of both branches, and also of the stream they combine to form. It is very variable in depth and in the volume of flow at different seasons, meandering tranquilly through a broad, alluvial valley which is gemmed with graceful elms and sturdy oaks, hickories, sycamores and maples.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Nashua was famed for its fish supply, being at the migratory season frequented by salmon, shad and alewives. It is said that the first named fish so abounded that the humble sorts were hardly thought fit for human food. At a later period, when these scaly annual visitors from the sea grew scarce or disappeared, there was no lack of the indigenous trout, pickerel, perch, bream, dace and pouts. But the obstruction of the dams below, and the pollution of the waters by the large manufacturing towns which have grown up at the various falls above, have destroyed the river's value as a source of food supply.

Still River, which gave name to the south-western corner,

the earliest settled portion of Harvard, is a sluggish tributary of the Nashua which winds along the Lancaster and Bolton intervales and joins the river less than one hundred rods north of the boundary line between Harvard and Bolton. It takes its rise in Lancaster, fed by little rills that come rollicking down from the eastern hill slopes, and by the springs of a broad expanse of marsh called in 1655, Swan Swamp. The name Still River is of late sometimes wrongly applied to a tranquil part of the main river.

The outfall from Bare Hill Pond, which runs northward the whole length of the town to join the Nashua in Ayer, seems to have had no fixed name until it reached the old Groton south boundary in the Old Mill district, where it was known as the Nonacoicus Brook. At some periods it has been called Pin Hill Brook in its upper reaches, and Old Mill or Forge Brook below. This stream furnishes the chief water-power of Harvard, Bare Hill Pond being utilized as a reservoir by a regulating dam at its outlet. The rivulet flowing into the pond from the south, now called Bowers' Brook, from a late resident upon it, was in early days sometimes called Bare Hill Brook; but this title was generally applied to the little stream that rises in the neighborhood of the West Bare Hill school-house, and flows south to join the Four-Mile Brook in Bolton. A small stream having its sources on the line of Harvard and Bolton, crossing the Lancaster and Groton road within a few yards of the boundary stone, and entering the Nashua River a little below the mouth of Still River, is now known as Bolton Brook, but has borne various names at different dates. A spring noted for its perennial flow and pure, cool waters, rises among the wooded hills about half way between Robbins' and Hell Ponds, and forms a feeder to the Nonacoicus, called the Cold Spring Brook. Beaver Brook has its sources at the north-eastern boundary, flowing into Boxborough. Another small stream, now called Bennett's Brook, flows northward through the Shaker village into Ayer. A small tributary of the Assabet Brook takes its rise in the south-eastern corner of the town. A brooklet that courses through the Plumtrees intervale appears in old deeds sometimes as Farrar's, sometimes

as Waters's, sometimes as Plumtrees Brook. The water-shed on the western side of Bare and Oak Hills is wholly tributary to the Nashua, that on the east and south to the Concord River, while the springs in the north-east quarter of the town seek the Merrimack by a direct route through Stony Brook.

Located centrally in the Lancastrian section of Harvard lies a picturesque sheet of water, at its normal stage two hundred and six acres in area, having a shore line of over three miles. Being the largest lake in this part of the state it was often called the Great Pond, but was usually known as Bare Hill Pond. The building of a dam across the outlet early in this century graduated the outflow for the benefit of the mills below. The reconstruction of this dam in 1837, raised the water level six or seven feet, largely added to the area of the pond, and made islands of some of the promontories that project from the bold shores. It is nowhere very deep, but is fed with pure cool springs, and has always been noted for abundance of fish. The town leased it from the state's fish commission in the spring of 1878, for the term of fifteen years, and placed in it five thousand land-locked salmon fry—exciting sanguine hopes among anglers which have not been realized. In fact, despite the long period of protection, the fish now found in its waters excel neither in quality nor quantity those caught in it fifty years ago. The pond has for more than a century been a favorite resort for pleasure parties from the various towns about Harvard, as well as for the residents of the town.

Several wooded islands give additional charm to the waters. The two most prominent of these, Grape—in modern days styled Sheep—and Round, are each about two acres in area. The former was utilized by its first owner, Reverend John Seccomb, one hundred and fifty years ago, as the site of a little summer house and a picnic grove, where he entertained his gay friends from the bay towns. Upon this island are now five summer cottages, built since 1890. Beside the flag-staff erected by the cottagers is a noteworthy rocking-stone of over twenty tons' weight. This natural curiosity was far exceeded in interest by a huge balanced boulder—nearly globular, and so poised upon its rock bed as to be

BARE HILL POND.

Harvard in the distance.

movable with a slight exertion of force — which stood until 1877 upon the hill slope east of Grape Island. Some workmen employed in building the Bromfield school, it is said, were the vandals who with levers and jacks overturned this historic monument of the glacial period, merely for the anticipated sport of seeing it roll crashing down into the pond. It is but small consolation that, though after great toil they succeeded in tearing the boulder from its base, their expectations were wholly disappointed.

A small rocky islet is shown upon an early map as Loon Island, a name given it by the early settlers because it appeared and disappeared according to the stage of water. It is now rarely seen. On the south shore of the pond lying partly in the water, is an enormous boulder which has long been called Bennett's Rock, but the origin of the title is forgotten. A vague story of a tragedy here in the days of Indian warfare is often told, though wholly unworthy of credence.

Many of the tourist-haunted lakes of Europe, in beauty of outline, picturesque setting, or in the charm and extent of landscape visible from the heights that look down upon it, do not equal this sheet of water which has forever lost the name it bore in the language of the Nashaways, and modestly wears the humble title of Bare Hill Pond. It awaits its poet.

In the western part of Stow Leg, called Shabikin, is Hell Pond; so named, it is supposed, because of its extraordinary depth, which is often stated to be over one hundred feet. Several entirely credible citizens testify to soundings of eighty-five to ninety feet. There are two distinct bodies of water, neither having visible outlet or inlet. Little Hell Pond is of diminutive area compared with its neighbor which covers about twenty-seven acres. On the sixth of April, 1872, through the enterprise of Warren Hapgood and a few residents of Harvard, the larger pond was stocked with black bass. Thomas Peirce brought sixteen large bass in tanks via the Old Colony and Fitchburg railways from Wareham to Ayer, where he was met by Jonathan F. Hapgood with an ox team, and the fish were the same day conveyed to their new

home and safely deposited therein. Hell Pond was leased by the town at the same date with Bare Hill Pond. Some attempts have been made by those who lament that so grim a title attaches to this beautiful lakelet, to rechristen it Hill Pond; and a "tradition" has been invented to justify the innovation. An Indian, a true son of the soil, is made to tell as a legend of his tribe, that a century or two before the pale-faced strangers came from beyond the seas, a lofty hill rose where the clear waters now mirror the sky in the Shabikin woodlands; one night the earth trembled, and in the morning the hill was not, and in its place slept this little lake overshadowed by the gloomy pine forest, its depth equaling the height of the vanished hill. But the pioneers always called it Hell Pond, and so it is recorded in the worn and yellow documents of their day that have come down to us.

North from Hell Pond, and about half way between it and the Ayer boundary, Robbins Pond lies hidden in the forest. It is about one-third the size of Hell Pond. This little lake originally bore the Indian name of the region about it, being referred to in early deeds as Nonacoicus Pond; but it was soon renamed, taking its present title from a family among the first having a home near it.

The name Nonacoicus, found in ancient manuscripts attached to farm, brook and pond of the plateau forming the north-west corner of Harvard and the south-west part of Ayer, has had a very uncertain orthography. Ensign Noyes in reporting his survey of 1658, speaks of the farm as "at the place which is called by the Indians Nanajcoyijcus," and states that he began his measurements "at the great river side about one hundred rods to the northward of Nanajcoyijcus Brook." "Nonacoyecos," "Nonacoiacus," "Nonaicoicus," and "Nonecoicus," are found in seventeenth century documents. At a later period the name was abbreviated to "Coyacus." Honorable Samuel Abbott Green, in remarks made at a meeting of the Massachusetts Historical Society, May 11, 1893, expressed his belief that a note in the handwriting of Chief Justice Samuel Sewall found in a volume once his, may throw light upon the meaning of Nonacoicus. Judge Sewall wrote: "Nunnacoquis signifies an Indian

Earthen Pot as Hanah Hahatan's Squaw tells me March, 24, 1698–9." George J. Burns, Esq., of Ayer, who has had a life-long familiarity with this region, and has made a careful study of its history and physical peculiarities, thinks that it received its name from sundry singular bowl-like depressions along the summit of a ridge near the river.

With one exception the chief elevations of land in Harvard wear the names given them by the Nashaway proprietors. The slate-stone ridge that rises at the geographical centre of the township about two hundred feet above the meadows and four hundred and eighty feet above tide water was called Pin Hill—it is said because of its long and narrow conformation—as early as 1720. It is, however, frequently named "pine" hill in land transfers. Oak Hill first appears in records about the same date. It is the loftiest in Harvard, its chief spur rising six hundred and thirty feet above the sea. From it in a favorable state of the atmosphere the view eastward is bounded only by the ocean, and the glittering dome of the state-house is sometimes visible. Mention of Bare Hill is found in records as early as 1657, and at first as "the bare hill." The name was presumably descriptive, as were Still River and Plumtrees Meadow, which were introduced in details of land allotments about the same date. It was a custom of the Indians every November, when the weeds and grass were driest, to set fires about their villages. These swept through the woodlands, destroying all underbrush save in the wet swamps. Where the summer's growth had been most vigorous, as upon the intervales and the more fertile swales, the fires found abundant fuel, and were often fierce enough to kill all tree growth, root and branch. Thus were prepared for the coming white man their planting fields, their pasturage commons, and their much prized meadows. The uplands by these annual burnings became open groves, free of bush and bramble, and were described by writers of the day as resembling the English parks. If we may trust to the name as spelled, the hill east of the great pond in Harvard had been largely shorn of its woods like the meadow lands, and this may perhaps have been one reason why this elevated and somewhat rugged region was so early

chosen by husbandmen for their home. Reverend Peter Whitney, the first historian of Worcester County, and some more recent writers, have rechristened the locality "Bear" Hill, either because unacquainted with, or contemptuous of, the spelling of those who gave name to it; or, because they supposed the earliest clerks all meant *ursus Americanus* when they wrote the word b-a-r-e. The name occurs scores of times in proprietors' and town books, but never once did that ready penman, the first clerk of the writs, Ralph Houghton, or the first schoolmaster, John Houghton, or the less scholarly recorders who succeeded them during the first century of our history, write this name otherwise than *Bare* Hill. It is first found in the Harvard records in the form Bare Hill, and a noted clerk, William Willard, who served for fourteen years, 1752–1765, so wrote it.

Whether these clerks spelled the wild beast's name correctly we have no means of knowing, but the less clerkly journalists of the scouting parties, during Lovewell's War, did. The wolf, the wild cat and the catamount are frequently noticed in the records; for nearly every year, in the selectmen's accounts, is a list of the predatory animals killed and the amount of bounty paid for them. The successful hunter or trapper brought the heads of the beasts to the constable, who cut off the ears in the presence of some of the selectmen, and then buried them. Upon the certificate of the selectmen, the bounty paid by the town was refunded in whole or in part by the county treasurer. The laws upon the subject were frequently changed. In 1732 one hunter of Lancaster was paid for five wolves and sixteen wild cats. It was not until 1743 that the selectmen's list includes a bear slain in Lancaster. The bounty then paid for it was ten shillings only, while that paid for a catamount was fifty shillings; for wolves, forty shillings each, for wild cats, six shillings each. The bear was not only much less common, but less mischievous than the cat tribe. In the next decade wild beasts grew more rampant than ever, and bounties were greatly increased by new legislation; but bears were not numerous enough to give name to a locality even then. The highest point upon Bare Hill is six hundred feet above the sea.

Aboriginal Makamacheckamucks has been degraded by vulgar usage to plebian Prospect Hill. Its highest point is five hundred and fifty-seven feet above the tide level. The old Lancaster and Groton road, which passes over it at an elevation of about five hundred feet, is a favorite drive, frequented by lovers of beautiful scenery from all the towns about. It was to this locality that Colonel Henry Bromfield was in the habit of taking his guests from the city or foreign lands, confident of being rewarded by their unqualified expressions of admiration, however extended might have been their experience of travel. Despite its glorious outlook and present popular repute, in earlier times for many a year this highway Grotonward from its parting with the road that leads to Harvard centre was generally known as Hog Street, probably in disrespectful allusion to the attributes of some residents thereon. The more southern portion of this highway was once appropriately termed Willard Row. An enormous boulder or ledge by the roadside, not far from the summit, is named Castle Rock in records as early as 1754. The term Prospect Hill is commonplace and unworthy the locality. The Indian name of this wood-capped height should be at once restored. As in all designations of places in the Indian tongue, the work Makamachekamucks doubtless has inherent in it a poetically descriptive significance, alas! forever lost to us. But a title so sesquipedalian and mouth-filling should be preserved, as being not only historically but phonetically appropriate to the long, rock-strewn rampart that forms the eastern boundary of the Plumtree intervales, and overlooks the whole upper Nashua valley. The view from this ridge down upon sinuous river and tree-shadowed meadows, and off over the domed hills of a score of towns to the southern spurs of the White Mountain range, is unsurpassed by any purely rural scenery in the commonwealth, in its breadth, quiet harmony, and wealth of color ever changing with the varying moods of nature. No discordant scars, no craggy cliff, no grandeur of sky-piercing peak are there to arrest the eye or disturb the unity and restfulness of the scene; but there is no lack of impressive feature or charming variety. Seen at bright noonday in the season when the air is filled

with the perfume of apple blossoms and all the valley is lush with fresh verdure, it is another Arcadia than when the polychromatic glory of its autumnal dress is lighted up by an October sunrise. In striking contrast with both is the winter's scene, when the profiles of Wachusett, Watatic, Monadock, Kidder, Pack Monadnock, Jo. English, the Uncanoonucks, and the Blue Hills south of Winnipiseogee, are seen sharply defined against the cold, grey sky, and the nearer landscape is a wide expanse of dazzling snow, relieved by numerous masses of sombre pine forest. Another noteworthy phase it puts on at evening in rare conditions of the atmosphere when a dense, low-lying mist pours over the intervales, giving the valley all the semblance of a vast lake, out of whose bosom the loftier tree tops emerging appear like thousands of bosky islets; while an amphitheatre of softly-rounded hills girts it all around. The whole region visible is redolent with romance, every little stream is musical with historic legend, and every neighborhood has its pathetic tale of early tragedy or pioneer adventure and hardihood. It is an Elysian land to those owning birthrights therein if their hearts are warm with a love of Nature and loyalty to a noble ancestry.

The Harvard hills form a prolongation of the Wataquadock chain, and are very prominent features in the landscape. The rock formations which have determined their height and profiles are argillaceous and mica slates, sometimes with interstratified beds of conglomerate. These strata are enclosed by a granitic gneiss which here and there takes on a porphyritic character. From the Pin Hill quarries, which were opened early in the last century, metamorphic slate, split, and later sawn, into slabs, was furnished to all the country around for grave stones and other uses. Though of excellent quality when carefully quarried, the public have had the bad taste to prefer glaring white marble for mortuary monuments, and the quarries of late have been disused.

No minerals of especial interest are found in Harvard, though several are common in the limestone quarries of Boxborough, and in those of Bolton near the south eastern boundary of Harvard; including scapolite, apatite, and a rare variety of chrysolite, named for the latter town, boltonite.

There are very many towns, even in enlightened Massachusetts, wherein costly excavations made by misguided treasure-seekers can be shown. Harvard is one of these. The early settlers had sanguine expectations of mineral wealth to be dug from the hills of Central Massachusetts, but they were too wise or too poor to expend much cost or labor in the search for it. They made good use in their little forges and furnaces of the bog ore they easily dredged from the ponds or dug in the swamps, but we read of no extensive mining for more precious metals. Towards the close of the last century there arose a widespread delusion that gold and silver were to be had with a little digging in various parts of the state. This belief was fostered through a prevalent faith in the pretended power of the witch-hazel divining rod, in the hands of certain gifted persons, to discover concealed mineral treasure. The chance finding of some glittering specimen of iron pyrites, or a few lustrous crystals of galena, often changed a cheerful, well-to-do farmer, within a few months, into an impecunious and sour-visaged mine owner. The hazel rod never failed in "promising indications" so long as any precious metals could be extracted from the pockets of the credulous; and small veins of worthless iron ore were followed deep into the solid ledge, in daily expectation that the baser metal would suddenly give place to the noblest of all.

The impulse that led to an extensive excavation in the east face of Oak Hill, about the close of the war for independence, was doubtless some discovery of glistening minerals in the surface rock. In the argillaceous slate, of which this hill is largely composed, are veins and nodules of quartz, not dissimilar in character to the rock formation found to be gold bearing in North Carolina. In this quartz are frequently traces of iron, lead and copper, in the form of sulphides partially decomposed. In 1783 a company of twenty-five associates, including sundry inhabitants of Harvard, prominent among whom was Colonel Henry Bromfield, was formed for exploring a mineral vein in this locality, and the work of pushing a drift was begun in July of 1784. Operations were conducted in an intermittent way for five years before the "silver mine" was finally abandoned. The shaft, after pass-

ing through the overlying gravel, was driven about fifty feet into the solid rock, sometimes by blasting, sometimes by heating the stone with great fires and then throwing water upon it It was high enough for a man to enter standing erect. The enterprise seems to have been under the management of two men named Ives and Peck, Englishmen, who claimed to have discovered the minerals in place which led the associates into their visionary investment.

One district in Harvard with limits not very closely defined, yet bears in common usage a name of Indian origin, variously spelled and accented: Shabikin, Shabakin, Shabbukin, Shabokin, Shabôken, Shabbachin, Shabaca, Chabôken, etc. The first two forms are those written upon the maps of 1794 by educated surveyors of Groton and Harvard, and may be taken as proving that the accent in their day was placed upon the first syllable. If we look for instruction as to its orthography to those supposed experts in local geography the Harvard school committee, we shall find that they have printed the word with five different spellings in annual reports during the last thirty-five years. The name first appears in town records March 4, 1754, when mention is made of "that part of Harvard commonly called Shabikin." The scribe who spelled it thus during his long service of fourteen years was William Willard, and perhaps Harvard never had a more intelligent or better qualified clerk than "Old Clark Bill," as he was universally known. His orthography also best corresponds with the Indian name of a noted Lancaster locality—Quasaponikin—and other aboriginal designations of places. The town cannot err in adopting the spelling of their earliest records. Shabikin seems to have been the original designation of that portion of Stow Leg which includes Hell Pond, the region north of it being called Nonacoicus, John Warner Barber in his Historical Collections, 1839, asserts that "The Indian names of Stow were *Pompsiticut* and *Shabbukin*, from 'two notable hills.'" The authority for this is not given, but was doubtless a statement made by J. B. Felt in the first volume of the Collections of the American Statistical Association.

The various extensive intervales, meadows, and swamps in

the Nashaway plantation received from the first proprietors distinctive names which have mostly become disused and forgotten. Chief among those in Harvard is Plumtrees, by which name, as early as 1655, the planters designated the wide intervales lying north of the Still River station, following the Nashua to the bluffs of Shabikin. Through this ran the first roadway to Groton, and lots in this tract were highly valued by the proprietors because of the natural grasses then growing luxuriantly there. The intervale near where Still River joins the Nashua, through which passes the Bolton and Harvard boundary, was known as Broad Meadow. Near Pin Hill on the west and north the low lands were called the Brook and Pin Hill Meadows, and those about Bare Hill Pond were known as the Great Pond Meadows. A Wigwam Meadow and Horse Meadow are mentioned as east of Bare Hill; Hosokie [hassocky] Round and Polypod Meadows on Still River.

The flora and fauna of Harvard differ in no essential respect from those of all inland Massachusetts. The greed of the hunter, the wood chopper's axe and the march of civilization long ago exterminated all the higher order of predatory and fur-bearing quadrupeds—the wily fox excepted—as well as all the larger wild animals valuable for human food. Thus have disappeared many beautiful and useful creatures that were familiar to the Nashaway pioneers. The swan, noblest of wild fowl, was occasionally seen, and gave name to the long swamp in which Still River has its source. The wild turkey was found in flocks in the woods by the first settlers, and hence the original name of Lunenburg—Turkey Hills. Another bird now nearly extinct in New England, but once so numerous as to materially add to the food supply, is the passenger pigeon. During the seasons when berries and acorns were abundant, immense flocks of these birds appeared, sometimes descending upon the grain fields like a devastating army. Thousands were yearly slaughtered by gunners, but the most deadly agency used for their destruction was the pigeon-net, by which more than a hundred at a time were often captured while feeding upon the decoy beds. The pinnated grouse, better known as the prairie-chicken of the West, was probably once common here. Beaver dams

are mentioned in old deeds. There was one upon the brook between Bare Hill Pond and Pin Hill, visible in revolutionary days; and the name Beaver Brook is a reminiscence of the most valued of the rodent family once common here, but the first species exterminated. The elk and the moose we know sometimes fell victims to the hunter's skill, and on the river near the Harvard and Bolton line was a "place where the deer do cross." The last elk known to have visited this region was the noble stag shot in Lancaster by Jonas Fairbank, a youth of sixteen years, about the date of Harvard's incorporation. The antlers of this animal are preserved in Lancaster's Memorial Hall. December 15, 1739, Thomas Wheeler and Jacob Gates were elected in town-meeting "to take care of ye Deer," and thereafter deer reeves were among the town officers annually chosen until sometime in the present century. Their duty was to prosecute those killing deer unseasonably. In 1742:—

Eleazar Robins Junr. of Harvard being bound over to the Court by Mr Justice Martin for killing a Buck or Deer in Febry. last as per ye Recog. appears, came into Court and confess'd he was Guilty, and having Inform'd agst himself had the benefitt thereof allow'd him, and was fined five pounds Old Tenor to the King which he paid with cost and was dismiss'd.

In 1757:—

Samuel Harper of Harvard being bound over to the Court by Mr Justice Atherton to answer to complaint of Josiah Whetcomb Junr. of Littleton, a Deer Reeve, for his, said Samuel's, killing Wild Deer, Bucks Does or Fawns, or having the Skin or Raw Flesh of Wild Buck Doe or Fawn in his possession since twenty-fifth day of December last, * * *

confessed his guilt and paid a fine of five pounds, six shillings and eight pence, "one half to his majesty and the other half to the informer." No record is found of a deer's having been captured or even seen in Harvard for twenty-five years.

That magnificent but bloodthirsty feline, the cougar or catamount—which the Pilgrims thought a lion—was not rare, as the bounties paid by various towns show. Bears were less common, but wolves and wild-cats so abounded and were so inordinately fond of fresh pork, lamb and veal, that their

nightly depredations drove the farmers almost to despair. In the year of Harvard's incorporation the bounty paid for a wolf's head was four pounds, and for that of a lynx one pound. A local hunter and trapper earned thirty-six pounds in bounties that year by killing five wolves and sixteen wild-cats. Raccoons, grey squirrels and musk-rats, as well as foxes, were numerous enough to be pursued as vermin, the provincial laws offering a substantial reward for their destruction. They all have continued to plague the husbandman in spite of law, and are sufficiently numerous at the present day, though far more wary than of old. Elisha D. Stone, a well known farmer of Still River, thoroughly versed in Reynard's habits, has trapped two hundred and ninety-four foxes within twenty-one years — 1871–1892 — on his own premises. One year he caught twenty. Occasionally a coon is seen, and now and then an otter. Within ten years several hedge-hogs have been killed. The beautiful summer or wood duck continues to nest on the banks of the Nashua, and various migratory water fowl pay transient visits, as of old, to the great pond. The osprey frequents its shores, the weird cry of the great northern diver is heard in summer, and sometimes a storm-driven gull is said to find a temporary harbor here.

Of trees noteworthy for their size Harvard has but few. The huge chestnut trees of Bare Hill, famous fifty years ago, have mostly succumbed to storm and decay, though a few giants stand with ragged trunks and shattered limbs, relics of a former century. An aged sycamore or button-wood before that fine specimen of the architecture of Revolutionary days, the Captain Thaddeus Pollard house in south Still River, now owned by Isaac H. Marshall, measures fifteen feet in girt at the height of five feet from the ground. The largest elm in the town is that by the dwelling of John Hines on Makamacheckamuck's Hill. Its once magnificent vase-like crown lost much of its symmetry by a stroke of lightning a few summers ago. Its trunk is seventeen feet in circumference at the height of five feet from the ground, swelling to twenty-one below, where the huge buttresses from the roots emerge from it.

VI. THE PEOPLE AND THEIR HOMES.

1732.

At least two-thirds of the population of the new town bore one of eight surnames: Atherton, Farnsworth, Houghton, Priest, Sawyer, Warner, Whitney or Willard; and many of the other moiety were connected by marriage with these eight prolific families. Let us briefly consider these grandsons of the Cromwellian Puritans whose mode of living, thought and dress has become so obsolete; see what manner of men they were, and what their environment. All were of English descent, mostly of Lancashire and Kentish ancestry. The heads of households, between fifty and sixty in number and widely scattered over the township, were all of the yeoman class and nearly every one a tiller of the soil. The very few who were skilled in some mechanical craft had little farms from which they drew their main subsistence. Even the ministers of this period in the country towns eked out their scant and ill-paid tithes by labor upon their land. But every husbandman was also a jack at all trades, "handy with tools." Some were rich in acres; but all, even the most "forehanded," when judged by any standard of modern times, were very poor in personal property, whether money income, or household goods, or those conveniences which are now deemed daily necessities in an ordinary household. There was an aristocracy of two families—the minister's and the 'squires's. There were no paupers and no loafers, and when to conform to law the stocks were built beside the meeting-house, good plank was wasted.

From the time when the ground mellowed under the spring sunshine sufficiently to yield to the plough, until the winter frosts resumed their iron sway, these husbandmen led lives of unremitting toil; from sunrise to sunset never idle save on the Sabbath. The long winter season had its round of special labors both out of doors and in. Then came the butchering days and the subsequent work of salting down the meat; curing and smoking hams, shoulders and flitches; trying out of tallow and lard; making of sausages and head-cheese; pickling of souse and tripe. The corn had to be shelled by

scraping it from the cob on the edge of a shovel. The wheat barley, rye and oats were threshed with flails upon the resounding barn floor, and then sieved and winnowed from chaff by hand on a windy day. After each drifting storm the roadways had to be broken out, and all the men and teams in town were expected to share in the work.

When the snows had gathered deep in the woodlands every man and boy who could swing an axe, or rule with haw and gee the docile oxen, was for weeks busy in cutting and sledding home the year's supply of fuel, until a huge mound of logs and limbs half filled the yard and obstructed all views from the kitchen windows. This tangled mass the choppers in due time worked into back-logs, fore-sticks, oven-wood, kindling-wood, light-wood, and chips. One prime load was delivered at the minister's door. A few of the choicest butt-logs were hauled to the nearest saw-mill to be converted into boards and plank for general repairs about the farm buildings, the miller sawing them for half the product. Fencing rails were split out of the young chestnuts; and an immense quantity of them were needed, for swine were always allowed to run at large, and stray cattle and colts abounded, so that the fences about the grain fields had to be "horse-high, bull-proof and pig-tight." They were very commonly built wholly of rails in the zigzag fashion known as Virginia or worm fence, which remains now in vogue only at the South. Stone was so plenty that walls almost everywhere in time superseded rail fences on the hills. The extra quality white-pine butts were sawn into bolts and rived for shingles with the froe. Straight hickory, ash and white oak were saved from the insatiable maw of the kitchen chimney, if a critical eye saw in them possible sled stakes, whip-stocks, axe-helves, hoe, fork and shovel or plough handles, ox-bows, cart-tongues, axles, hoops, or any one of a score of other articles which were deftly wrought of wood by the fire-side or in the shed, with axe, saw, draw-shave, shaving-horse and jack-knife, during the stormy days or the evenings in winter. If the old adage, "hard work is happiness," be half true, our yeoman ancestry must have been a contented people despite the traditional lack of visible joyousness among them.

It was the age of wooden ware. The daily meals were eaten from wooden bowls and trenchers; the milk vessels were all of wood; most of the doors were held with a wooden latch big enough to serve as an effectual bar when the leathern latch-string was pulled in, which it rarely was; the rum jug was a wooden bottle; the plough was of wood, veneered with iron where friction bore hardest; even the harrow teeth were of hickory; the cart-wheel often had no tire, iron plates called strakes holding the felloes together, being fastened to them by long clinch nails. The thorn bush was robbed to save the cost of pins. The cooper was one of the busiest of men in every little community, for he was depended upon not only for the cider hogsheads and beer barrels, but for dye tubs, malt tubs, powdering tubs, cheese vats, piggins, noggins, runlets, keelers, churns, dry-measures, firkins and buckets. The dish-turner was another useful citizen, who by his skill tried to make amends for the scarcity and high cost of pewter, tin, and potter's ware. From his rude lathe and bench came the cherry and maple trenchers, trays, bowls, spoons, mortars and pestles, dippers and drinking cups.

The furniture was much of it home-made, stools often doing duty for chairs; and the only suggestion of a lounge or sofa being a board bench or settle by the chimney corner, sometimes made with a high back to ward off draughts. There were no carpets on the floors, no paper or pictures on the walls, no paint inside or outside of the house, no attempt at decoration of any kind. Rarely was there more than one looking-glass for the household use, and that a diminutive specimen. The best bed was often in the parlor, and was commonly of feathers, while those most used were flock beds made of locks of coarse wool, with straw-stuffed ticks beneath. A great chest served as a receptacle of all the reserve family linen. A clock was a rare possession; not one is named among the early inventories of Harvard estates. Noon-marks on the kitchen floor told the good-wife when it was time to blow the horn which called the men-folk from afield to their midday meal. An hour-glass stood on the pulpit desk to caution the preacher from the indiscretion of stopping the flow of his extempore sermon before the full

sixty minutes had lapsed, and the same time-keeper sometimes served to regulate the stint of the spinsters at the wheel.

Nowadays, when even rural highways are illuminated, and the electric light is promising to abolish sunsets in our towns, perhaps no picture of early New England life has grown so dim as that of the olden-time domestic circle in the evening hours. The roseate hues that glowed in the log fire upon the wide hearth, and the merry, crackling laugh of the blaze as it skurried up the huge chimney throat, still shine for, and warm, and sing to us in the immortal verse of our poets. Nay more, a veritable gleam comes to us occasionally from the few new hearths which fashion and the architects have introduced, like a reminiscence of the fitful flare of dying embers upon the old. But in spite of the most lavish consumption of fuel, winter's chills tyrannized over all the colonial house save the chimney corners; and what of poetry or comfort can our modern renaissance draw out of this cheerful description from Francis Higginson?

> Yea our pine trees that are most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house, and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other. And they are nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven into little slices something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentime and pitch, that they burn as clear as a torch.

The blaze of pine knots was the chief evening illumination of most farmers' kitchens, and a more brilliant one it was, though less constant, than that of the sputtering tallow dip in the wooden or sheet-iron candlestick which succeeded it. Every family made their own candles and soap as regularly as they did their butter and cheese. The sacred fire on the altar of Vesta of old was not more carefully guarded from extinction than that on the New England domestic hearth; for its loss meant the bringing of burning brand or a shovel-full of live coals from the neighbor's, however distant, to start a new one. Hence every night the last to go to bed heaped up the ruddy embers against the back-log, and covered them deep with ashes to hold their glowing heat for kindling the next day's fires. Home-made brimstone matches

later came into vogue, for they could be ignited at the spark kindled in punk or tinder by striking fire into it from the clash of flint and steel. The garish light of the brightest summer's day was abundantly tempered by struggling through the dingy, diamond panes in the leaden sash of the diminutive windows.

There was little variety in the early domestic architecture of Harvard save such as marked the difference in the means of the owners. The houses were all built after saw mills were conveniently near, and there were therefore few log structures, unless for the sheltering of animals. From the old dwellings yet standing and others well remembered, we know that when the house was two storied in front it rarely was but one at the back, the rear slope of the roof extending down to within nine or ten feet of the ground. Sometimes the pitch of this slope changed at a line on the level of the front eaves. The kitchen was always in this rear portion. A less common style was the gambrel roof, found upon both one and two storied houses. Reverend John Seccomb's mansion afforded a fine example of this form of roof. Sometimes the upper story projected slightly over the lower. Porches or other irregular features were very exceptional. A single huge chimney passed up through the centre of the house, usually of brick though sometimes of stone. It was at a much earlier date or in very humble homes, that chimneys were of logs lined with clay. These were called catted chimneys and were usually built outside the frame.

The pioneers had no lime, for there was little in Massachusetts except the small quantity made from quahaug and oyster shells upon the sea coast, until the discovery of lime stone in 1697 at Newbury. Clay mortar was the common substitute. But about the date of Harvard's incorporation lime stone of excellent quality was found very near its southern boundary, making possible many improvements in house construction, and especially in interior finish, at reasonable cost. No more welcome boon had come to the people in the the Nashaway Valley since the building of Prescott's Mills, than the lime-kilns of Fairbank and Houghton and the Whitcombs, in the north-east corner of Bolton. Lath and plaster

thenceforward took the place of high wainscots and sheathed ceilings and walls.

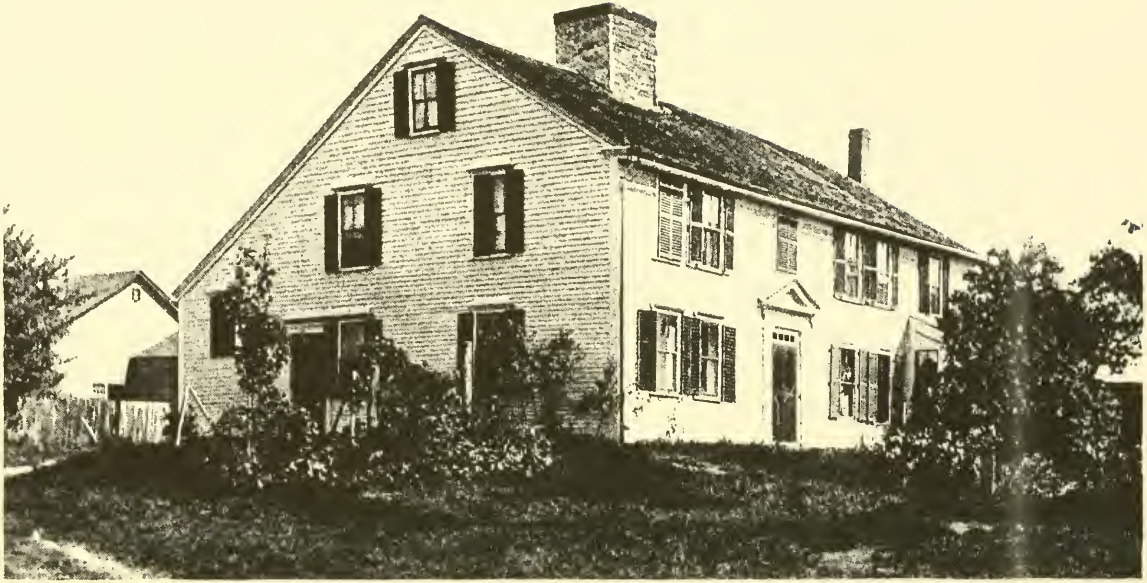
All mechanics served a long apprenticeship and became skilful, ambidextrous workmen; the more certainly because everything had to be patiently wrought by hand. Thus the carpenter with a few rude tools laboriously fashioned from rough lumber everything of wood that enters into the construction of a house, and apprentices served three or four years before they could rank as "journeymen" in the craft. The joinery work was therefore excellent, but the mathematical principles of carpentry were ill understood; the chief timbers of the framing generally being disproportionately large, always square in section, and usually of hewn oak, while the joists in floors and wall spaces were too few and of insufficient depth for stiffness. The raising of even an ordinary house was a somewhat formidable undertaking, and furnished occasion for a general junket, when all the stout arms of the neighborhood were called to help in lifting the heavy posts, beams and plates to their places under the direction of the master carpenter. Not seldom serious accidents are recorded upon such occasions, attributable no doubt in many cases to the over free use of stimulating beverages, which the builder was always expected to provide.

It very early became the practice in New England to cover the rough exterior boarding with a second course of thin lapped sheathing to keep out wind and rain. The boards for this were "clave" from suitable logs in the same manner as were staves for hogsheads, and were called by the same English name clapboards — a contraction from clave boards. For the roof, where a larger lap was essential, shingles similarly riven and shaved were used. The nails for fastening these to the frame were bought by number, not by weight as now — shingle and lath by the thousand, board nails by the hundred — and were very expensive. For the first meeting-house ordinary spikes known as "double tens" cost nine shillings per hundred, lath nails seven shillings sixpence per thousand, and board nails from two and one half to six shillings per thousand.

The specimens of early architecture remaining in Harvard

are not numerous, and such as have outlasted conflagration and decay, are mostly so concealed with renovations, or radically altered to suit modern tastes and requirements, that few original features are distinguishable. Frame and foundations often, had they tongues, would be able to tell us stories of the French and Indian wars; but doors and windows, blinds and cornices, porch and veranda speak plainly of changeable ownership and comparatively recent vanities or fashions. The stern simplicity of the bare brown farm house of the first half of the last century, with its typical adjuncts —an elm or two, two clumps of lilacs, a few cinnamon roses and hollyhocks, a well sweep and big brown barn — was in homely keeping with the plain-mannered, frugal, industrious lives that budded, blossomed and bore fruit therein.

A few facts concerning some of the more noteworthy of these old homes and their builders have been gleaned: Dorcas (Willard) Bellows, December 27, 1714, deeded to Samuel Willard, her eldest son, "fourteen acres on the south side of the fenced field at a place called y^e^ Still Riuer ffarme on y^e^ west side of the highway, where his late Honoured ffather, Henry Willard, some time lived . . . . also all the Dwelling house which was his ffathers." This dwelling was on the east side of the highway. Samuel a few years later bought of his brothers, James and Josiah, all their shares "in the Great Fenced Field at y^e^ Still River Farm where our Honoured Father Henry Willard sometime lived," and thus gained possession of the orignal homestead, one hundred and sixty acres, and probably the first garrison house. Upon Samuel's removal to the centre of Lancaster in 1727, he sold this farm for 2000£ to John Wright from Andover, describing it as bounded "East on the highway to Groton, the way cutting off some land on the East." John Wright was an innkeeper here for a time, but probably was unable to pay for the place, as it seems to have reverted to Willard, for he sold it again, in 1734, to Theophilus Cushing, a Hingham trader, who at once transferred it to Joseph Haskell, a cooper from Gloucester. The new owner sold the northerly half of his purchase to his cousin, Henry Haskell. The old house and the lands have remained in possession of the Haskell family, being successively occupied by



HENRY WILLARD HOUSE

the first Joseph, known as the old deacon, his son, Colonel Josiah, his grandson, Squire Jacob, his great grandson, Deacon Charles; and now the estate is owned by William B. Haskell, the fifth in direct line. The dwelling is a finely preserved specimen of an old time residence, with comparatively few alterations or additions, and no evidence is found to disprove the claim that it was the home of the first Henry Willard, and the first of Harvard's garrison houses, built in 1687.

An ancient gambrel-roofed house of ample dimensions, until burned April 6, 1869, stood a little less than a mile from the Harvard post-office on the eastern side of the Bare Hill road. This was doubtless the 1711 garrison house of John Priest, Jr. By those living, familiar with it, this was known as the Forbush place, the second John Priest selling it to John Forbush in 1738. It stood a little back from the highway on an admirably chosen site, commanding an enchanting view to the north and west. Near by was a capacious gambrel-roofed barn. The huge chimney that surmounted the ridgepole at the centre of the house was of stone, and within the present century several of the windows retained the original sash glazed with little greenish panes set in lead. This was a rare and noteworthy survival, for in the scarcity of lead during the early days of the Revolution most of the metal sash were melted and run into bullets for the patriot army. The stairway was built of solid hewn timber, and the walls were ceiled throughout with plank instead of lath and plaster. Everywhere in the original construction there was a chary use of metal; wooden pins or dowels taking the place of the wrought nails which were generally employed in the early colonial days for fastening the boarding to the frame, and the flooring and wainscot to the joists. It was universally considered the oldest house in Harvard, and its venerable appearance and peculiarly antique carpentry justified this belief.

The house standing on the hillside half way between the site of the John Priest garrison house and Bare Hill Pond, was the home of Joseph Priest, John's younger brother. He sold it with eighty acres of land to Benjamin Stow, in 1743.

Behind the David Nourse house, now owned and occupied

by Asel B. Abbott, stood that of John Sampson who came to Harvard from Marlborough and bought lands of John Nichols in 1735. On the same highway about a mile further south was the farm of Elijah Whitney, located from land rights purchased before the incorporation of Harvard. His son Israel succeeded to the homestead, and was followed by Luther and Luke. It is now owned by Michael Sweeny. The first dwelling here probably stood in the orchard opposite the present house.

Abraham Whitney's farm was directly north of Elijah's, and was, like his, chiefly from the James Atherton estate. Abraham Whitney senior bought lands here of Josiah Kent in 1743, and built on the opposite side of the highway from the house now owned by Thomas Mongovin, where traces of his dwelling can be seen. The house now the home of Cephas Bowers was built by Abraham Whitney, Jr., in Revolutionary days.

The John Willard house, probably built about 1713, occupied the site of that where A. P. Brown now lives, in the south end of Still River village, and a portion of it forms the ell of the modern residence. John Willard died childless, his only son being drowned while crossing the river on horseback. Thaddeus Stevens, a disciple of Shadrach Ireland, lived here for a time, and here Mother Anne Lee and the Shaker elders found shelter at their first coming to Harvard in 1781. The Captain Thaddeus Pollard house on the opposite side of the way, a few rods down the hill, is a well preserved specimen of the architecture of Revolutionary days, built in 1782. The worthy captain was a blacksmith, and came to this farm from Bolton, bringing, it is said, all his chattels upon a handcart. His industry and thrift brought him the means to build one of the finest residences in town and furnish it in appropriate style. It was in front of this house that the Shaker, Abijah Worster, was scourged by the mob in 1782.

In the field west of the highway which leads from Still River to Ayer, and directly behind the Abidan Knight homestead now owned by Silas Dudley, is the cellar of Hezekiah Willard's garrison house of 1711. The site commands a delightful view of the valley and distant mountains, and was

approached by a private way along the hillside. The dwelling was destroyed by fire forty years ago. Several of the early homes of Still River settlers were thus located at some distance from the road and on the lower benches of the great hill; partly, it would seem, to secure a better supply of water. The first highways, mere bridle-paths, were run to suit the public convenience; but the pioneer's dwelling of necessity was placed in the near neighborhood of a perennial spring, or where good water could be had by sinking wells of no great depth.

Under the great elm opposite the house of James Humphrey Atherton there stood until 1852 a large, two-storied farm house painted red. Though well preserved, it wore many marks of age, including an enormous central chimney stack, built partly of stone and partly of bricks laid in clay mortar. One singular feature in its construction was the out side sheathing, which was of two-inch oak plank with chamfered edges, *laid diagonally*, and fastened to the studding with wooden pins. This edifice was doubtless built by Joshua Atherton who died here in 1721, leaving the homestead to his wife Mary and two minor sons, John and Peter. The widow lived to the ripe age of "about 95," dying in 1754. In this house Peter and Experience (Wright) Atherton set up housekeeping in 1728. Peter was a man of more than the average mental force and ability. He was chosen the first town-clerk, one of the first assessors, and the first representative from Harvard to the Great and General Court. In 1745 he was made a justice of the peace, and seems to have exercised the large authority then attached to that office with ample dignity and vigor. By trade he was a blacksmith, and the cinders at this day often ploughed up, three or four rods north of the noble tree that shadowed the house in its later days, indicate where his forge stood. His son Peter succeeded to the estate—younger sons, Joshua and Israel, building their homes and honorable reputations away from Harvard. Ten other children are recorded as dying in infancy.

David Atherton became the fourth owner of the farm, by purchase from Peter's heirs, shortly after the Revolution.

On the thirtieth of October, 1805, while gathering walnuts upon his intervale, he fell from a tree and so paralyzed his spinal column that his lower limbs were ever after totally useless. Though a dead man below the waist, his will-power was as alive as ever, and his arms and hands retained their strength unimpaired. He learned and practiced the art of shoemaking, and by means of cords and pulleys attached to the ceiling of his room could move himself within certain limits at pleasure. He survived his fall over twenty-five years, dying March 17, 1831, at the age of seventy-four.

It was in this Atherton house that, during the Revolution, two paroled British officers were for some time quartered. The land about it formed a part of Major Simon Willard's "one hundred and ninety-six acres which was called ye Great Farm at Still River."

Ensign Joseph Atherton, oldest son of Joshua, married Hannah, the daughter of Samuel Rogers, in 1720, and received land from his father described as "where I the said Joshua Atherton formerly lived.....bounded west on the river." The deed also mentions "the cellar where the old house stood." Joseph died in 1735, leaving sons Oliver and Joseph, and daughters Mary, Elizabeth, Hannah and Patience. His homestead was then described as one hundred and twenty-seven acres, bounded west by the river, and having upon it his own residence and an "old house called Hoults." The venerable dwelling under a noble elm, on the brow of the hill east from the Still River station, and now the home of Oliver H. and Galen Atherton, probably covers the site of one of the old houses, while the cellar of the other, a short distance southward across the county road, was filled up many years ago. In the present house Oliver Atherton kept a well-known inn in Revolutionary days.

Between the homesteads of John Willard and Joshua Atherton was that of Joseph and Elizabeth (Wilder) Hutchins, which he bought A. D. 1700, of Benjamin, son of Major Simon Willard, it being the southernmost portion of the major's Still River farm. Joseph and Elizabeth died within four months, in 1757, and probably childless, for they willed their whole estate to a "kinsman," Joshua Church, even in-

cluding their "negro, Neptune." The farm was soon after purchased by Samuel Haskell, whose widow sold it to Joseph Atherton. Samuel Dudley, in 1797, bought the estate of the Atherton heirs and built the house now owned by Mrs. Jonathan W. Lawrence. The ancient dwelling occupied by Thomas Atherton Bigelow was probably the house of Joseph Hutchins, and if so, is nearly two hundred years old.

No pioneer's home now standing in the town offers more of interest to the antiquary than the James Houghton garrison house, which has been handed down from father to son through five generations, with only those alterations and additions which the comfort and accommodation of successive families made imperative. No homestead in Harvard has remained thus permanently in the same family. The capacious farm-house, lovingly cared for by the present owner, Edward Warren Houghton, is obviously the sum of at least three structures, all ancient; the western end being the original garrison house, built between 1692 and 1704. The first chimney was of stone, the huge foundation of which yet fills half the cellar. This was very early replaced by the present many-flued brick pile, with its eight fire-places, oven, cupboard niches, and a smoke closet in which there is room enough to hang for curing the hams and shoulders of a score of swine. Many of the little windows, though the sash are modern, remain at nearly double the height from the floor which is now thought convenient, and the walls below and around them are filled in solidly with brick and stone, so as to be completely bullet-proof. The huge oaken beams and plates, from twelve to fourteen inches square, show for a third of their thickness below the lath and plaster of the ceiling. It became necessary to remove the paneled wainscot during some renovations. It was unpainted of the softest pine in which neither knot nor shake nor sap could be found, fastened with wooden pins and faultless in workmanship. It was doubtless the handiwork of the owner and builder of the house, who was a carpenter, and the portions of it preserved afford evidence of his practiced skill. Wherever iron was used in any part of the construction, even in fastening the rived clapboards, it was the wrought work of the blacksmith.

The successive occupants of this interesting homestead have been: 1, the builder of the garrison, James Houghton, the son of Ralph and Jane. His will was proved September 11, 1711. 2, Thomas Houghton, the third son of James, who married Mariah Moore, December 2, 1725, had one son, Elijah, and died at the age of sixty-eight, April 10, 1764. His widow survived him over twenty-six years. 3, Elijah, married Mercy Whitney and had eleven children, the oldest, Thomas, coming into possession of the house. 4, Thomas, by his wife Betsy White, had thirteen children, of whom (5) Cephas retained the homestead, and his son is the present owner. The next home eastward, now owned by John Sprague, was that of Elijah Houghton, Jr., sold to Abraham Lawrence in 1809.

Five or six years before the birth of Harvard, Stephen and Abigail Houghton set up their roof-tree beside the highway opposite where Benjamin K. Barnard now lives. In 1743 Benjamin Barnard bought Houghton's house and lands, and his descendants have ever since occupied the place. The present dwelling is the third built here.

The guests at the first Harvard ordination in 1733 were entertained at the house of Joseph Willard, son of the first Henry. This dwelling stands in excellent preservation, in North Still River, at the junction of the Groton and Harvard roads, being now the home of Reverend John B. Willard and his sisters. They are direct descendants of the first owner. The roof at the rear originally sloped to a single story, and other alterations have given the house a somewhat modern appearance. In making these changes it was found that the outer walls were lined with brick laid in clay; and upon beams and joist were several memoranda dated between 1730 and 1740, and one or more dates of the previous century. The south-west room was known as the "dower room," being fitted for the residence of the dowager with a special stairway to cellar, and oven and closet conveniences. This feature was quite usual in old country houses. The mansion, if a new one when Joseph and Elizabeth Willard began housekeeping, was built about 1712; but there is some reason to believe that it dates from about 1730, though very probably

in part a reconstruction from the materials, or built upon the site, of an older edifice.

Beside the highway about midway between Still River and Harvard Centre, on a hill-sheltered slope facing the south, there stood, until 1881, a large and venerable dwelling, removed by Absalom B. Gale when he built the house which is his present home. The main part of the old structure now stands at the eastern end of the barn, shorn of the rear portion which was but one storied. In the huge chimney demolished were bricks in which figures were plainly impressed, but these give no clue to its age or builder. It no doubt dates from 1744, when Jeremiah Foster made a home here. He sold to John Willard in 1750. Robert Holland kept an inn here, having bought the place of Willard, and the farm has had many owners since.

A somewhat older building is concealed under the modern exterior of the residence next to Mr. Gale's, on the west. In 1743, Benjamin Nurse transferred to Richard Harris and Jeremiah Foster, of Ipswich, a farm of about one hundred and twenty acres here, and in the division of this between them, Foster took the eastern half, and Harris the western, with the buildings. Richard Harris is said to have come from the seaside to the hills of Worcester County to keep his sons from becoming sailors. He was a weaver by trade. He died in 1776, and his heirs near the close of the century sold house and lands to Oliver Hill. Benjamin Nurse was a carpenter from Reading, and bought this estate shortly after the incorporation of Harvard, from Jonathan Houghton and Ebenezer Wilder of Lancaster. He first built here.

A large house at the south-west corner of the town's common, one of the most weather-beaten in appearance in Harvard, was reconstructed to form the mansion in which Dr. Herbert B. Royal now lives. It dated from the earliest years of John Seccomb's ministry, when it was the home of John and Phebe Atherton. Here he was a licensed inn-keeper in 1734. He died in 1755, and Richard Harris, Jr., a carpenter who married his daughter Lydia, succeeded him. Silas Parkhurst, a tanner from Pepperell, bought the place in 1772, from the Atherton heirs, and in Revolutionary times kept a tavern

here, as also did his son-in-law, Jonas Merriam, early in the present century.

The first Fairbank homestead is that now owned by Andrew Fairbank. The house is very old, though most signs of its age are concealed under modern improvements. It is probably in part the original dwelling of the first Joseph Fairbank, built about 1720. Joseph was son of Lieutenant Jabez Fairbank, and the grandson of Jonas, an early proprietor of Lancaster. Jonathan Fairbank, the father of Jonas, came from Sowerby, England, which was also the residence of John Prescott, whose daughter, Lydia, became the wife of Jonas, 1658, 3^{m}. 28^{d}. The Fairbank family were severe sufferers in the Indian wars, and Lieutenant Jabez attained local celebrity in military affairs. It probably was Joseph who appears as the "little son" in the famous episode of the massacre of September 11, 1697, as narrated by Reverend Timothy Harrington in his Century Sermon:—

.....Mr Jabez Fairbank, who was at his own house half a mile's distance, and designed to bring his little son from said Garrison, mounted his horse which came running to him in a fright; and rode full speed into the gate, but yet nothing suspicious of an enemy. However this was means of saving the Garrison; for the enemy who were just ready to rush into it, supposing they were discovered, gave over that design.

Joseph Fairbank married Mary Brown, April 11, 1718, and thirteen children were born to them. He was the choice of his townsmen for their first representative to the Great and General Court, but modestly declined to serve. He was one of the first selectmen, and for several years town treasurer. His oldest son, Phineas, became captain, and held nearly all the offices within the gift of his fellow townsmen. He lived upon a farm adjoining his father's on the north, his house being the first built upon the *cul de sac* road. Ebenezer Burges set his dwelling at the end of the same road in 1751, when he bought his farm of John Whitcomb. Only their cellars now remain to designate the sites of the two homes.

Near the southern boundary of the town, sheltered from the northern blasts by the long ridge of Bare Hill, were grouped the homes of John Warner, John Priest, John Nichols, Caleb Sawyer, James Atherton and their children. None

of their earliest dwellings have withstood the wear of time save that supposed to be Caleb Sawyer's; and long ago this passed from the ownership of his descendants. It is now occupied by James Ford, and generally known as the Washington Warner place. Since Phineas Sawyer sold it to Silas Craggin in 1810, it has been transferred to Jabez Priest, 1812, Sylvester Priest, 1821, Washington Warner, 1840. Here Caleb and Sarah (Houghton) Sawyer lived for more than fifty years, and here he died when almost one hundred years old. He divided the home acres, several years before his death, between his sons Jonathan and Seth, the latter living with his father in the old house, and Jonathan building a short distance to the north, opposite the present farm-house where Manasseh, Luther and Arad, three generations of his descendants, spent their lives. Among the outlying lands of Caleb Sawyer was a tract now forming the farm of Wilbur F. Sawyer, and opposite his dwelling a cellar marks the site of an older home—that of Caleb the son of Seth, who probably built here about 1761. Phineas, the youngest son of Seth, became a very skilful mechanic, as a rifle dated 1777 and stamped with his name—now owned by Warren Hapgood—attests. It was said of him that "he could make anything but a hornet's nest."

The first John Priest garrison house, it is supposed, stood a little east of, and very near, the house of Benjamin J. Priest. A very old dwelling was torn down here after the present house was built by the father of its late owner, Andrew Priest. The second John Priest, after the death of his father in 1704, took his wife, Anna Houghton, to a new house built near his brother Joseph's, upon inherited lands at the northern end of Bare Hill. After the death of Rachel, widow of the first John Priest—who survived her husband thirty-three years—the heirs transferred all their rights in the original Priest homestead to Gabriel Priest; and his descendants have ever since held the title to it.

The journal of Reverend William Brinsmead of Marlborough states that "September 20, 1687, John Warner of Lancaster was taken into the church at the house of Jonathan Johnson." This marks the year of the coming of the Warner

and Priest families from Woburn; and as for some time they jointly occupied a farm of thirty-six acres, the two hearthstones could not have been far apart, if they were not under the same roof. John Warner's three sons in due time had families, and passed their lives in the neighborhood. The oldest, Samuel, is supposed to have built, where an old cellar was filled up a few years ago, five or six rods west of the dwelling of Miss Elizabeth Fairbank. John had a farm further to the eastward upon the road to Hudson. Ebenezer, the youngest, remained with his parents, and the first Warner homestead successively fell to Ebenezer, Jr., Calvin, Calvin, Jr., and Luke. The house built by Calvin was burned in 1877, being then owned by Jonathan Crouch. The older residence was not upon the site of this, but probably nearer the brook and highway.

John Nichols, in 1740, sold his Harvard estate to Jonathan Houghton, and removed to the neighborhood of Fort Pond in Lancaster. He had built upon his land, but no clue to the site of his home is known. He died in Lancaster, June 7, 1783, aged eighty-five. Jonathan Houghton was a resident of Bolton.

James Atherton, third of the name, also sold, in 1740, his farm, lying partly in Harvard and partly in Bolton, to Josiah Kent from Gloucester, who lived upon it until his death in 1767. Having no sons, a son-in-law, Abraham Scott, a smith, owned and occupied the Atherton homestead. This was probably located on or near the road which leads from Still River to Bolton, perhaps at the place where the Levi Houghton house now is.

James Whitcomb was the son of Josiah, Senior, of Bolton. His lands, upon which he had built in 1729, comprised sixty acres, bounded east upon the town line. He built the first mill upon the branch of the Assabet, and mentions the "old dam," in 1768, when deeding his farm to his sons James, Jr., and Abel.

In Stow Leg, A. D. 1732, the largest land-owner was Shadrach Hapgood. He was a grandson of that Shadrach Hapgood, who, on May 30, 1656, at the age of fourteen years, embarked for New England from Gravesend in the ship Speed-

HAPGOOD HOUSE

well. The first Shadrach lived with his uncle, Peter Noyes of Sudbury, during his minority, married Elizabeth Treadway October 21, 1664, and was slain by the Indians in the surprise of Captains Hutchinson and Wheeler at Brookfield August 2, 1675. The eldest of the five children, fruit of the marriage, was Nathaniel, born in 1665. He married Elizabeth Ward of Marlborough, August 14, 1695, became a deacon and a wealthy land-holder in Stow, and was long prominent in town councils. Nathaniel was the father of the Harvard Shadrach and transferred to him in 1725 all his lands upon Pin Hill Brook and Bare Hill, amounting to three hundred and fifty acres. Shadrach was born in Stow November 6, 1704, and married Elizabeth Wetherbee. He was commissioned lieutenant by Governor William Shirley, in 1742, but what military service he rendered is not known. He had but one son, Shadrach, and five daughters, all of whom had families. The Hapgood house is an excellent example of the homes of the thriftier farmers of New England at the period when Harvard was incorporated. In it Shadrach and Elizabeth (Wetherbee) Hapgood passed their married life of more than half a century, and their son Shadrach succeeded to its possession, living here with his wife, Elizabeth Keep, nearly fifty years. He was succeeded by his youngest son Joel, whose wife was Sally, daughter of Jonathan F. Fairbank. The large addition to the old mansion at its western end was built by Joel, in 1812, and the capacious farm barn by Jonathan F. Hapgood in 1854. The last owner of the estate bearing the family name was Warren, third son of Joel, now living, a retired merchant of Boston.

The old house was probably new, and perhaps reputed the finest in Harvard when the town, in July, 1734, complimented it and the builder by instructing a committee to engage board for the ministers who should come to supply the pulpit, at Shadrach Hapgood's, although over a mile from the meeting house. The original leaden lattices with their bottle-green diamond lights were preserved in the gable windows for several years after the opening of the present century.

John Daby appears among the petitioners of Stow Leg, but his estate was partly within the old Lancaster bounds.

He bought of John Willard, October 27, 1718, lands lying upon both sides of the brook at the northern end of Pin Hill, extending along the Lancaster and Stow line. Daby was a blacksmith, but with his son Joseph built a saw and grist mill or mills upon the stream at the western foot of Pin Hill, about the date of Harvard's incorporation. John Daby from the first held prominent place in town and church, his pew being the third in dignity. The site of his first home is not definitely known, but appears to have been in Stow Leg near the Lancaster line.

Jacob Gates was the oldest son of Isaac of Stow, and a descendant of Stephen and Anna Gates, who came from England in the ship Diligent, A. D. 1638. Stephen was constable at Lancaster in 1657, and showed himself a man of iron will and fiery temper. His daughter Mary figures in local story as the heroine of the first protest against clerical tyranny in the town, at a date when a too public assertion of female privilege was not seldom requited with the stocks or even the whipping post. Had she set the Nashua ablaze, she would hardly have more astounded Master Rowlandson's congregation than she did one Sabbath afternoon in meeting, by flatly contradicting the minister to his face. The family for several generations were noted for great energy and imperious manners. Jacob had all the characteristics of his race. He sold his estate, including a house and barn, near the Lancaster line in Stow Leg to Benjamin Hutchins A. D. 1748. The Harvard railway station probably stands upon the original Gates farm. On the east side of Bare Hill in the fields, three or more minutes walk from the highway opposite the home of the late Deacon Jonathan Fairbank, is the cellar of the second Gates mansion, which, next to John Seccomb's, was probably the largest and most sumptuously furnished of its day in Harvard. Mr. Seccomb's record of the death of the widow Elizabeth Gates, March 15, 1755, closes with: "House burnt down." This was his memorandum of the fact that while the family were attending the body to the grave, the dwelling with all its fine appointments was consumed. Here Ensign Jacob, and Captain Isaac Gates, father and son, lived; headstrong, self-assertive men, aristocratic leaders in town

during their day, who in ambitious imitation of the English barons, had planted their mansion at the end of a private avenue in the midst of their lands.

Samuel Mead was a cordwainer from Concord, who in 1727 bought of Daniel Wetherbee sixty acres bounded north by the Groton line, adjoining the farm of Jonathan Rand and west of it. John Taylor bought his farm of Jonathan Hall December 24, 1728, it being described as near Oak Hill, adjoining lands of Hapgood and "on the south east side of the Groton and Lancaster road." No buildings now standing mark the homes of these pioneers.

Jonas and Margaret Whitney were married in 1726, and established their home in the fertile valley east of Oak Hill. Their farm is now in possession of a lineal descendant, Samuel F. Whitney, Esquire, and the largest and most complete farm buildings in Harvard fix the site of the original homestead.

Richard Whitney divided a tract of two hundred acres between his sons Richard, Jr., and Josiah. The latter in Revolutionary days was Harvard's most noted and influential citizen; colonel of a state regiment, brigadier-general after the war, and leader of the majority in town politics. The general's dwelling stood nearly opposite the present almshouse, until torn down in 1869, after it had served the town for forty-five years as a home for its paupers.

The dwelling of Adolphus Haskell, near the summit of Oak Hill, was built by James Haskell, Jr., in 1764. James Haskell, Senior, coming from Gloucester in 1755, bought of Samuel Fellows the farm of Thomas Wheeler, who had removed to Dorchester Canada. Wheeler's house, probably built a short time before Harvard's incorporation, stood near the junction of the roads until within a few years, when it was removed, the residence of Austin C. Stratton now occupying its site.

Eleazar Davis was a soldier of noteworthy experience who came from Concord to dwell in that part of Groton, shortly afterwards included in Harvard. He was one of Lovewell's party in the Pequawket Fight, the Thermopylae of early New England story, May 8, 1725, when thirty-four rangers met

about eighty savages led by the Sachem Paugus, on the border of a pond in what is now Fryeburg, Maine, and after a desperate day's struggle defeated them. Their victory was won with the loss of their commander, two lieutenants, an ensign, chaplain, and ten others; twelve of whom were buried upon the field of conflict, and three died of their wounds while trying to make their way home through the forest. All of the survivors but nine were wounded more or less severely. Davis was shot through the body and also lost a thumb, but got into Berwick after eleven days wandering, much of the time alone. He presented a petition to the General Court in 1738, which is found in the journal of the House of Representatives for June 15, as follows:—

A Petition of *Eleazer Davis* of *Harvard* in the County of Worcester, praying the Consideration of the Court on Account of his Sufferings and Services, particularly the Wounds and Smart received in the Fight under the Command of the late Capt. *Lovewell*, against the Indian Enemy at *Piqwacket*.

Read and *Ordered*, That *John Russell*, and *Robert Hale*, Esqrs; Mr *Moodey*, and Mr *Ferry*, be a Committee to consider the said Petition, and report what may be proper to be done thereon.

An order was reported by the committee and passed allowing Davis—

.....the Sum of *four Pounds* per Annum of the new tenor Bills for the space of five Years from the first Day of this Instant *June* in way of a Stipend or Pension. * * *

Davis, on January 17, 1728–9, bought of John Edwards eighty acres of land upon Oak Hill. His homestead was known as the "Gold Mine Lot," and is that occupied until within a few years by the East Family of Shakers.

The residence of Captain Israel Taylor was upon the Lancaster and Groton highway, where the road to Shirley parts from it. His farm bounded upon the old Groton south boundary. Here were born his son Charles, his grandson William, and his great-grandson Zophar, who survives, vigorous in spite of the burden of over four score years. Captain Israel Taylor seems to have been one whom his fellow-citizens never tired of honoring with their town-meeting favors.

He began his official career from the first town election in the role of field-driver, being then too youthful for higher office. He was for about twenty years selectman, became a justice of the peace, and served as representative at the General Court for nine years. The Taylor farm came into possession of Lewis Hayden in 1814, and hence is often called the Hayden place.

The Groton men of the new township, with the exception of Eleazar Davis, had their homes along the Groton and Lancaster road, near the Prescott Mill site. Farnsworth, or Farnworth as it was written at the period of this petition, was a Lancashire name like Prescott, Fairbank, Atherton and Houghton. Matthias Farnworth came from Lynn to Groton about 1660, being one of the original proprietors of the latter township. He was born about 1612 at Farnworth near Manchester, England. Jonathan, his sixth and youngest son, born June 1, 1675, by his wife, Ruth Shattuck, had fifteen children, Jonathan, Reuben and Ephraim being the older sons. Ephraim, who died in 1737 at the age of thirty-five years, left among his personal effects: saddle, bridle and brass spurs, pistols and holsters, a gun, flask and powder-horns, a sword and belt, shoe buckles, silver buttons, etc., mementos of his military career. He was one of the rangers in the campaigns organized by Captain Lovewell. Daniel and Jeremiah Farnworth were sons of John, and grandsons of Matthias. Jeremiah died November 25, 1731, and Daniel does not again appear in Harvard history. The sons of Matthias at his death in 1689 inherited various tracts in the south part of Groton, now embraced in Harvard and Ayer, and Jonathan bought, in 1710, the whole Prescott Mill grant which extended from his brother Samuel's lands to the line of Stow Leg.

Eleazar Robbins was second-lieutenant of Captain Samuel Willard's Company in his famous expedition of 1725 into the White Mountain wilderness. He was a son of George Robbins of Chelmsford, and brother of Lieutenant Jonathan Robbins, one of the heroes of the Pequawket Fight. He bought of Jonathan Farnworth, February 4, 1715–16, over two hundred acres of land, "part of a ffarme formerly Granted unto Captain Jonas Prescott, called the Old Mill ffarme."

He was usually rated as a "gentleman" in legal documents, and kept an inn on the Lancaster and Groton road for several years.

The leader of the Groton men was Simon Stone, Jr., born in 1689, son of one of the early proprietors of that town, and great grandson of Deacon Simon Stone of Watertown, who came to America on the ship Increase in 1633. March 3, 1716, Jonathan Farnworth deeded to him over one hundred acres "on both sides of the Old Mill Brook" and extending almost to the Cold Spring Brook on the west, this tract being between Eleazar Robbins' purchase, and the homestead of Jonathan Farnworth which included the mill privilege. Stone was connected with the Farnsworths by marriage. His dwelling probably stood near, perhaps upon the site of the Blanchard house. Ephraim Stone sold a house and land here to Abel Blanchard in 1783.

The Burks, or Burts—for the first mode of spelling the name soon disappears from the records—bought two hundred acres of Samuel Farnsworth, April 13, 1732, their farm being described as near "Prescotts Old Mill and it is bounded easterly on the highway from Groton to Lancaster, and southeast, on land of Jonathan Farnworth." They very probably built the ancient house now owned and occupied by William Burt Blanchard. The third John Burt was a sergeant in the last French and Indian War, volunteered as a ranger under the famous partisan leader, Major Robert Rogers, and died in the wilderness on his return from the destruction of the Indian village of St. Francis, in 1759.

John Davis married Rebecca Burt in 1723, and had sons, John and Aaron. The latter, in 1777, sold the paternal home to Eleazar Hamlin of Pembroke, who in 1794 transferred it to Rev. Joseph Penniman. The Davis house is that owned by the late Lowell Sprague. John Davis, Jr., built, in 1749 or 1750, upon the opposite side of the highway. His house was torn down not many years ago, being then generally known as the Noah Spaulding place.

In 1732, there was not one vehicle in the township above the grade of a two-wheeled ox-cart. Each farmer had a pair of heavy wheels built by his neighbor the wheelwright, upon

the axle of which he put such home-made contrivances as he found best suited for the burdens he had to carry — a rude box body for manure or roots, a light rack for stover. All journeys were made upon foot or horseback, and very generally the stout farm horse was expected to carry double, a pillion being fastened behind the saddle when a woman was one of the travellers. In such fashion most of the wedding journeys were made; the loving couple, after a fortnight's publishment on the meeting house door, riding upon one horse to the nearest civil magistrate or minister, and returning as man and wife to a humble new home, probably on some arable land set off from the paternal farm as a marriage portion to the bridegroom. The few items of hardware that went to the construction of the new house, and the utensils of iron about the fire-side — such as trammels, tongs, cob-irons, brander, slice, toasting fork, etc.— were wrought upon his anvil by the village blacksmith. A carpenter made the settle and table, and a chest wherein to store the bed-linen and clothing. The cooper, the turner and the cabinet-maker, each furnished a few articles of their manufacture. The young wife brought as her dowry a cow, the familiar spinning-wheel, a flock bed and the little stock of sheets, pillow biers, blankets and rugs which for many a day her labor had been accumulating for this contingency. For gala wear she also had an extra "serge gown" and a "say apron," a "sattinisco petticoate," an extra "linsey woolsey petticoat," a "red serge hood" and a "red serge mantle." Then from somewhere came an iron pot, a brass kettle, a skillet, an iron candlestick, a porringer or two, half a dozen pewter plates and platters, as many iron, pewter or alchemy spoons, and a few dishes of common crockery.

In the evenings by the fire-light the husband fashioned birch-twig or splint brooms, rude baskets, stools, and other wooden utensils, while his helpmate plied the wheel or knitting needles. They proved the sun a sluggard, being astir about the day's business before the robins had begun their morning songs. Diligence and economy thrive, and as the harvests came round the young couple got more and more gear. When prattling children began to crowd around the

board, the house was enlarged; the two rooms became four, and their furnishment grew to meet the growing wants. What needed they more? Godliness, cleanliness, industry were their home atmosphere. Health and toil gave them appetite for such food as field and forest and river yielded, and contentment made of their frugal means a competence.

The builders of Harvard were given to marrying. They married early, and, Providence permitting, they married often. The widower had no conscientious scruples about consoling himself with his deceased wife's sister. The recorded dates of quick following events often suggest the thought that "the funeral baked meats did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables." Old bachelors there were none, save Stephen Atherton the *non-compos*, and of old maids the rarity proved them victims of a stress of circumstances.

The ordinary food of the farmer's family, though abundant, was of the simplest, demanding the sauce of good appetite and sound digestive powers. Tables "groaned," but chiefly under the weight of "bean porridge hot and bean porridge cold," brown bread, hominy or hasty-pudding and milk, pork, salt beef boiled, salt and fresh fish, succotash and the commonest vegetables in their season. Molasses and honey sufficed for sweetening, sugar being costly, and rarely used except in sickness or in entertaining guests. The top shelf at the village store held a row of white cones wrapped in purple paper. One of these "loaves," weighing eight or ten pounds, was about a year's supply of sugar to the ordinary family. The paper wrap was carefully saved and utilized in the dyeing of yarn. Now about seventy pounds of sugar per annum are consumed by each individual in the state of Massachusetts.

At the date of Harvard's incorporation potatoes were hardly thought of as a farm product, having been introduced from Ireland only a few years before; but the chief root crop was the turnip; pumpkins, squashes, maize and beans, the Puritans had found cultivated by the Indians, and soon improved them by deeper tillage; while wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, parsnips, carrots, onions and hops they brought from England. Maize became the chief crop, for it was soon seen

that it gave a greater amount of food for man and beast with less labor than any other grain. Apples, pears, cherries and quinces, introduced from the mother country, improved greatly in size and flavor, and it was quite early discovered that the Wataquadock and Bare Hill slopes were peculiarly propitious to fruit culture. Most farmers kept two or three hives of bees. Tobacco was raised for domestic use, and there is abundant evidence to show that the good-wives were as fond of their cob pipes as the husbandmen. Mrs. Rowlandson, the wife of Lancaster's first minister, has told us in her famous narrative how "bewitching" the habit of smoking was to her. Henry Haskell of Still River, in 1739, when enumerating in his will the support to be annually furnished by his sons from his estate for the comfort of their mother, Ruth, specifies:—

.....One Cow to be Kept Winter and Summer.....and also four sheep and a horse when she shall have occasion to use the same, and also eight coards of Wood to be brought to the Door yearly.....with full liberty to take and use what apples she shall have occasion for out of the Orchard both for Summer and Winter; also one hundred and eighty pounds of Pork and one hundred pounds of beef yearly during her life; also twelve bushells of Indian Corn, one bushell of Wheat and two of Rye and two barrels of Cyder yearly during her life; and one bushell of Peas and half a bushell of beans yearly, and ten pounds of flax from the hatchell, and two bushell of Malt, *and twenty pound of Tobacco yearly during her life time;* and ten pounds of money to be paid to her yearly by my Executors, likewise two pair of Shoes yearly.....and two bushells of Turnips during her life.....

He bequeathed to his spinster daughter, Ruth, "a loom." The inventory of the estate of Deacon Simon Stone, Harvard's foremost citizen, who died in 1746, amounted to 508£. In the long list of chattels we find "a silver cup," "an oval table"—unwonted luxuries at the period—also "a loom and tackling;...a lanthorn; a looking-glass;...wheels and cards; flax combs; sheep shears;...a warming pan; skillets; a fire slice; trammels; keelers; a razor;...two swarms of bees; a pigeon net; a cyder mill, etc." Thus through will and inventory of two among the most thrifty of Harvard's yeomanry we get glimpses of the simple mode of life and the narrow household economy in her "first families."

Flax was a regular crop for home consumption, and no acres of modern culture, not even those of the South when snowy with ripe cotton, can rival in beauty the flax field in its full bloom of celestial blue. The clothing of both sexes and all ages was literally grown on the farm, and whether of flax, or wool, or both combined, was mainly the product of domestic toil and skill. The droning hum of the spinster's wheels was heard early and late in every cottage, and the thud of the loom shuttle was a familiar sound in many a farm-house. The fashion of garments for both sexes was simple and unchanging, and whether wedding suit or every-day wear, all were fabricated from loom to the last stitch with the definite purpose in view that they should outlive the owners, and in their last will and testament be handed down as heirlooms to their children.

Hospitality was not effusive, but when offered it was fully as genuine as that of modern days in Harvard. It certainly was not a matter of mannerisms and table decoration; nor a weighed and measured exchange of ceremonious entertainment. Neighborly intercourse was marked by simplicity and sober cordiality; and social gatherings were common, and hilarious enough; though in most of these some useful industry preceded the revels—like the long grace before the daily meal. In fact, social meetings were more common than in modern days, because of the greater dependence, one upon another. There were no ostentatious receptions, nor balls, nor fancy-dress parties, nor church fairs, nor concerts, nor cattle-shows, nor caucuses, nor Christmas; but plenty of huskings, quilting frolics, raisings, apple-paring bees, and sheep-shearings, besides that annual consummation of grateful joy and bountiful feast, the old-fashioned Thanksgiving. Even when making an afternoon call the women took their knitting or sewing—and the baby—with them. It was in this era that there began the evolution of the model New England housewife—since the invasion of the Celt fast becoming an extinct type—that notable woman, tireless and thrifty, who baked and boiled and roasted and brewed; spun and knit and braided and wove; darned and patched and made over; scrubbed and scoured and laundered; made soap and cheese

and butter; besides cajoling and managing a husband; nursing at the maternal fount, singing the lullaby for, and teaching the catechism to, a dozen children in succession. We cannot justly charge the rural existence of the period with being colorless, but it was often strenuous, sad and barren enough. Not yet had the fight for life and liberty ended, and the pursuit of mundane happiness was postponed to the indefinite morrow. The load of responsibility crushed inclinations to much mirthfulness, except in the youthful and careless. The economy which was a hard necessity with the fathers, too often, alas! in the children developed into niggardliness—a heart-killing, soul-starving art.

The colonists who brought to New England their heritage of Saxon virtues and energies, did not leave behind them all the ancestral vices or passions. Though a simple-hearted folk, leading lives of loving domesticity, these grandsires of ours and their good-wives, it must be confessed, lacked refinement. They would have ill suited their environment had they not been of stronger individuality, ruder tastes, more callous natures, and every way of coarser fibre than their descendants in the fifth generation. They unblushingly "called a spade a spade." When hot with irritation they used a very vulgar vernacular. Gross lapses from moral rectitude were regularly made the subject of oral confession in the presence of the congregated church, and duly recorded by the pastor. Moreover, we are told that the self-accusations of the low-voiced, stammering sinners always won a rapt attention such as no pulpit eloquence could gain. This unsavory charge obtains force when we read in the ministers' records, that so late as 1798, "the pastor then submitted to the consideration of the brethren the propriety of abolishing the custom of making confession for the sin of fornication in *particular*," and that the proposition stirred up a "warm debate," but effected no change in the musty by-laws.

Superstitions which now seem strange then held the majority in firm bondage. During 1720, the fantastic tricks of three young girls in Littleton, who pretended to be sufferers from sorcery, caused intense excitement not only in that town but throughout the neighboring villages. Though not at-

tended with any of that frenzy which thirty years earlier had led to wholesale murder, the sensation brought out the fact that a belief in the existence and power of witches was as rife as ever. Throughout that century and even to within the memory of the living, from time to time in Harvard individuals otherwise sober-minded have declared themselves the victims of witchcraft; usually charging their mishaps to the evil eye or magic arts of some forlorn old crone. For instance, the later years of Moses Tyler and Daniel Willard, it is said, were greatly embittered by their believing themselves afflicted by witches; and good dame Knight, when she had ill success in butter-making, never blamed her own lack of skill, but inveighed against her neighbor Goody Pollard for bewitching the cream. She declared that she one day struck with the peel a great, black spider which ran out from the churn, but, though seriously crippled, it got away up the chimney; and the next day she found out that it was a witch she had hurt, and who it was, for Goody Pollard had to send for the doctor, having been badly lamed, as she alleged, by fall-down stairs.

The people among whom credulity created such fear of warlocks and witches as the bond servants of a personal devil, naturally saw supernatural apparitions; experienced miraculous cures; consulted fortune tellers and secretly wore charms; entered upon no important enterprise or journey on Friday, and never stepped into a house left foot foremost; dug their wells under the direction of some gifted individual in whose hand the witch-rod would "work;" administered all the ordinary affairs of farm and household with reference to the phases of the moon.

When that fell destroyer, consumption, broke into a family circle and began to bear away its victims in slow but sure succession, humiliating the most self-confident physicians with a sense of their impotence, there often came to light a strange delusion—the vulgar belief that if the heart of one who had died with that disease were burned, and the members of the household inhaled the fumes from it, they would escape the doom hanging over them. There is a well-attested tradition that about a century ago, in a consumptive-stricken family of

Harvard already bereft of eight or more of its youth, a dying girl exacted from friends a solemn promise that her heart should be consumed for the benefit of her sisters, and her last wish was duly carried out. One of these sisters at least survived to acknowledge to her inquisitive grand-daughter, who heard this tradition, that the story was essentially true.

Some grim ghosts walk in Harvard tradition, mostly of undoubted kin to that of Cock Lane. The hobgoblin that made the most noise in town was that of a murdered drummer. The tale of this disturber of Harvard's rural quietude was given the author by Reverend John B. Willard: One winter's evening soon after the close of the war for independence, a traveler, weary with tramping through the deep snow, halted for the night at the Saunderson Tavern on the Littleton road. It was soon known to the landlord and the bibulous frequenters of his bar-room that the wayfarer's name was Hill, that he had served as a drummer in the patriot army, and was returning home from Boston with the accumulated wages for his service in his pocket. After that night the stranger was never again seen alive, and there is little doubt that he was killed for his money. Popular opinion pointed to a shady character by the name of McDaniell as the murderer, and the guilty connivance of the tavern-keeper was suspected. Nothing tangible was found to incriminate any one, but Saunderson soon removed from town.

Several years later, a ploughman on the farm of Ebenezer Bridge, not far from the site of the tavern, turned up a human skeleton with his furrow. The mysterious disappearance of the drummer was recalled, and the bones brought to light were at once declared to be Hill's. His father was notified of the ghastly discovery, but being too infirm to journey to Harvard, sent word that if the remains were those of his son, they could be identified by a noticeable peculiarity of the teeth. Examination of the exhumed skull disclosed the specified singularity. The bones were reburied under a tree near by.

While the affair was fresh in the minds of the people, several individuals with ears like those of Huckleberry Finn, alert for "that kind of sound that a ghost makes when it

wants to tell about something that is on its mind and can't make itself understood, and so can't rest easy in its grave," asserted that they had heard the beating of a drum at night in the neighborhood of Hill's last resting place. No one claimed to have seen the wraith of the murdered man, but sober citizens who travelled the Littleton road by night began to tell of the ghostly drumming to be heard on Oak Hill. At last a hard headed and unimaginative man was found plucky enough to trace the sound to its source, and lo! the complaining ghost was but a loose splinter of a fence rail, upon which the breezes played as with an Æolian harp string. Its fickle music in the hush of night had an uncanny tone, and human fancies and fears translated it into the muffled roll of a kettle-drum.

The rural town in colonial times was a curious mixture of republic and theocracy. All authority emanated from the people, in local matters, and nominally there were no distinctions of rank. The minister and his spouse, however, not only took precedence of everybody in the parish, but were often in effect a majority of the church, indisputable arbiters in all social matters, the referees for all unanswerable questions, and the balance of power in town politics. The cloth and cut of his coat, the powdered wig and cocked hat, the white bands and ruffled wrist linen, the silk stockings and glittering buckles at knee and instep, marked the minister as of a different order of being among his parishioners. He accepted his exaltation as a right prescribed, and usually insisted upon his autocratic privilege with becoming dignity.

The call to the sanctuary on the Sabbath was generally by beat of drum. At the door step of the meeting house was planted a horse-block for the convenience of the female members of the congregation, in mounting and dismounting from their pillions. The men and women sat apart, and the boys had benches by themselves in the gallery, where they were kept in order by a tything-man who tapped upon the head with his long rod of office such as misbehaved or grew drowsy; and drowsiness was not a rare experience for old as well as young in the crowded and unventilated room, when the prayer was an hour in length and the sermon of propor-

tionate prolixity. The elders and deacons had seats of honor directly in front of the pulpit, facing the congregation. The benches in the body of the house were "dignified" and assigned according to age and family distinction, or the amount paid towards the minister's salary. The rigidly graded aristocracy which sat in ordered ranks at the meeting-house on the Sabbath, at a week-day town-meeting in the same building became a radical democracy, insistent upon absolute social equality. The dignifying of the seats was performed by a special committee, and had to be revised from time to time. Each revision was sadly fruitful of envy and bickering. A few private family pews were permitted to be built along the walls, under well defined restrictions.

The singing of the psalms was without instrumental accompaniment, and books being few, one of the deacons or a chorister pitched the tune and read the hymn, line by line, before singing. The revised Bay Psalm Book was used until a few years before the Revolution, when it was supplanted by Tate and Brady. As neither deacon nor congregation knew any other tunes, York, Hackney, Windsor and St. Mary's did duty in regular rotation. There is a tradition that one old worthy in the exercise of his inalienable right of private judgment, and being too deaf to hear the chorister, always sang York in his high-pitched voice, whatever tune his fellow worshipers were laboring upon. Lining or "deaconing" the hymns was very generally discontinued before the days of the Revolution, though in spite of strenuous opposition, and a chorister with a long, wooden pitch-pipe became the official "psalm-setter." Whenever it was possible children were baptized at the meeting-house in the presence of the congregation, and on the Sabbath next following their birth. If, for the reason that the infant was at the point of death, the baptismal rite was performed at a private house, the minister was particularly careful to take his deacons or some church members with him as witnesses, and make careful record of the circumstances, lest he be sharply called to account by the theocracy for irregularity.

The Sabbath began at midnight of the seventh day and was observed with scrupulous formality. John Whitney com-

plained of Benjamin Wheeler in 1736, that he "on the 16th of May currant being the Sabbath or Lord's Day did openly profane said day by unnecessary Labor in spreading of Dung and Harrowing of his Ground." Benjamin could not deny the fact, and Judge Joseph Wilder fined him ten shillings for "the use of the poor," besides the costs of the court, amounting to fifty-three shillings and ten pence. Another member of the Wheeler family—they were Quakers—entered a complaint against himself that "on the 29th day of July 1744, at Bolton, in the County of Worcester, he had broken y^e^ Law by laboring on said day, it being y^e^ first day of y^e^ week." It is not a very rare thing to find record of a person's accusing himself of this or that breach of law, to forestall anticipated prosecution by others, or to mitigate the offence in the eyes of justice or the church elders. Every man was his brother's keeper. Ministers, magistrates, deacons, tithing-men, in the exercise of their functions as guardians elect of the public morals, pushed their inquisitorial scrutiny into the pettiest details of family and individual conduct. Such examples as the following abound in the records of the Court of Sessions:—

Jonathan Read of Harvard in the County of Worcester, husbandman, being presented by the Grand jurors for unnecessaryly absenting himself from ye Publick Worship on Lord's Days as pr y^e^ presentm't found in feb'y last [1749] appears, appeared in Court and was fully heard and the Court order that he be discharged from his Recognizance paying costs.

Jonathan Biglo of Harvard in y^e^ County of Worcester, husbandman, being presented by ye Grandjurors for the said County for lawlessly and unnecessaryly travelling on the Lord's day in the month of January last [1748] as pr the presentment appears, came into court, confess'd himself to be Guilty, was fin'd thirty shillings for said sin, one half to the poor of the town of Harvard, the other half to the King, which he paid with cost & was dismiss'd.

Peter Atherton Esq. one of his majesty's Justices of the Peace,..... made return to the Court that on y^e^ 13^th^ of March last, [1756] Francis Fullam was convicted before him of swearing one profane oath, which certificate was read in Court.

In physique the New Englanders early showed a noticeable tendency to variation from the British type. The pioneer's life struggle, the fickle climate, the change from a diet of beef, beer and wheat, to one in which pork, cider and corn

were the staples, together with some slight admixture of Scotch-Irish, Huguenot and German blood, seem to have conduced to less brawn and more gristle. The new race became less rotund and rosy, but taller, more active and muscular. The beauty of youth was heightened, gaining delicacy in color and finer curves in face and figure. Like modification in mental characteristics began to distinguish the colonists from the people of Great Britain. They possessed greater adaptability, were nimbler of wit, and had a clearer insight when confronted with social and political problems. In short, the evolution of national traits gave early promise of a short life to colonialism.

The founders of Harvard have left the impress of their worthy character upon all succeeding generations. They were heirs of heroic men and women—the pioneers who faced savage nature and savage men with a courage, perseverance and faith in themselves seldom equaled. Though eminently a devout people, accused by contemporary portrait painters and modern censors of wearing a stern, sabbath-day expression throughout the week, they were by no means passionless saints; nor were they all cast in one grim mould, nor everyone bent upon self-sacrifice. On the contrary they were eager to better themselves, and had all the Saxon longing for landed property, and the Saxon practical foresight. Thrift driven from birth they were always providing for "the rainy day," laying aside even from the most meagre income, something —if only linen for the hoped-for wedding or a shroud for the inevitable funeral. They were born earth-subduers, ready to adventure in any field of energy or profit. Emergencies found them level headed, not readily surprised out of their common sense. They were sinewy through regular toil; long enduring through constant climbing of the hill of difficulty; stout-hearted through ignorance of defeat. There were cranks among them, but of the harmless or useful variety. They rose to occasions; they were brimful of ideas; they diligently sought grace and gear, letting who would do the fiddling and dancing. They were independent in thought, wise in counsel, persistent in purpose, brave in action, and above all shrewd and capable in business.

They were gifted in largest measure with what is locally called "faculty," that quality to which is instinctively attached the term Yankee—the rare capacity of fitting themselves into any hole whether square or round, wherever chance, or popular election, or personal ambition led them. Their field of vision was doubtless narrow, and some led sordid lives. Their manners were often uncouth, and their inquisitiveness—the natural result of rural isolation—was sometimes annoying to strangers. They were slow to wrath, but stubborn haters. Their speech was nasal, but racy with quaint conceits and rich in humor. They raised large families of children, and educated them into God-fearing, self-respecting, liberty-loving, heavenward-looking men and women. Most of these went out from the land of their birth to the east, west and the south, bearing with them New England traditions and New England consciences, to aid in the building of other democracies, new commonwealths. Of none of them can it be said that their movements, their sayings or their doings have been events that compelled national applause or won lasting renown; but their lives, wherever spent, have everywhere been eloquent orations upon the dignity of labor. Some have become rich, a few locally famous; but what is better nearly all have been true to their Puritan heritage, and helped to raise the mental and moral average in the land.

III.

MISCELLANEOUS ANNALS. 1732-1892.

THE FIRST TOWN MEETING.

THE ceremony with which Harvard began the exercise of her legislated rights was duly set down upon the first page of the town records by the first Clerk, Peter Atherton, thus:—

At a Great and General Court or Assembly for his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England Held at Boston the 29th. day of June *Anno Domini* 1732, *Annoq: Regni Regio Georgii Secundi Sexto*.

In the House of Representatives June 29, 1732, Ordered that Simon Stone one of the Principal Inhabitants of the Town of Harvard be and hereby is fully impowered to Assemble and Convene the Inhabitants of said Town to Chuse Town Officers to Stand untill their Anniversary Meeting in March next, any Law, Usage or Custom to the Contrary notwithstanding. Sent up for Concurrence.

J. QUINCY, *Speaker*.

In Council June 30th 1732. Read and Concurred.

J. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

June 30th. 1732. Consented to. J. BELCHER. Copy Examined pr J. WILLARD, *Secretary*.

Mr Simon Stone in Obedience to the foregoing Precept Issued his Warrant for a Town Meeting as follows:

HARVARD, July 3, 1732.

These are to Require all the Free holders and other Inhabitants of sd Town to Meet at the House that we now Meet at for the Publick Worship on Tuesday the 11th of this Instant July at 10 of the Clock in the Forenoon to Chuse Town Clerk, Select Men and other Town Officers as the Law Directs. By Vertue of an Order from the Great and General Court or Assembly to me Directed. SIMON STONE.

HARVARD, July 11th, 1732.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants of sd. Town being legally Warned by Simon Stone by Vertue of an Order from the General Court to him

directed. The 1st Vote was for Mr Simon Stone, Moderator. The 2d Vote was for Peter Atherton Town Clerk. Then 3dly. The Town voted for Hezekiah Willard, Simon Stone, Jonathan Whitney, Thomas Wheeler and Gabriel Priest, Select Men. 4ly the Town Chose Joseph Atherton and Jonas Whitney for Constables. 5thly. The Town Chose Samuel Warner, Eleazar Davis and Peter Atherton for Assessors. 6thly. John Willard was chosen Town Treasurer. 7ly. The Town Chose Henry Willard and Jonathan Farnworth Junr. for Tything Men. 8ly. The Town made choice of Jacob Gates and John Nichols for Surveyors of Highways. 9ly. For Fence Viewers the Town Chose Joseph Willard and John Whitney. 10ly. For Hogreeves they Chose William Buttrick and Joseph Sawyer. 11ly. The Town Chose Israel Taylor and Ephraim Farnworth for Field Drivers.

Entred p. PETER ATHERTON, *Town Clerk.*

SIMON STONE, *Moderator.*

The following is the warrant to the Still River Constable for the collection of the first assessed taxes:—

WORCESTER, SS. *To Joseph Atherton, Constable of Harvard, within the sd. County, of Harvard Greeting.*

In His majesties name you are Required to Levy and Colect of the severall persons Hereafter named in ye List Hereunto committed unto you each one his Respective proportion the sum sett down of the sum totall of such List being twelve pounds ten shillings and eleven pence, being a tax or assesment ordered & agreed upon by the Inhabitants of Harvard for the defraying of Charges arisen and arising in sd. town and to deliver and pay in the sum or sums which you shall so Levy and Colect unto John Willard Town Treasurer and to compleat and make up an account of your Colections of ye whole sum at or before the last day of March next with sd. Treasurer and if any person or persons shall neglect or Refuse to make payment of their sum or sums whereat he or they are Respectively assesed and sett in ye said List to distrein ye Goods or Chattels of such person or persons to ye value thereof and the distress or distreses so to Keep by the space of four days at ye Cost and Charg of ye owner and if ye owner do not pay ye sum or sums of money so assesed upon him within ye sd four days then ye distres so taken you are to expose oppenly sell at an outcry for the payment of ye sd money and charges notice of such sale being posted up in some publick place in ye same Town twenty-four Hours beforehand and ye overplus coming by the sd sale besides ye sum or sums of ye assessment and ye charges of taking and keeping of ye distress or distreses (if any be) be immediatly Restored to ye owner and for want of Goods or Chattels wheron to make distress you are to seize ye body or bodyes of ye person or persons so Refusing and him or them committ unto the Goall of ye county there to Remain untill he or they pay or satisfy In ye severall sum or sums wherat

he or they are asessed as aforsaid unless upon Application made to ye Court of General Sessions of ye peace ye same or any part thereof be abated.

Datted in Harvard January ye Sixth. in the Seventh year of His Majesties Reign anno: 1733.

SAMLL WARNER
PETER ATHERTON } *Assessors of Harvard*
ELEAZER DAVIS

In 1741 it required two town-meetings to secure the normal number of three constables. Ten men were successively elected who firmly declined the very troublesome duties of the office and paid their fines, five pounds each, rather than serve. To the constables was not only assigned the collection of taxes, but they were held personally liable for all sums assessed, even those they failed to secure from the rate-payers. The duties of the office were not only disagreeable and onerous but ill paid, and it seems to have become customary to choose every competent citizen to the office sooner or later, and especially those thought able to pay the penalty prescribed for the refusal to serve. Great difficulty was always experienced in finding suitable men willing to act as constables. In 1790 it was formally voted that any one who paid ten dollars into the town treasury should be "considered the same as though he had served as constable for one year."

The town meetings for the year 1733 were largely engaged with questions concerning the ordination and settlement of the first minister, and the location and building of the meeting house. The proceedings relative to these matters have more appropriate place in the chapter upon ecclesiastical history. April 1, 1734, the town voted:—

.....To Build a Pound thirty feet square, seven feet high, seven Rails in one Length; Posts and Rails to be hewed and sett in the Ground, and Capt. Willard, Deacon Stone, and Cornet Sawyer undertook to Build and finish it by the 15th. of May for Five Pounds. The Town voted six shillings to be paid Mr John Daby to Build a pair of Stocks.

This early advertisement of accommodations for man and beast was a legal obligation, a never-omitted ceremonial in the building of a town. The ample dimensions of the

pound point to the great number of estrays that demanded the attention of the field drivers. What tenants the stocks may have had, if any, we do not know, for the constables left no register; but a long record of estrays is preserved.

COUNTY DIVISION.

The distance of many towns in Northern Massachusetts, from the land registry and other county offices, greatly aggravated as it was by the execrable condition of the highways, led to frequent combinations for the forming of a new county. The jealousies of the communities ambitious of the honor of becoming the shire town alone prevented the success of the movement. At a town meeting called at the new meeting house in Harvard August 26, 1734:—

The Town being met according to Warning Chose Deac; Simon Stone Moderator, and then the Meeting was immediately Adjourned to the Old Meeting House, and upon adjournment Voted — that the Town was willing to be sett off to the New County Provided Groton be the Shire Town, and that this Town be Exempted and Freed from the Charges of Building a Court House and Goal and other Charges for settling said County.

A year later this proposition for the formation of a new county from the northernmost towns of Worcester and Middlesex came up again, and met with a similar response from Harvard, with specific objection to the selection of either Chelmsford or Dunstable as the shire town. In 1763 there was a movement to shape a new county from the northern towns of Worcester, but it met with no favor in Harvard's town meeting. Captain Eleazar Hamlin was sent as the town's delegate to a convention held at Lunenburg May 19, 1785, from the deliberations at which resulted this circular letter:—

LUNENBURG, May 23d. 1785.

To the Selectmen of the Town of ———

We have to acquaint you, that on the nineteenth Day of May Instant in Persuance of a Circular Letter from the Town of Leominster, Delegates from the folling Towns, viz: Townshend, Shirley, Ashby, Lancaster, Harvard, Lunenburg, Leominster and Fitchburg convened at Mr Whitney's in this town, to take into Consideration the Expediency of applying for a new County to be erected in this Quarter of the Goverment,

where it was voted unanimously that it is highly Convenant that a New County be erected, and that a Committee be chosen to write to the Towns of Groton, Dunstable, Littleton, Westford, Pepperel and Boxboro, and Bolton, Berlin, Sterling, Princeton, Westminster, Ashburnham and Winchendon to inform them of the Proceedings of the Convention and to Request them to join Herein at the adjournment which is to be held on the third Tuesday of June Next at Nine o Clock in the morning, at Mr Whitney's Tavern in this town.

We are Gentlemen
Your most obed^{t}. & very Hu^{le}: serv^{ts}:
GEORGE KIMBALL } *Committee*
SAM^{L} DEXTER }

The exciting events consequent upon Shays' Rebellion prevented any further attention to this scheme, at that time, but the agitation was renewed in 1793, a convention in its favor being called at Leominster. Harvard refused to send a delegate to this convention; but, April 6, 1795, singularly enough, the town voted to petition the General Court that it might be annexed to the County of Middlesex. In 1811, the secession fever broke out again in the neighboring towns, but Harvard was not in favor of change. The project of county division slept for awhile, only to appear again with persistent energies behind it. In 1851 Harvard instructed her representative "to oppose by all honorable means the separation of this town from the old county of Worcester." In 1853 a vote showed ten in favor of a new county and one hundred and forty-five against it. In 1855, 1856 and 1874, the town was equally firm in its opposition to proposed division.

It was for more than a century the custom for tax payers to "work out" their rates under the direction of surveyors of highways, to each of whom a special district was assigned. May 12, 1735, a formal vote fixed the price of labor upon the roads from the first of April to the last of August at five shillings per day for a man, two shillings and sixpence for a yoke of oxen, eighteen pence for a horse, and one shilling for a cart; from the first of September to the last of March three shillings and sixpence for a man, two shillings for a yoke of oxen, one shilling for a horse and one shilling for a cart. As the legal tender of the day was the "old tenor" paper currency, worth less than one-third its face in silver, a summer

day's wages for an able bodied man was then about twenty cents. The bills of credit of other New England Colonies were current in Massachusetts, and as their issues—especially that of Rhode Island—exceeded safe limits, all currency became greatly depreciated and there began a drainage of silver to other states. This evil Massachusetts finally corrected in 1750 by prohibitory legislation, and the Harvard town-clerk recorded regularly at the town elections from 1750 to 1755, that in addition to the usual oath of office, the officers elect through whose hands any public funds were to pass, testified under oath that they had not, directly or indirectly, received or paid out any bills of credit issued by the governments of Connecticut, New Hampshire, or Rhode Island. From March 31, 1750, "lawful money" took the place of the "old tenor" currency, the pound ($3.33) being equivalent to three ounces of silver.

An old diary states that on April 23, 1737, seven inches of snow fell throughout the Nashua Valley.

March 4, 1745, the town having bought the stock of ammunition required by statute, ordered that it "be kept in the Roof of the Meeting House." Although this may seem a strange place for a powder magazine, it was not so esteemed by our ancestors, as the records of other towns prove. The situation had its advantages, being centrally located, dry, removed from danger of fire, and easily accessible when wanted. In time of war when the stock of ammunition became more bulky, a powder-house was built on the rocky hill west of the horse sheds on the common.

The year 1746 was long remembered as one of singular fatality, especially among children. Thirty-seven deaths were registered, two-thirds of them in September and October. No evidence is found that the ravages of diseases were similarly severe in other towns.

THE SECESSION SCHEME OF SHABIKIN.

In 1747 a formidable combination was formed by certain inhabitants of Harvard, Lancaster and Groton with the half-dozen residents of that portion of Stow Leg left on the west of the Nashua river, looking to the erection of a new town-

ship. The proposed seceders entered into a covenant, which is preserved in Massachusetts Archives cxv. 220–222, and petitioned the legislature and the several towns interested. Their request met the Harvard voters in May 1748. The covenant is as follows:—

We the Subscribers being Inhabitants of the Extream Parts of Groton, Lancaster and Harvard as allso the Proprietors of the Land belonging to the Town of Stow (which Land is scituate Lying and being Between the Towns above said Namely Groton Lancaster and Harvard) Do Covenant and Promise to and with Each other And We Do Hereby of our own Free Will and Motion In the exercise of Love and Charity Towards one another with Mutual Consent in the strongest Manner Binding our Selves the Subscribers each and every of us Conjunctly one to another (for the Gospels Sake) Firmly Covenanting and Promising to and with Each other that we will as Speedely as may be with Conveniency Petition the Several Towns to which we Respectively belong and Likewise the Great and General Court That we may be Erected or Incorperated into a Destinct and seperate Township of our Selves with those Lands within the Bounds and Limits Here after Discribed vfz, Beginning at the River called Lancaster River at the turning of Sd River Below the Brige called John Whits Brige & Runing Notherly to Hell Pond and on Still to the Line Betwixt Harvard and Groton Including John Farwell then to Coyecus Brook Leaveing the Mills and Down Said Brook to the River and down Said River to the Rye ford way then Runing Westerly to the Notherly End of Horse Pond and so on to Luningburg Line Including Robert Henry and Daniel Page and then Runing Southerly Extending Beyound Luningburg So far Into Lancaster as that Runing Easterly the Place on which Ralph Kendall formerly Lived Shall be Included and so on Runing Easterly to the Turn in the River first mentioned.

Moreover we Do Covenant Promise and Engage Truly and Faithfully that we will Consent to and Justifie any Petition that shall be Prefered in our names and behalf to our Respective Towns and to the Great and General Court for the Ends and Purposes above Mentioned.

Furthermore we Do Covenant Promise and Engage as above that we will advance money for and Pay all such Reasonable nessesary Charges that may arise in the Prosecuting and Obtaining our Said Petitions and that we will Each and Every of us Respectively Endever to Promote and Maintain Peace Unity Concord and Good Agreement amoungst our Selves as Becometh Christians

And now haveing thus Covenanted as above Said We Do Each and Every one of us who have Hereunto Subscribed Protest and Declare that Every Article and Parigraph and Thing Contained in the above Writen Shall be Absolutely and Unacceptionably Binding in Manner and form as above Declared and Shall So Continue upon and Against Each and Every one of us untill we are Erected or Incorporated Into a Township

as above said or that Provedance Shall Remove us by Death or Otherways anything to the Conterary Notwithstanding.

Witness our Hands the Eighth Day of December one Thousand Seven Hundred and Fourty Seven and in the Twentieth Year of His Majesties Reign George the Second King &c.

HARVARD.

Richard Hall	Timothy Hall	Jonathan his mark Read
Jona. Bigelow	Phenihas Farnworth	Jonathan Read ju
Joseph Hutchins	Amos Russel	Abijah Willard
Simeon Farnsworth		

GROTON.

Samuel Hazen	Charles Richards	Manasser Divoll
Joseph Priest	Daniel Page	John Osgood
Samll flood	John Longley Ju^{r}.	Abijah Frost
John Pearce	Abijah Willard	John Peirce house rite

LANCASTER.

Henry Haskell	Daniel Willard	Benjamin Willard
John Nicholls	Joseph Priest	Jacob Houghton
Thomas Wright	William Farmer	Corp Elias Sawyer
William Willard	Joseph Bond	Amos *Am* his mark Atherton
Joshua Johnson	Henry Willard	

STOW LEG.

John Houghton Ju^{r}	Joseph Brown	Samuel Randall
John Samson	Hannah Brown	Benjamin Samson

The opposition of the towns was so determined that the proposition was speedily abandoned. Six years later Shirley was created a district without disturbing the boundaries of Lancaster or Harvard. In 1768 a proposition to set off the northwestern part of Harvard to Shirley met with firm refusal.

The year 1749 was noted in the diaries of the period for an unprecedented drought, little rain falling after the melting of the snow until the sixth of July. The springs and brooks were dried up by the fervid and protracted heat. The early grain and root crops and much of the upland grass were destroyed. Many of the forest trees dropped their leaves and some were killed by the lack of moisture. The years 1755 and 1756 were even more memorable in the local calendar. In the evening of November 18, 1755, seventeen days after the destruction of Lisbon, occurred the famous New England earthquake, the phenomenal tremors of which were so ener-

getic along the Nashua valley as to excite general consternation, and give peculiar point to the solemn admonitions of the local ministers for a long time afterwards. The next year the same part of the county was ravaged by an endemic dysentery of a very severe type. In the village of Chocksett, now Sterling, so fatal was this disease that one in twenty of the inhabitants died within eight weeks, and the well hardly sufficed to give proper care to the sick. In Harvard the fatality was very great. There were forty-three deaths during the year, thirty-five being of children—double the usual death rate. Twenty-six of these were during the months of September and October. By many this scourge was thought to have some occult connection with the earth quake, and the clergy proclaimed it a renewed rebuke of Heaven to sinners.

In 1757 the county road from Worcester to Groton through Shrewsbury, Lancaster and Harvard was laid out, three rods wide. It followed in Harvard the old Lancaster and Groton highway.

THE DORCHESTER-CANADA EXODUS.

Immediately after the final conquest of Canada, which forever relieved New England from fear of French invasion, the landless and the adventurous began swarming from the older towns of Massachusetts into the wilderness where farms could be had for the clearing. Then happened a noteworthy exodus from Harvard. Nearly one-tenth of her citizens sought homes in the newer towns. Most of these emigrants by chance found their promised land in Dorchester Canada, which was incorporated as Ashburnham in 1765. Jeremiah Foster was the first of those from this town to reach that settlement, bearing with him through the woodland paths, upon an ordinary farm cart drawn by oxen, his family and humble worldly possessions. Thomas Wheeler, one of Harvard's first selectmen, and for eight years town clerk, soon followed, and set up a tavern in the wilds. Between 1760 and 1770, Harvard lost and Ashburnham gained: John Conn, the first Scotch Irish immigrant to settle in the town, George Dickinson, Samuel Fellows, Jonathan Gates, Jacob and

Nathaniel Harris, Uriah Holt, Samuel Nichols, William Pollard, Jonathan Samson, Grover Scollay, Ephraim, Joseph and Oliver Stone, William Whitcomb, Jacob, John, Hezekiah, Oliver and Timothy Willard. Most of these were men with families. Ashburnham for a time was a Harvard colony.

May 16, 1774, a vote of the town points to an attempt to increase the area and population of Harvard at the expense of Groton; one, however, which probably ended then and there, as no hint of further action appears:—

.....Article 8th. Voted to receive Benjamin Davis, Jonathan Stone, Abner Whetcombe, and Amos Lamson; inhabitants of the Town of Groton to be inhabitants of Harvard when regularly sett off according to their Request and their lands annexed to the Town of Harvard.

BOXBOROUGH.

It was a plain prophecy of coming secession, when, early in 1776, certain farmers resident near the eastern border of the town joined with others in the southern part of Littleton and the western part of Stow to purchase the old meeting house of Harvard, and build from its materials a house of worship for themselves. May 14, 1777, a town meeting rejected "the petition of a number of Inhabitants of the Town praying to be set off to a part of Stow and Littleton, or otherwise that their minister and school rates be abated." In November the neighborhood society petitioned the General Court for parish privileges, and the town of Harvard in opposition alleged the following reasons against legislative action:—

First. That it will destroy the Ballance of the Town. *Secondly*, we have lately erected a commodious Meeting House to accommodate the whole Town. *Thirdly*, the Inhabitants have been at Great Expence to accommodate every part of the Town in Roads leading to the Meeting House. *Fourthly*, that if the Town should consent that a part be taken from the easterly side it is likely that the westerly side will make the same application. *Fifthly*, There has been a Baptist Society lately set up in the Town which tends to lessen the ability of the Town to Support the Gospel in the ancient and usual place of public worship. *Sixthly*, that no one of the Inhabitants proposing to be set off lives at more than three miles and a half from the meeting house.

October 23, 1780, when another petition met the voters of Harvard, asking in behalf of the same citizens that they be set off with portions of Stow and Littleton for incorporation as a town, it found a favoring majority. It was then:—

Voted to grant the prayer of the petitioners as set forth in the article [in the warrant] except John Priest's, Jonas Whitney's and Benjamin Robbins' homestead farms.

The contest continued with the other towns some time longer, but February 25, 1783, it ended in the creation of Boxborough as a District, with the following bounds:—

.....Beginning at the road southerly of John Robbins' buildings, and running southerly to Acton Corner three miles and ninety-two rods to a heap of stones; from thence running southerly in Acton line, to a Place called Flag Hill being two miles, three quarters and ten rods to a heap of stones; from thence westerly in Stow two miles and a quarter to a stake and pillar of stones in the Harvard line; thence running Northerly through part of Harvard to a white oak tree by a causeway; from thence to the place first set out from.....

The following year, amendment of this act was sought by the following petition:—

In behalf of the Town of Harvard and District of Boxborough. Humbly Sheweth that whereas the Line between Harvard and Boxborough as Specified in the Incorporating Bill (of sd District) leaves some Inhabitants to Harvard that was meant should belong to Boxborough: we therefore Pray that the Line agreed to by a Committee from said Town and District and accepted by s^{d} Harvard and Boxborough may be established which is as follows, (*viz*): Beginning at a heap of Stones at Stow Line Easterly of Joseph Houghton's House and runs Westerly to a white oak tree by a Causway a corner of s^{d} Boxborough, then North twenty-nine Degrees East two mile and forty-seven Rods to a heap of Stones on a Large Rock in Oliver Sawyer's Pasture, from thence East forty Degrees North one Hundred and forty-three Rods to a Heap of Stones in Jonas Whitney's Pasture, from thence North forty Degrees East one Hundred and twenty-six rods to an appletree and Heap of Stones on the East Side of the Road opposite Benjamin Robins House, thence by said Road one Hundred and fifty-four Rods to a Heap of Stones on the Westerly side of said Road near John Robins Buildings. And whereas great Inconveniences arise, and much uneasiness in the minds of some persons by reason of having their homestead Farms divided by s^{d} Line, we further Pray that those Inhabitants may Pay all

their Taxes in future for s[d] Homestead farms to the Town that takes in their Buildings, and your Petitioners as in duty bound will ever Pray &c.

ASA HOUGHTON, JONAS WHITNEY, NATH. LONGLEY, } In behalf of *Harvard.*

ABEL WHITCOMB, OLIVER MEAD, OLIVER TAYLOR, } In behalf of *Boxborough.*

An act was passed in July establishing the line in accordance with the wishes of the petitioners, and thus it has remained to the present day; although each new survey records more or less changes in the courses and distances. The amount of land thus taken from Harvard was about sixteen hundred acres.

THE STATE CONSTITUTION.

In the framing of the formal declaration of political principles by which they were willing to be governed, the Harvard freemen showed a solemn sense of their duties and privileges, and a full understanding of the importance of discussion and deliberation.

September 25, 1776. The Town being assembled.....2. Heard a resolve of Court Relative to Establishing a Form of Government for the State of the Massachusetts Bay, and after deliberate Consideration, Voted that the present House of Representatives....together with the Council then Consenting, in one body with the House and by Equal Voice should consult, agree on, and enact, such a Constitution and Form of Government for the State as the said House of Representatives and Council aforesaid on the fullest and most mature Deliberation shall judge will most conduce to the safety, peace and hapyness of this State in all after Succeşsions and Generations, and that the same be made publick for the inspection of the inhabitants before the Ratification thereof by the Assembly: likewise Voted that the Town Clerk do Exhibit a Copy of the above vote to the office of the Secretary of this State as soon as may be. 3. Voted that the representative of this Town use his influence that said Town be Vested with power to settle intestate Estates lying within the same, equally authentick to the settlement of such Estates in the former Probate office, as also the establishment of Wills and Settlements as aforesaid, and that he likewise use his influence that the said Town be Vested with Legal power to keep authentick Records of Deeds and Conveyances of lands within said Town.....

It was the custom, whenever any question of grave political import was likely to meet the General Court, for the town to give their representative formal instructions in writing to

guide his action. May 26, 1777, the following letter, prepared by a previously appointed committee, was adopted by the town as expressing their views respecting a state constitution:

Sr. As you have the sufferages of the Legal Voters of this Town to Represent them in the Great and General Court the following year we wish you and your Breathren who may be Chosen in the several Towns to Represent them in like manner all that light and assistance from the Father of lights and fountain of wisdom which your important betrustment requires. And with Respect to the form & Constitution of Government proposed to be Established agreeable to a Recommendation of the late Hoble. House of Representatives bearing date the 5th of May 1777. We deliver to you our Sentiments in the following manner. We think it would be most conducive to the hapyness, strength, and stability of the United States provided one and the same form of government might be established and run thro' the whole so far as the Circumstances peculiar to each State would admit, and we doubt not but that a measure so salutary for the interest of the whole may be brought about when the affairs which concern the Defence of these Confederate States will admit of its being attended to; in the mean time, we are sensible that some mode of government must be adopted. We therefore Recommend that you use your influence with the Counsel and house of Representatives acting in one body by ballot to chuse a Committee (perhaps one member from each County) of such persons who do not belong to the General Court, and that the Comttee so chosen be directed to devote their whole attention to the Drawing up a form of Government till it be Compleated to be laid before the People for their aprobation which form of Government being accepted by the majority of the people we Recommend to be Confirmed by the General Court, but at the same time subject to any after alterations whenever it shall be supposed for the interest of the State by the majority of the people to make them.

HARVARD May 26th 1777.

OLIVER WHITNEY
JOSEPH WILLARD
JONT. PUFFER
JOSEPH WHEELER
SILAS PARKHURST
} *Committee.*

To Captain Phineas Fairbank.

March 23, 1778.....3. Read the constitution agreed upon by the Convention of this State, whereupon the Town voted and chose a committee to take the same under their consideration and make report to the Town.

This committee was increased from fifteen to forty-five on April 6, and reported to an adjourned meeting, May 25, as follows:—

The Committee of Fifteen members viz: Dea Fairbanks and others to whome was Refered the Consideration of the Constitution & form of Government sent from the General Court of this State to the several Towns and plantations within the same for their approbation, to which Committee has since been added by said Town a Com'tee of Thirty members viz. Simon Daby and others; and they meeting together and forming one Committee, beg leave to make the following Report, viz; that upon a serious and carefull examination of said Constitution they Judge (some few alterations being made,) that it is well calculated to preserve the rights and liberties and to promote the hapyness of this State.

The alterations which the Com^{ttee} would refer to the Consideration of the Town are as follows viz:

1st. The Committee Recommend that in the 5th page of the Constitution & ninth line these words should be incerted after the word them (meeting for said purpose).

2^{dly}. in the fifth article they Recommend that the words, Negroes indians & molattoes, should be Expunged and that said article should stand as followeth viz: Every male inhabitant of any Town in this state being free and Twenty-one years of age and worth sixty pounds clear of all charges thereon &c.

3^{ly}. In the nineteenth article it is Recommended that both the Militia at hum as well as the forces that may be sent abroad either by inlistment, or Draught, should have their vote in the choice of such Captains & Subalterns under whome they are to serve and who are to be commitioned by the Governor and Senate: All which is humbly submited.

PHINEAS FAIRBANK *Chairman*

May 18, 1778. pr Order

Then voted by almost a unanimous Vote to accept the Constitution with the alterations proposed by the Committee.

Sept. 16, 1779.....After Reading and Considering an address from Boston Delegates seting forth the great want of country produce in the Town of Boston, Voted and Chose Dea. Oliver Whitney and Mr Jonathan Clark, and Mr Joseph Atherton to carry such loading, Buter and small meat to Boston, as shall be Brought togather to some place appointed for that purpose. Then Voted that Mr Jonathan Clark's House be appointed to cary said provisions to for the market, to be brought next tuesday in the afternoon.

May 23, 1780, the state constitution was submitted to the freemen, and after being read paragraph by paragraph was referred to a committee of fifteen to carefully consider and report upon. On June 1, the chairman of the committee, Joseph Wheeler, laid before the town the following proposed amendments:—

1 That the Delegate from this town be instructed to use his endeavours that there may be a new convention within the term of fifteen years to consider what amendments may be needed in the constitution. 2^{ly}. That the suspension of the habeus corpus act shall be confined to the time of war, invasion or rebellion and not to exceed the term of six months. 3^{ly}. To give power to the Governour in the recess of the General Court to march or transport the Inhabitants of the State for the relief of a neighbouring State invaded or threatened with invasion.

Then voted this amendment be likewise made that the Governour shall be of the Protestant religion. Then Voted to accept the whole of sd. Constitution with the above amendments.....eighty-one for and not one against. Then voted to send two Delegates to the Convention, one of each denomination. Voted and chose Coll. Josiah Whitney and Mr Joseph Stone.

THE TOWN'S POOR.

There is no mention made in the town's earliest records of aid rendered to the poor, and probably there were few or none so needy that they would consent to become a public charge. The imbecile and those otherwise incompetent for their own support were cared for by their relatives, the aged and unfortunate "scratched along" as best they could. The descendants of Puritans always found the bread of charity hard to swallow. There was in all New England a spirit rife that almost resented the proffer of alms, and pride sometimes starved rather than accept the public dole appropriated for paupers. The town's officials, however, were ever diligent in guarding the treasury against possible claims for support of the shiftless and indigent. Residence for a twelvemonth in town without being warned out entitled one to the rights of citizenship. Sooner or later therefore each stranger who sought permanent shelter in the town, if the selectmen were not convinced of his thrift and worthy character, received a formal call from the constable, who, in the name of the king, warned him to depart forthwith under penalty of more stringent measures for his expulsion. The fact of the delivery of such warning was duly recorded with the county court's proceedings. This inhospitable reception was in many cases mere "sound and fury signifying nothing;" but served as an ounce of prevention when a vicious or improvident person or family tried to gain a residence. Any inhabitant receiving

into his household an apprentice, servant, or other person from another place, was obliged to report the fact to the selectmen, with full description of the new-comer. An example of a Harvard warning is given to show what watchfulness was expected of the town fathers :—

WORCESTER SS.: To Gordon Hutchins one of the Constables for the Town of Harvard. Greeting. Whereas there is now Residing in the Town of Harvard Nathaniel Stone an Infant Child of about Two Months old who came from Milton in the County of Suffolk, who came to Harvard on the twenty-third Day of September last past: also a Lad named Silas Harris who came from Leominster in the County of Worcester on the first Day of January last past; also a young woman named Rachel Wright who came from Sudbury in the County of Middlesex in the Month of June last past, who are all poor Persons and in our Judgment likely to be chargable to the Town of Harvard speedily, You are therefore hereby Required in his Majesty's Name forthwith to make Diligent Search within your Limits where said Persons may be found and to warn all and every of them the above named poor Persons to Depart forthwith out of the Town of Harvard, and make Due Return of your Doings herein unto some one of us Subscribers within four Days from the Date hereof as you will answer your neglect at the peril of the Law in that case made and Provided.

ISRAEL TAYLOR, SAMUEL HASKELL, NATHAN WARNER } *Selectmen of Harvard*

WORCESTER SS. HARVARD Oct. 28, 1766. By virtue of this Warrant I have warned all the within named persons to Depart forthwith out of the Town.

GORDON HUTCHINS, *Constable.*

Copy filed in Court of General Sessions.
Accepted and entered in Court Records.

Joseph Blood and family seem to have been the first to receive regular aid from the town treasury. May 22, 1749, the town voted to instruct the selectmen to "see what the necessity of Joseph Blood's family was and Releave them as they thought best for the Present." For two or three years bills were paid "for finding Joseph Blood and family house room." In 1753 the town built a small house upon the eastern border of the common, where an acre had been temporarily improved by John Wright, the pound-keeper. In this, which was called the "town's house," and was in fact the first alms house, Blood's family were installed. In 1758 a well was dug and

stoned, "so that it may be sufficient for Joseph Blood's family." This was known down to the present century as "the town's well." May 17, 1762, "the Town voted to purchase a Cow for the use of Joseph Blood's family, and also voted to have the said Cow kept this year at the Cost of the Town." In 1778 Joseph Blood and his family being dead, the cow was sold by order of a vote in town meeting.

The next occupant of the town's house was the wife of Phineas Whitney, a soldier in the Continental army. Other poor people became a town charge, mostly widows, and cows were kept for them, and the selectmen were ordered to inquire into their necessities and give assistance accordingly. November 18, 1785, it was "voted that the Town's House be appropriated to the use of a Work House to put idle persons in if need be." In 1797 ground and house were sold. The town had by this time adopted a less humane but then customary method of providing for the care of paupers—they were sold for the year to the lowest bidders. Soon there began to appear annually in the town's accounts such strange items as: "For Liquor at Vendueing the poor. 3.13." The bidding at an auction, even where humanity was for sale, went very slowly on, if without fluid stimulants. It is said that many of the recruits who swelled the ranks of the Shakers were the lonely and aged, chiefly widows and spinsters, who feared the coming of poverty and the shame of the annual vendue. The evils of the system probably stirred the town's conscience, for in 1818, a committee was instructed to consider whether some better method for the support of the paupers could not be devised. The recommendation of this committee, which was adopted, was to contract with some one to relieve the town of all care of the poor for a term of years. Captain Oliver Hill offered, for the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, to support the town's paupers for three years, including "clothing, lodging, food, necessary doctoring and funeral expenses," and this bid, being the lowest, was accepted.

The increase of pauperism became so marked at this period that a committee was appointed to investigate the causes. Their report is the first word favoring temperance found in the records, and closes with allusion to the persistent survival of

an ancient custom, which on the day of burial brought to the house of mourning guests whose free libations neither did honor to the dead nor to themselves:—

.....they think an immoderate use is made of ardent spirits by some individuals in this town, and therefore would recommend to the town to enjoin it upon the Selectmen to perform their duty as the law requires respecting the sale of spirituous liquors, and with respect to intemperate persons. They also recommend to the town to advise that no ardent spirit be used at funerals, as it is thought wholly unnecessary on such occasions. Pr. order.

OLIVER HILL [*Chairman*]

June 20, 1825, a committee, empowered to purchase a suitable farm and buildings as a home for the paupers, reported that they had bought ninety-four acres in the easterly part of Harvard, of Phineas Davis, paying twenty-four hundred dollars. The poor were ordered to be put upon this farm by the following March, and a committee was instructed to secure a suitable man and wife to have charge of the establishment, and to submit a bill of fare and rules and regulations for the institution. The settled ministers were invited to preach in turn once a month to the town's wards. The committee reported fourteen rules, serious breach of which could be punished with solitary confinement upon bread and water for "not less than twelve, nor more than forty eight hours;" also this bill of fare:—

Good Rye and indian Bread at all times.
Pork and Beans twice a Week.
Hasty Pudding twice a Week,
Tea for men once a day.
Tea for women twice a day.
Soup, Boiled or Fried victuals or milk the rest of the time.
Beer in warm weather.

The selectmen have always acted as overseers of the poor, employing a superintendent of the town farm at a salary of from two hundred and fifty to three hundred and seventy-five dollars. There are now but three town paupers, and the number has rarely risen above fifteen, though the building can well accommodate twenty-five or thirty. In 1838 a new barn was built. The farm house originally upon the place having

grown too shabby and uncomfortable for further use, on February 17, 1868, it was voted to build a suitable alms house, which resulted in the completion of the present building in 1869 at a cost of about $8200.

POCK HOSPITAL, ETC.

From time to time the town was terrified by epidemics of small pox. This virulent malady generally proved fatal in one case out of three, and the surviving victims of it were often hideously disfigured and half blind. Such was the dread of contagion that the bodies of those who died from this loathsome disease were often hurriedly buried at night, and sometimes not in the public burial ground, but in the orchard or field near the house. Inoculation began to be much practiced before the Revolution, as a personal safeguard; and many went to the authorized physicians "to take the small pox." During the Revolution there were five pock hospitals or pest houses established by the courts in Worcester County. One of these was in Lancaster, and the buildings used for the patients were near the Nashua River at Pine Hill, only a short distance from the Still River bridge, on a road long ago abandoned. Dr. Israel Atherton, a native of Harvard but resident in Lancaster, had the management of this hospital, inoculating patients with small pox until near the close of the century. The discovery by Dr. Jenner of the safer and equally efficient remedy of vaccination with cow pox, was soon utilized by the medical profession, and the chief need of the pest house was at an end. The wholesome dread of the disease was not always sufficient to ensure the universal trial of the preventive operation, however, and vaccination in times of danger from contagion was enforced. April 4, 1822, it was voted in a Harvard town meeting:—

> ....that the Selectmen be a Committee to see that all the Inhabitants of the Town who have not had the Small Pox nor Cow Pox be inoculated with the Cow Pox immediately at the town's expense.

The last building utilized as a pest-house in Harvard stood near the road to the alms-house, about half a mile from the common, until burnt in 1879.

THE TOWN COMMON.

Harvard early began an unwise alienation of portions of her common to private uses, in apparant disregard of the bequest from the Lancaster proprietors; thus sadly diminishing the extent of her public park. March 6, 1749, the town voted "to give the Improvement of one acre of Land to Mr. John Wright for him to Build on and Improve as he shall think best during his natural life, and the natural life of his now married wife." Wright was the pound keeper, and poverty-stricken. His acre was "easterly of the meeting-house." He died before his house was completed, when the town bought the frame and in 1753 converted it into the first "town's house," of which something has been said on a previous page. The lot and building were devoted to the town's poor until 1797, when the land was sold to Asa Daby.

May 23, 1754, "two acres and ten rods" of the southerly end of the common were given to Reverend John Seccomb, "in room of certain ways that run through his land." May 19, 1760, the town voted a grant of the town's land to the Reverend Joseph Wheeler, describing it as lying "between the Town ways leading from Harvard meeting house by Samuel Fellows's, and from said meeting-house to Bear Hill, so called." In 1770 the town gave to Reverend Daniel Johnson a portion of the common for a house lot, adjoining Mr. Wheeler's. A survey of the original thirty acres was made by Simon Daby and a plot of the grant, dated June 25, 1774, is preserved in the town records. May 6, 1782, a committee was instructed to make a careful measurement of the public grounds and report encroachments, with the names of the trespassers. Nathaniel Longley's survey, dated May 23, 1782, makes the area of the then existing common sixteen and one-half acres, besides the burial field. The trespasses reported were: twenty-one rods by Captain Francis Farr, thirteen rods by Jonathan Symonds, thirty-five rods by Lieutenant Jonathan Puffer, thirty-two rods by William Safford, and three and one-half rods by Silas Parkhurst. The records indicate that the five men retained the land illegally appropriated by them upon paying the assessed value.

Sales of desirable building lots on the skirts of the common from that time became more frequent. May 10, 1784, Jonathan Puffer obtained a concession. In March 1785, Ebenezer Bridge purchased a lot. In 1785, liberty was voted the Middle School District "for a school-house to be set up on the Common on the north side of the burying yard between the gate and the north east corner of the wall." In 1786 it was "voted to sell one quarter and half-a-quarter of an acre of land of the Town's Common to Mr. Ephraim Randell, or his Father, lying on the East side of the Stables at the East end of the meeting house." In 1792 a sale was made to Joseph Curtis of land on the east side of the common, adjoining Ebenezer Bridge's, the price being thirty pounds per acre. In 1793, Captain Thaddeus Pollard purchased a house lot, and in 1794 Jonas Whitney obtained a piece of the common. In 1806, Jonas Merriam, the inn-holder, purchased land of the town; in 1807 Silas Cragin was sold a lot adjoining the burying ground; in 1816, Jason Bigelow and Jonas Bateman obtained a piece thirty feet by forty at the north corner of the burying ground; and in 1824, Thomas Bigelow was granted a lot one hundred and twenty feet by ten. To others was voted temporary occupancy of portions of the common for the building of sheds or other private uses. Nor was this all. The town in November 1830, appointed a committee to investigate encroachments, demand damages for land taken, and establish permanent bounds to the common. At this time Silas Holman mapped the public domain, and found that nine acres and eighty-three rods only remained — outside of the burial field — of the thirty acres given in 1733 for "public uses."

From a very early period in the town's history, the surveyors of highways were nearly every year instructed to mow the brush on the common, and in the burial ground, but no other record of a public interest in the preservation and comeliness of the public park appears until April 2, 1849, when permission was given an association of citizens to set out trees "for ornament," under the direction of a committee of nine appointed in town meeting. Enoch Perkins deserves to be especially remembered for his earnest work in planting

and caring for the trees upon the public grounds. In 1886 a special meeting of citizens organized for the improvement and embellishment of the common; and through subscriptions of money, the proceeds of fairs and other entertainments, and volunteer labor, many pleasing changes for the better were effected, including the curbing and grading of the chief roadways. In 1888, the Soldiers' Monument added a prominent feature to the southern corner of the grounds. In 1890, the curbing of granite bordering the highways that cross the common was completed at the cost of the town. The flag-staff, which is one hundred and fifteen feet in height, was raised May 27, 1892. The tree-trunks of which it is composed were the product of Harvard soil, and the whole was a gift to the town by several of its patriotic young men. The "liberty-pole" of Revolutionary days and one or more successors probably stood on the southerly side of the common.

COLONEL HENRY BROMFIELD.

In the spring of 1777 there came to Harvard as a permanent resident one whose picturesque figure and strong individuality made him a notable feature of the town's life during the next forty years. After Reverend John Seccomb in 1761 left the grand parsonage, it stood for several seasons without an occupant. In those troublous times there were few able to buy such an estate, and this probably accounts for the fact that so attractive a homestead, with one hundred and twenty acres of valuable land, was sold April 1, 1765, for only six hundred pounds. The purchaser, Henry Bromfield, was a member of the family which gave name to Bromfield street, Boston. He was born in that city November 12, 1727, the son of Edward Bromfield, a well-known merchant of that day, and was a lineal descendant from Rev. John Wilson, the first minister of Boston; his mother being the oldest daughter of Reverend Samuel Danforth of Roxbury. He became associated in trade with his brother Thomas in London, England, and always retained the English tastes and manners there acquired. Margaret Fayerweather of Boston became his wife September 17, 1749, but died of small-pox at the age

of thirty, and he married Hannah Clarke, September 25, 1762. She was the eldest daughter of that Richard Clarke who was agent of the East India Company, and consignee of the cargoes of tea thrown into the dock by the disguised patriots, December 16, 1773.

Mr. Bromfield, before the Revolution, occasionally made a brief stay at his Harvard farm; but his business interests required his presence in Boston, and that was his home, even during the British occupation of the town. In 1767 he was commissioned justice of the peace. He also wore the title of colonel derived from some staff appointment. His official dignities, his wealth and aristocratic bearing, his studied politeness and the elaborate costume of the old-school gentleman which he always wore, all harmonized well with the stately mansion and its elm-shaded avenues. As depicted by his kindly biographers, he seems to have well acted the part of a condescending, benignant lord of the manor among feudal vassals. He was fastidiously neat in person, suave but dignified in manner, habitually cheerful. His habits were simple, his appetites under complete control. He gave personal attention to the management of his farm and garden, and took especial pride in the raising of choice fruit. He disdained to enter into petty local politics, and though a whig at heart, studiously avoided all partisanship and exciting discussions.

His ordinary garb comprised a brown broad-cloth coat of the square cut seen in the Copley portraits, a long waistcoat with deep pockets and lappets, black small clothes with silver buckles at the knee, black silk stockings, buckled shoes, and a full wig well powdered. When out of doors there was added: a cocked hat, a long scarlet cloak, and a tall gold-headed staff. In his later years he was generally followed like a shadow by his body servant, a faithful negro, eccentric in habits and speech, named Othello; which sonorous name was usually debased to "Thurlo" in the speech of the villagers unfamiliar with Shaksperian heroes.

The house was furnished throughout in the style then deemed the height of luxury. Some of the floors were covered with carpets, the only ones in Harvard. Oil paintings in

heavy frames were hung upon the walls of the best rooms. There were shelves loaded with choice books. Chairs and tables were of solid mahogany and of the substantial colonial types. Silver glittered upon the sideboard, and the store of china in the buffet excited the admiration and envy of all the ladies in the town. The old mansion was often gay with guests young and old. Kin folk from the city came up in their coaches to enjoy the simple but generous hospitality of the Squire for a few days, or even weeks. Othello then became ubiquitous and majestic with the sense of his own importance; serving as *major-domo*, the factotum of the picnics and fishing parties, and master of revels at night when with voice and violin he ruled the dance. There was a frequent interchange of hospitality between the Bromfields and certain Lancaster notabilities—Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, Honorable John Sprague, and Sheriff William Greenleaf, whose wife, a daughter of Edmund Quincy, Esq., was of kin to the Bromfield family. After the death of his wife in 1785, his daughters having homes of their own, the Squire lived much alone, content with his books, the management of his garden and farm, and his own mental resources. Free from anxieties and bodily ailments, he lived a life of calm enjoyment such as few attain, his cheerful vivacity remaining unabated to the last, despite the long years of domestic isolation.

In a Memoir of Eliza Susan Morton Quincy is this pleasant picture of life and character in Harvard at the beginning of the present century.

After the loss of his wife and the marriage of his daughters, Mr. Bromfield continued to live happily in solitude, attended by faithful domestics, and enlivened by occasional visits from his relations and friends. Removed from the attrition of society, time had not obliterated the peculiarities of character acquired in the last century; and he remained in mind, manners, and costume, a living representative of an age which had passed away. In conversation he constantly referred to "the year fifty,"—the date of his last visit to England.....

Mr. Bromfield and his surroundings vividly reminded Mrs. Quincy of Addison's description of Sir Roger de Coverley in the "Spectator." It seemed to her that she must be on a visit to that worthy knight, especially on Sunday, when, equipped with a red cloak, and a wig surmounted by a

cocked hat, and attended by his negro servant Othello, he escorted her under the ancient avenue of elms and through the graveyard to the village church. Profound deference and respect marked the passing salutations he received; and, at the conclusion of the service, the whole congregation remained standing in their pews until Mr. Bromfield and his guests had walked down the broad aisle.

Colonel Bromfield died at Harvard, of pneumonia, February 9, 1820, at the age of ninety-two. His friend, Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, D.D., read a funeral sermon February 16, taking for his text, Acts xi. 24, "He was a good man." This discourse was largely biographical and at the request of the citizens of Harvard was printed. A brief eulogistic obituary appeared in the Columbian Centinel for February 25, 1820. His body was not laid in Harvard soil, but deposited in the family tomb at Boston, in the King's Chapel cemetery. Othello died two years before the colonel, and his grave is in the extreme north-west corner of the town's burying ground. So dependent had the old Squire become upon his services, that after the old negro had gone to his final rest, it is said he sometimes would in moments of forgetfulness go to the door and shout, "Othello! Othello!" and wonder at the non-appearance of his servitor.

The next tenant of the Seccomb house was a scholar of wide fame, who had long been one of the intellectual leaders in the commonwealth; but a man much less lovable than his predecessor, and not in sympathetic touch with the people among whom he came to spend the closing years of a laborious and honored career. When Eliphalet Pearson L.L.D., in 1820, took possession of his father-in-law's estate at Harvard, his mental and bodily vigor were fast waning. His stately courtesy and the sternly authoritative air of the great teacher remained characteristic; but a decided stoop and lameness detracted from the once commanding presence, and his vast stores of learning were no longer at ready command.

Dr. Pearson was for six years a resident of Harvard. He was born at Byfield, Newbury, Massachusetts, in 1752, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1773, where he became professor of Oriental languages in 1786. For some time after the death of President Willard in 1804, Dr. Pearson was act-

ing president of the university; and when Samuel Webber was elected to the chair it is alleged that disappointed ambition led the professor to give up his connection with the college, and to devote all his great energies and influence to the building of the theological seminary at Andover. He died while temporarily absent from home, September 12, 1826, at the age of seventy-four years. His first wife was Priscilla, daughter of President Edward Holyoke; his second, Sarah Bromfield, by whom he had sons Henry Bromfield and Edward, and a daughter Margaret Bromfield Pearson, whose lives are identified with Harvard history.

WATERFORD EMIGRANTS. THE HAMLINS.

At the close of the war for independence the outlook for the discharged soldier coming back to his home in the Massachusetts farming town had an altogether sombre hue. He was paid for his patriotic services with paper that soon lost all market value. He generally found his father and older brothers grimly striving with hard labor and sordid economy to save the mortgaged homestead from the sheriff's grip. He had no capital for trade, and if he had served an apprenticeship at some handicraft, there was no room for him. There were then no manufactories constantly calling for human brains and muscle. His only resources were to eat the bread of a hireling, hopeless of rising for years above the grade of a farm laborer, or to hie to the wilderness, where fertile lands could be had for fifty cents an acre, and there build an independent home by his own strength and energy, following the example set him by his ancestors a century earlier.

Hope then looked to the rising rather than to the setting sun. The eyes of the unrestful and land-hungry had not been attracted westward, but naturally turned to the north or east; to the valleys watered by the tributaries of the Merrimac, Saco, Androscoggin and Kennebec. The heirs of the soldiers who served in Sir William Phips' Canada Expedition of 1690, with Captain Andrew Gardner, were by special grant of Massachusetts the proprietors of the township of Water-

ford in the province of Maine. It happened early in 1775, that David McWain — or as elder members of his family wrote the name, McElwain — a young man of Bolton twenty-two years of age, bought for forty dollars of one of these proprietors a lot of one hundred and sixty acres in Waterford. Accompanied only by his dog, he found his way to this estate and built a cabin upon it. He returned to Bolton to pass the following winter and drove a cow before him to his new home, in the spring. There for five or six years he lived, many miles from any other human being. But when the discharged soldiers of Harvard, Bolton and Stow resolved upon emigration, several of them followed the trail of David McWain, and within twenty years Harvard sent more than twenty of her citizens, some of them with growing families, to Waterford and its neighborhood. Among the earlier adventurers were the Hamlins.

In 1777 Captain Eleazar Hamlin from Pembroke purchased of Aaron, the son of John Davis, a farm of one hundred and twenty-eight acres, including a potash works, situated in the northern part of Harvard. The estate is that now occupied by the heirs of the late Lowell Sprague. The Captain had large means and was a man of great energy; he soon became influential in town councils. He had at least sixteen children: Asia, Betty, Alice, Africa, Europe, America, Lydia, Molly, Eleazar, Cyrus, Hannibal,— Sally, Isaac, Asia, Green, and George. Twelve were borne to him by his first wife, Lydia Bonney, and the five last named by a second wife, Sarah, in Harvard. After the death of his second wife he sold his farm and removed to Westford, where he died December 1, 1807. The two Asias died in childhood, but Africa, Europe, America, Eleazar, Cyrus and Hannibal, despite the burden of their baptismal names, attained manhood. Africa held the position of sergeant-major in Colonel Shephard's regiment of the Continental army. Europe and America served as private soldiers, and Eleazar was a fifer to Harvard's credit. Cyrus and Hannibal were twins. Cyrus settled in Paris, Maine, and had a son, Hannibal, who became governor of Maine, United States senator and vice-president. Hannibal returned the compliment paid him by his twin brother, nam-

ing a son for him who is now well known as Reverend Cyrus Hamlin D.D., LL.D. late the President of Robert College, Turkey, and of Middlebury College, Vermont.

Captain Hamlin was one of the original proprietors of the Waterford township, and offered each of his sons a farm there. Africa, America, Eleazar Jr., and Hannibal became prominent builders of that town. In 1785 and 1786, Thaddeus Brown, Samuel Warren, John and Joel Atherton removed to Waterford. The journey from Harvard was made on horseback or afoot, a few goods perhaps being transported upon ox carts, although there was then no roadway feasible for wheels within many miles of their destination. Mrs. Thaddeus Brown lived for six months in Waterford before she saw another woman there. Later there went thither from Harvard: Richard Bryant, Simeon Farmer, Peter Gerry, Benjamin, Israel and Oliver Hale, Jonathan Houghton, Marlboro Kingman, William Monroe, Joseph Pratt, Seth Ramsdell, Abraham Whitcomb, Abraham and Phineas Whitney, Barzillai Lewis, and William Willard. Oliver Hale traveled the hundred miles or more on foot, bearing with him the most valuable of his possessions, a logging chain, slung over his shoulders. The descendants of these sturdy emigrants from Harvard are to be found in numerous places of honor and trust throughout the Pine-tree State.

SHAYS'S INSURRECTION.

Even before the signing of the treaty of peace between Great Britain and the new-born republic, when the bells that rang out the public rejoicings over the attainment of national liberty had hardly ceased to vibrate, there began to be heard throughout inland Massachusetts jangling notes of discontent. Terribly burdensome taxes had been borne with reasonable patience during long years of strife, for liberty's sake. Equally oppressive tithes were necessarily exacted, though peace had come, to keep the state's credit good, and pay the interest upon fifteen millions of debt. The personal sacrifices that freed the land from monarchical bondage were voluntarily endured, because understood. The free citizens of a democracy found the burdens laid upon them in the name of the

commonwealth no less grievous than those formerly imposed by parliament, and the reason why was beyond their comprehension. With undiscriminating wrath they inveighed against what they deemed fresh tyranny. Demagogues aided in misleading them, and mobocratic conventions organized resistance to law. Hardships and real grievances there were in abundance that loudly called for redress. The small landholders were especially sufferers, most of their farms being mortgaged to the merchants, speculators or attorneys, who gathered a golden harvest by the forced sales of bankrupts' estates. Symptoms of trouble to come appear in Harvard's instructions to her representative in 1783:—

To Mr John Munroe. Sir, you being chosen by this Town to a seat in General Court we Expect that you will exert yourself to promote Religion, Learning and Industry. You will seek those methods of supplying the Treasury that best secure the publick credit and that will be most just and easy to the people. That you endeavour the Establishing Import and Excises to lighten the Taxes to prevent the immoderate use of foreign produce and to fix permanent funds for Discharging the Publick Debt, the proceeds to be under the controul of the General Courts. And you will endeavour that all just contracts with our army elsewhere be punctually fulfilled. That you oppose granting Pensions or extravagant pay or salaries to persons who are or may be employed in Publick Service, and that the General Assembly set an example of a moderate reward for their own service. You will use your influence to Remove the General Court from the Town of Boston to some Convenient place in the country, as we are of opinion that the members might live with less expense, and publick Business be done with greater Despatch. That you endeavour that an act passed July 3, 1782, Intitled an act directing the appraisment of certain articles of personal estate when taken to satisfy executions at the suit of any private person or persons be Revised, and that Govermental Securities be likewise made a tender to satisfy Executions. You will oppose the receiving again into our land those Emmisaries who during the contest not only deserted our cause, joined our enemies, but many of them drew the sword against us; who ought to be Contemned by every American and never suffered to have the least connection with or [be] countenanced or protected by a free people.

JOSIAH WHITNEY, *Chairman.*

HARVARD, Sept. 8th. 1783.

County conventions were held at Worcester in April of 1782, '83 and '84, "to take into Consideration the many Grievances the good people of this County at present labour un-

der, and to petition the General Court for redress." To these conventions Joseph Stone went as Harvard's delegate, and his reports were made verbally in the town meetings. He was again chosen delegate to the Leicester convention of August 7, 1786, which adjourned to Paxton, where nearly all the towns in the county were represented. December 4, a town-meeting in Harvard accepted the address of the county convention, and took further action as follows:—

.....3, The vote was then called to see if the training band and alarm list should march agrecable to orders sent and it passed in the negative. The vote was called to see if the inhabitants of the Town would discountenance mobs that rise in opposition to the government, and it passed in the afarmetive. Voted to chuse a committee to meet at Worcester and that they use their influence to reconseliation between the government and those in opposition. Voted that there be chosen: Josiah Whitney Esq., Capt Jonathan Wetherbee and Dea. Joseph Stone.....Voted a petition to General Court.

The town-meeting action of Harvard's freemen thus far was inspired by a strong sympathy with the agitators; it was evidently under the leadership of Brigadier-General Josiah Whitney and Deacon Joseph Stone, and took its tone and diction from those of the county conventions. The resolves at Leicester in August testified by a unanimous vote "against all riots and unconstitutional combinations," but within a month the officers of the court at Worcester found their entrance to the court-house obstructed by armed men whose captains had been active workers in the convention. The legislature was a feeble and vacillating body, and met the popular petitions with no measures adequate to calm the excitement. For its own preservation it was time for the state government to abandon that lenient policy which had already created a grave misconception of their power among those who were defying all legal authority. The military forces were at last ordered out, with General Benjamin Lincoln commanding, to put down at any cost the riotous assemblages headed by the misguided Shays and his lieutenants.

Lancaster was designated as the place of rendezvous for the Eastern Worcester troops, and Colonel Ephraim Stearns commanded the regiment in which the Lancaster infantry

company and those of the neighboring towns served. This battalion numbered five hundred men and joined the main army at Worcester January 24, 1787. As has been recorded, the vote of Harvard in December was opposed to the use of the militia in defence of the courts. No military organization from the town is found in the regiment of Colonel Stearns, but in the company from Bolton led by Captain William Sawyer were these volunteers from Harvard, serving from January 23 until February 21, 1787 :—

Sergeant Europe Hamlin,	Peter Atherton,	Eleazar Hamlin, Jr.,
Sergeant Eber Goddard,	Richard Bryant,	Joseph Houghton,
Corporal Thaddeus Brown,	Stephen Cleverly,	Caleb Parker.
	Simeon Conant,	

A majority of them were veterans of the Revolutionary war, inured to hardship; but the stoutest soldiers were accustomed to refer to one episode of their brief campaign in pursuit of Shays and his "regulators"—the night march of thirty miles from Hadley to Petersham, in the face of a furious snow-storm—as surpassing any experience of their army life in its demands upon fortitude. That forced march put an end to the insurrection. Harvard chose its brigadier-general as representative to General Court and instructed him as follows :—

We the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Town of Harvard, having chosen you to represent us in the General Court the ensuing year, your constitutants place the highest Confidence In your Integrity and Abilities, in manageing the Important Concerns of the Commonwealth; in its present critical and Embarrassed Situation; at the same time considering the Difficulties which will necessarily attend in Conducting this Convulsed State, to a tranquil Situation, [we] take the liberty to Suggest to you our Sentiments on some particulars which will probably come under your Consideration.

That you use your influence that the General Court be removed from Boston, and held in some convenient Place in the County, as we are of opinion its being held in The Metropolis where a variety of private concerns are too apt to ingrose the attention of the Members, which occasions delay in the business of the Common wealth, and thereby an unnecessary expense is incurred; and we conceive a more retired Situation would give a fairer oppertunity for Deliberating on matters of the highest Importance, which Concerns the State in its present unhappy Circumstances.

Secondly. We disapprove of the Emmition of *Paper Money*, as a Currency for reasons to Obvious to be here Given. At the same time, Request you to use your Influence For a Continuation of an Act Entitled an Act for Suspending the Laws for Collections of private Debts under certain limitations Passed *Nov.* 15, 1786. With an Amendment, in regard to putting in the Third Man, that no ondue Influence may be obtained.

Thirdly. It is our opinion that the Landed Interest is Taxed above its equal proportion. Therefore request you to pay Particular attention to the Industrious Husbandmen that they be not Burdened with Taxes: and whatever cannot be paid by dry Tax, be raised by Import and Excise on Foreign and Superfluous Articles; and Encouragement be given to the Produce, and Manufactures of our own Country.

Fourthly. The Opposition that has been made to the Constitutional Authority of the Commonwealth, is a matter that will come under the consideration of the Legislature, we wish lenient measures may be adopted, and the Disqualification that persons of Certain Descriptions are under, may be taken of, and those that are Considered more Criminal, if the peace and safety of the Commonwealth will admit, might be Pardoned, on their returning and becoming Good Subjects.

That the Troops now in the Service of the Commonwealth be dismissed, if consistent with the safety of the State.

Fifthly. As much has been said respecting the Courts of Common Pleas, and Courts of General Sessions of the peace, but as considerable alteration has been made Respecting Their Jurisdiction; we would not be very particular on this Subject, but wish they might be *Totally Abolished*, if consistent with the Public Safety; and a Different Mode be adopted.

Sixthly. We are of opinion that the Wages and Sallaries of the Officers of Government are too high; therefore we request that a Just and Equitable alteration may be made, so as shall be consistant with the Constitution and honour of Government.

Sir. If we have in any Instance Instructed you Contrary to the *Constitution*, we Desire you notwithstanding in all your debates but Especially in every determination to bear special regard to our Constitution.

by order of the Committee, CALEB SAWYER, *Chairman.*

Voted & Excepted by said Town.

Attest FRANCIS FARR, *Town Clerk.*

HARVARD May 28, 1787 *To Josiah Whitney, Esqr.*

REVEREND JOSEPH PENNIMAN.

The Hamlin farm was bought in 1794 by Reverend Joseph Penniman, a Harvard College graduate of the class of 1765. He had been dismissed in 1693 from his pastorate in Bedford, Mass., because of his wine-bibbing propensity and other unclerical habits. He there had become notorious for a frequent

use of quaint conceits in his discourses, and an irreverent way of offering information to the Omniscient in his pulpit petitions. His prayer at the time of the Lexington Alarm is historic: "We pray thee, O Lord! that thou wouldst send these British Soldiers where they will do some good, for thou knowest we have no use for them about here." While a resident in Harvard he was occasionally called upon by the local minister for assistance on the sabbath. During a protracted drought he is said to have introduced into his prayer an eloquent petition for rain, beseeching that the Lord would "vouchsafe that the bottles of Heaven may be uncorked and their refreshing waters poured upon the parched fields." Soon rains fell, and persistently, day after day, when he remonstrated from the pulpit as follows: "We *did* ask, O Lord! that thou wouldst uncork the bottles of heaven, but we sought not that thou shouldst throw away the stopples." During an invasion of one of those insect armies that now and then devastated the orchards, he improved the occasion thus: "We pray, O Lord! that thou wilt take pity upon us, and remove from our midst these voracious canker worms, for if thou lookest over this town, thou wilt see that every apple tree is as red as a fox's tail." Summoned to a farm-house wherein several members of the household were struck down by endemic disease, to ask for divine assistance, he stationed himself at the head of the stairs where all could hear, and besought the Lord to "be very merciful unto Bezaleel who lieth nigh unto death in the north chamber;" . . . . . "Send thy ministering angels to comfort Bathsheba, groaning with anguish in the South Chamber;" . . . . . "Visit with thy healing grace Judith thy sorely afflicted hand maiden in the bed-room down stairs." . . . . . He died in 1803.

The diaries record in 1794 the destruction of the fruit and the young foliage even of the hardiest trees by a severe frost on May 17. Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, in a letter printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, describes the blighting effects of this frost throughout the Nashua Valley, and states that ice formed one-half an inch thick during the night.

The colonial laws for the extermination of predatory beasts—which have been spoken of in an earlier chapter—having effected their purpose, the farmers began a crusade against certain humbler species of animals, which they somewhat presumptuously declared superfluous. On April 12, 1798, they succeeded in persuading the voters at a town-meeting to offer a bounty of one shilling for each crow killed during the next twelve-month, the selectmen being instructed to pay that premium upon the presentation to them of the heads of the crows. This action emboldened others to procure the insertion of an article in the following year's warrant, asking for a bounty upon the slaughter of striped squirrels. But the chipmunk had more friends at town-meeting than the crow—or perhaps the conservatives feared a depletion of the treasury—for no price was set upon the rodent's head. In subsequent years the prejudice against the crow occasionally came into public councils. Thus in 1810, it was voted to pay a bounty of twelve and one-half cents for an old crow's head, and half that sum for a nestling. In 1831 the crows were again indicted in town-meeting, and a bounty of twenty cents for adult crows and ten cents for young ones was voted for that year.

BRIDGES.

The Nashua river is crossed within Harvard bounds by one railway and one highway bridge; but in the map of 1794, three highway bridges are shown as spanning the river. That on the site of the present Lancaster and Harvard bridge was then known as Captain John White's, and was one hundred feet in length. This was built first about 1735, by John White, who lived on the hill above it in Lancaster, and was kept up at private expense until March 5, 1770, when, having been destroyed, the town of Harvard voted to rebuild and maintain the easterly half of the bridge, "provided that the other half shall be built and maintained by Lancaster or any perticular person or persons." In 1772 the highway over it was made a county road. The bridge was rebuilt in 1818, probably having been borne away in the noted March freshet of that year. It was then shortened to eighty-five feet. In

1832 the old bridge was replaced by one of essentially different construction—a lattice girder with sheathed sides and shingled roof, which cost about eleven hundred dollars. In 1873 the present bow-string iron bridge, eighty-seven feet in length, was erected by the King Iron Bridge and Manufacturing Company, at a cost of $2427, shared between Harvard and Lancaster. New abutments were constructed at the same time, costing twelve hundred and fifty dollars.

The second bridge shown on the map of 1794 stood a short distance up stream from the Lancaster and Shirley corner, and was one hundred and sixteen feet long, built with stone abutments and two trestles. It was called Wilds's Bridge, and accommodated the travel, which was then considerable, between the Shaker villages of Harvard and Shirley. It was named for its builder, Elijah Wilds, who was a man of property, the founder of the Shirley Community of Shakers, and owner of the lands upon which their village stands. It was generally called the Shakers' Bridge in later records, being owned and supported by the Shirley society for their convenience in bringing hay from their intervale lands east of the river. In 1795 a petition was presented to the Court of Sessions for a county road, which was to cross the river "over the new Bridge in the North part of Lancaster called the Shakers' Bridge, to meet the county line on Caucus [Nonacoicus] plain so called"—but the proposition did not find favor. This bridge was carried away by a freshet early in this century, and was for several years replaced by a temporary floating bridge during the summer. Portions of old abutments are yet visible.

All bridges of the period under consideration, rested upon timber trestles set upon mud-sills in the bed of the stream. Every few years some especially rampant flood, or a sudden breaking up of the ice, would tear out one or two of the Lancaster bridges, and the chances were that the wreckage would sweep down every trestle below. In 1809, and again in 1818, most of the Nashua bridges were broken.

A third bridge, known as the Shabikin bridge, about a mile and a half down the stream from the last named, was one hundred and twenty feet in length. The earliest mention

found of it is in the records of the town of Harvard, March 4, 1754, when it was voted to lay out "an open way..... from the Bridge that crosses Lancaster River, against the Southerly part of Shirley, to the way that was formerly laid out for the Inhabitants of that part of Harvard commonly called Shabikin to pass into Groton." In 1778 the town "voted to repair and maintain one half of Shabacan Bridge for the future, provided Shirley maintain the other half as a town." In 1785 David Farwell was paid for rebuilding Harvard's share of "Shabbikin Bridge." In 1801 it had to be rebuilt again, and in 1807 it was carried away by a flood; whereupon the town ordered the material of it to be sold. Both this and Wilds's bridge were narrow structures rudely constructed, and being off the main lines of travel and found too expensive to sustain against the destructive power of ice and freshet, they were abandoned. The roadways leading to them have long been discontinued, wholly or in part.

A fourth bridge, that of the Union Turnpike Company, between 1805 and 1818 spanned the stream about half way between White's and Wilds's. This was twice ruined by freshets, and the traffic over the turnpike did not warrant the expense of rebuilding.

The long causeway over the bog at the outflow of Bare Hill Pond was deemed a work of magnitude in its day. It was first "corduroyed" with logs cut upon the islands of the pond and sledded over the ice to the spot. Upon this unstable subway brush and gravel were distributed until a passable road was made; but many a year elapsed before it attained any thing like its present solid character.

The total eclipse of the sun June 6, 1806, was an event never forgotten, and often described to later generations, by those who witnessed the rare phenomena attending it in this neighborhood. The sky chanced to be cloudless, and as, about eleven o'clock, the obscuration became complete, the brighter stars came into view, and a solemn hush seemed to fall upon all nature. The diarists of the Nashua valley, however, noted the event with scant comment.

In 1810 the town took a decided step forward in civilization. To this date from the earliest years of the town's history, it had been annually voted to allow swine and cattle to run at large in the highways. This year, for the first time, this license was denied town-meeting sanction. Thenceforward the custom of using the public roads as a common pasturage ground—a custom unclean and unsightly, especially in the villages, and one entailing much wasteful expenditure for fencing—gradually grew into disuse, though clung to with obstinate tenacity as an indefeasible right by the owners of animals. The pig yoke soon disappeared, and the honorable office of hog-reeve became a sinecure, although for many years it was usual, as a periodical jest, to elect to this office those recently married.

THE UNION TURNPIKE.

The Union Turnpike Company was incorporated in 1804. Colonel Henry Bromfield was president of the corporation, and among the twenty corporators were: Benjamin Kimball, Esq., Leonard Farwell, Flint Davis and Oliver Taylor, of Harvard. The roadway was laid out in December, 1805, and furnished one link in a direct thoroughfare between Albany, Greenfield, Brattleborough and Boston, joining the Cambridge and Concord pike with the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike at Leominster. The traffic over the latter was then very great, carried on by a perpetual procession of heavily laden wagons bearing freights of country produce to the city markets and returning with assorted merchandise for the village stores. From forty to fifty such wagons daily traversed the main road, averaging a freight of at least a ton each. The Lancaster and Bolton Turnpike, established in 1806, offering easier grades than the Union, proved a successful competitor for this traffic. The Union Turnpike ran in an almost straight line, paying no attention to grades, passed through the centre of Harvard from the east and down the steep, rocky hillside across the Plumtree meadows into Lancaster. A toll of twenty-five cents was charged for two-horse pleasure carriages, and twelve and one-half cents for other vehicles. Its bridge over the Nashua river after several years' use was twice borne

away by floods. The approaches to this bridge are yet to be seen upon both sides of the stream. That portion of the turnpike between Boxborough and the Groton and Lancaster road remains in use, having been accepted as a county highway upon petition from the town, in September, 1829. The corporation had practically abandoned it at least six years before, and for several years earlier the town had annually contributed aid to keep it in repair.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The policy of Thomas Jefferson's administration looked wholly to the preservation of peace with foreign nations, and even left out of consideration the fact that due preparation for war is the best security against foreign intrusion and insult. The depredations upon American commerce by both the British navy and that of Napoleon had grown beyond endurance, when in December, 1807, the Embargo was declared as a peaceful means of retaliation for the wrongs received from the two nations, who made their own quarrel an excuse for robbing weak neutrals. Massachusetts then owned more than one-third of the tonnage of shipping in the United States, and the operation of this non-intercourse policy soon ruined her merchants and ship owners, and took from mechanic and farmer all hopes and rewards of industry, by destroying their chief markets. The ships lay rotting at deserted wharfs in every northern harbor. Petition after petition went up from New England town-meetings to the president during 1808, for the suspension of an embargo which both England and France treated with contempt and ridicule. But the recorded action of Harvard at this juncture discloses a loyalty to the administration rare in Massachusetts. December 6, 1808, at a town-meeting :—

2. Voted that there be paid out of the Town Treasury by orders from the Selectmen, who are authorized to Isue such orders, to those seventeen soldiers now called for, being this Town's proportion, who shall voluntarily enlist themselves to stand at a minutes warning and to march if called for, for the defence of their country, five dollars each and if called for to be made up with what Government shall pay them as wages, ten dollars per month while they shall be engaged in said service.

The sum of eighty-five dollars was duly paid seventeen volunteers, but they were not called into service and their names are not given.

The political view of Harvard's majority was voiced on February 13, 1809, by the Honorable Joseph Stone, the only member of the state senate ever furnished by the town. Some of his thunder he perhaps borrowed from the campaign literature of the day, for similar phrases abounded in the *Boston Patriot* of that era. The grammatical construction, or lack of it, bears the ear-mark of originality :—

On Monday the thirteenth instant the Freeholders of the Town of Harvard were assembled at the request of the Grand Federal Caucus holden at Westminster, to consult upon the common good, give instructions to their Representatives etc. at which time and place the following preamble and resolutions were passed by a unanimous vote. To the Hon^le^. Senate and House of Representatives in General Court assembled– The freeholders and other inhabitants of the Town of Harvard greatly concerned for the safety of our country seeing such a spirit of uneasiness prevailing among the people of this commonwealth, they seeing that this uneasiness arising to so great a height are greatly alarmed at the fearful and expected consequences while some people among us are only looking at their own disadvantages they do not judge of National good or evil as they ought, we the people of Harvard therefore do remonstrate against any petitions being sent to Congress on the matter of the Embargo, not doubting Congress will remove our difficulties as soon as it is for the good of the nation.

The Town then proceeded and voted the following Resolutions.

Resolved, that the administration of the General Government, since the fourth of March Eighteen hundred and one has been wise and good.

Resolved, that the Embargo was a measure highly Judicious and honourable and tended to avoid a war and awake the tyrannical nations to a sense of duty.

Resolved, that we view with the utmost horror a proposition in any shape to submit to the tributary exaction of Great Britain as attempted to be imposed by her Order of Council, or to acquiesce in the violations of Neutrals, as menaced by the French Decrees, in resisting which aggressions, they pledge themselves to the General Government for their most energetic support.

Resolved, that whether war or a total non-intercourse, or a more rigid execution of the Embargo system be determined on by the General Assembly of the nation, however they may regret the privations consequent on the occations, we will cordially approve and cooperate in enforcing the measures; for they are sensible that on the present crisis of the nation the Alternatives are a Surrender of Liberty and Independence or a bold and manly Resistance.

Resolved, that Thomas Jefferson is entitled to the thanks of his Country for the ability, uprightness and intelligence which he has displayed in the management both of Foreign relations and domestic concerns.

Resolved, that we view with indignation and abhorrence the conduct of many of our fellow citizens who appear to desire separation of the Union, by opposition to the laws of a Government constitutionally chosen and whose laws we consider as the voice of the people, and which every good citizen is in duty bound to obey and defend.

Resolved, that we are sensible of the necessity of the obedience to the laws and of the importance of supporting the Government of our Country in the Execution of its constitutional authority, and deprecating the evils which must and will of course result from an undue attempt to embarrass and controll those whom the people of the United States have elected to legislate for them, and those whom they have appointed to execute the laws, they deem it not only proper but a duty to express their sentiments on the alarming crisis of our national affairs.

Resolved, that the thanks of this meeting be given to those members of both houses of Congress, who constitute the majority, who have faithfully discharged their duty, by their unanimous endeavours to promote the best interest of the United States.

Resolved, that we will support the measures of our general government at the risque of our lives and property.

JOSEPH STONE. *per order.*

The demand for relief became so general that the embargo was repealed in March, 1809; but the non-intercourse experiments tried in its place proved equally unsatisfactory at home and ineffective abroad. In tne March meeting of 1809 it was voted :—

.....that Caleb Warner, Jacob Whitney and Caleb Willard, who have enlisted to stand at a minutes warning for the defence of the United States, be paid five dollars each, and if called for to be made up equal to those persons who enlisted in December last.

At the March meeting in 1810, a vote was passed :—

.....to find knapsacks for those soldiers who are doing Military duty, and that the Captains of each Company procure said knapsacks, to be deposited in some safe place and deliver out the same when needed, and bring in their account to the Town for allowance; said knapsacks to be the property of the Town and used when needed.

The bill for the knapsacks was one hundred and sixteen dollars, indicating that enough were purchased to fully equip the militia organizations of the town. The allowance of

powder dealt out for expenditure on muster-day was increased by one-half pound per man. These notes of preparation show that the war was everywhere felt to be inevitable, but the administration evinced no anxiety about the defenceless condition of the country. Without army or navy, military stores or leaders adequate to the exigency, war against England was declared June 19, 1812. Three weeks before, May 28, a Harvard town-meeting recognized the critical situation by a vote :—

> .....That the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who shall voluntarily enlist themselves in the defence of their country shall on such enlistment be entitled to receive five dollars as a bounty to be drawn from out of the Treasury of said Town, and also two dollars for each day they shall be called out for exercise before they are called out for actual service, their pay when called into actual service to be made up to them with what Government shall give them, to twelve dollars per month; but no bounty is to be given by the Town unless they voluntarily enlist; and voted that the soldiers of the Town of Harvard, belonging to the different corps who have been detailed, shall receive the same bounty and pay as above.....

From the fact that the sum of eighty-five dollars was paid in bounties during the year, it is evident that seventeen volunteers offered their services. The town's stock of powder was increased, one hundred dollars being appropriated for the purpose. A house for the reception of the military stores was built at the cost of eighty-seven dollars. This was known as the "powder house," and still stands, back of the sheds of the Unitarian meeting-house.

A national fast, appointed August 20, gave the Federalist minister, Stephen Bemis, an opportunity to publicly declaim against the action of the dominant political party. His discourse, as has been elsewhere told, raised a tempest of parti san wrath that swept him from his pulpit. But the war was not popular even in Harvard. Politicians fiercely wrangled, but there were few volunteers for the United States army or navy. The records do not disclose the names of any. When during the summer of 1814 the depredations of the British fleet along the coast of New England had awakened grave apprehensions, and aroused dormant patriotism, and the state

government called upon the militia to hold themselves in readiness for service, the following town action was recorded :

1814, July 27. Voted, that each soldier who shall be delegated for the three months service to do duty at or near Boston shall be made up by the Town, together with what wages Government shall give them to the amount of $20 a month: also $5 bounty for volunteers.

The Lancaster Light Artillery Company was ordered to Boston in September, and remained on duty for two months, and there may have been two or three men of Harvard in it; but the Harvard infantry companies were not summoned. There were several men of the town somewhere in the service, the financial statement for the year including a payment of "$110.70 to the *drafted* soldiers, for wages, bounty and rations." Sundry items, amounting in all to thirty or forty dollars, for bullet moulds, cartridge paper, running balls and making cartridges, prove that the town anxiously made ready for the invasion of the foe, which fortunately was never attempted.

MUSTER AND MAY TRAINING.

Under the old militia system the martial spirit of the people was kept aglow by the annual autumn musters and the May trainings, until long after wars and the rumors of wars had ceased in the land. The statute required that every citizen of twenty-one years and upward fit for military service, and not by profession exempt, should appear on the first of May, "armed and equipped as the law directs," to be exercised by the commissioned officers in the school of the soldier. Formal printed notices were served upon all who were liable for duty, and the penalty of non-appearance was five dollars. The law was not repealed until 1841, but long before that time the May training had become somewhat farcical; the day being largely given to the street evolutions of the motley "slambangs"—as the ununiformed, rural militia were nicknamed—to sham fights, and caricature parades, out of which evolved the "antiques and horribles" of modern days. The military exercises always excited great thirst, and deep were the potations of spruce beer, and other fermented or

distilled liquids. Sulphurous smoke and the pungent odor of burnt cartridges hung about the village streets, and the shrill-voiced fifes and rattling kettle drums vied with an occasional fusilade to delight the rising generation, and inspire the small boy with patriotic fervor and a determination to win military glory at the earliest possible period. Our oldest citizens can recount many amusing recollections of the grotesque humors, the horse play, and rough practical jokes of the May trainings.

The annual election of commissioned officers was usually attended with much festivity, and a captain elect was expected to accept his new honors in a set speech glowing with gratitude and patriotism. It was a not uncommon event, however, for a generous-souled but tongue-tied hero to adopt a time-worn formula, which ran something like this: "Feller solgers and citizens: I aint much of a hand at speechifying, and I aint agoing to try to make a speech now; but come along over to the tavern, and I'll make up for what I can't say in toddy."

The uniformed, or independent, companies were the pride of the town. Nearly every year a small appropriation was made for "the soldiers." They were armed and equipped at their own expense, and this often amounted to a considerable sum annually. "Patriotism and glory paid all the bills." On the later muster fields the towns which had been shaped out of the original territory of Lancaster furnished sixteen military companies. These, with seven similar organizations from Fitchburg, Princeton and Ashburnham joined to them, constituted the Third Worcester, commonly called the Lancaster regiment. A list of the several companies follows:—

Lancaster Troop.
" Artillery.
" Light Infantry.
" Militia.
Harvard Rifles.
" Light Infantry.
" Militia.
Berlin Militia.
Leominster Artillery.
" Light Infantry.
" Militia.
Sterling Light Infantry.
" Guards or "Blues."
" Militia.
Bolton Rifles.
" Militia.
Fitchburg Light Infantry.
" Fusileers.
" Militia.
Ashburnham Light Infantry.
" Militia.
Princeton Light Infantry.
" Militia.

No two companies of the regiment were caparisoned precisely alike, and the uniforms were apparently designed for effective display rather than for service. The field officers wore plumed chapeau and other gorgeous apparel, and their horses were decked with showy trappings. There were always a few Harvard men in the Lancaster Troop. This was a famous company dating from before the incorporation of Harvard. Jonathan Sawyer was commissioned captain of it it 1737, succeeding Captain Thomas Carter, when Samuel Willard was colonel of the regiment. It figured in the pursuit of the British troops on their retreat from Lexington April 19, 1775. Each trooper, besides his sabre, was armed with two huge flint-lock pistols which rested in holsters, hanging in front of the saddle over the horse's shoulders, covered with a bear-skin flap. The troop head-gear was a black leathern cap, round topped, visored and adorned with a strip of bear-skin, which extended from the frontlet to the back of the neck. On one side of the cap was stuck a white plume. The coats were blue faced with red. Nor was this little body of cavalry equipped merely for holiday parades. It was noted for skill in the sabre exercise, and boasted several adroit swordsmen among its officers. Its famous instructor, Major Dudley, as an exhibition of his skill, sometimes allowed a man armed with musket and bayonet to thrust at him as he pleased, and usually ended the play by detaching the bayonet from the gun with two motions of the sword and throwing it behind him. John Whitney of Harvard was commissioned lieutenant of the troop March 1, 1787, and became captain April 1, 1791. William Stearns was made cornet February 1, 1805, and lieutenant May 7, 1805. Theophilus Parsons was made cornet September 1, 1812, and lieutenant May 3, 1814. The officers and men were nearly all of Lancaster.

In the muster fields, the rifle companies were stationed upon the flanks of the regiment. They were armed with "half-stocked" rifles, straight or twist grooved according to the preference of the individual volunteer. The cartridge boxes were fitted with tin tubes for thirty ball cartridges. The Bolton company had green coats trimmed with yellow;

the Harvard company wore a greyish uniform of satinet, with silver plated buttons upon the coat, and blue facings. For head covering, the Bolton men wore varnished leather hats, flaring at the top and surmounted by a green plume; the Harvard men, caps of similar leather, with a black plume. Both hat and cap were trimmed with showy metallic frontlets and bespangled braid and tassels. They were so heavy that they had to be held on by chin straps, and gave even the chicken-hearted clodhopper a fierce and belligerent aspect. The orderly book of the Harvard Rifle Company, preserved in the family of its last commander, John Farwell, shows that its organization was effected April 29, 1822, by the election of the following commissioned and non-commissioned officers:

John P. Whitcomb, *captain.*
Abel M. Goodfry, *lieutenant.*
Andrew Gardner, *ensign.*
Abel Whitcomb, *sergeant.*
Emory Barnard, "
John Fairbank, "
Stedman Houghton, *sergeant.*
Reuben Whitcomb, *corporal.*
Jacob Fairbank, "
Ephraim Taylor, "
Zophar Wetherbee, "

Jesse Houghton was engaged to "blow the bugle," Zimri Priest and his bass drum were enlisted, Luke Whitney, Ephraim Warner and Phineas Sawyer were chosen to "play the clarinett," Alonzo and Elijah H. Draper were given their uniforms on condition that they served as fifers. The securing of sufficient musical talent seems to have been one of the chief labors of the executive committee. Harvard was always fond of music, and abounded in musical associations from the time of the first choir and its pitch-pipe to the recent Choral Union and Cornet Band. The company roll soon included about eighty names. A candidate for admission, after filing his application with the officers, could become a member only by the favoring vote of five-sixths of the members present at the next regular meeting. The by laws of the company embraced twenty-three articles, and a preamble; the latter being chiefly devoted to laudation of the volunteer system and beginning thus:—

To the attainment of real excellence in any art or science, a generous and laudable emulation is essentially necessary in ordinary cases; such

an emulation can exist only when the feelings of those concerned are voluntarily engaged. This truth is strikingly manifest in relation to military manœuvres and the art of war.....

The drill and business meetings of the company were usually called at Ezra Wetherbee's hall. The current expenses of the organization were not large, and were met by the fines for non-attendance at roll call, and other neglect of duty, for "being disguised with liquor," etc. Abel Whitcomb was chosen ensign in July 1823. John Fairbank was elected ensign and Abel Whitcomb lieutenant May 2, 1826. Stedman Houghton was chosen ensign, John Fairbank lieutenant, and Abel Whitcomb captain, September 2, 1826. Nahum Fairbank became ensign, Stedman Willard, lieutenant, and John Fairbank, captain, June 16, 1829. On June 15, 1832, Stedman Willard was chosen captain, Nahum Fairbank, lieutenant, and Joseph Whitcomb, ensign. September 14, 1833, Nahum Fairbank became captain, Joseph Whitcomb, lieutenant, and John Farwell, ensign. The records end with the date, September 9, 1834. The company was disbanded March 14, 1836. The uniform worn by the riflemen after May 1830, differed from that first procured, the coats being of "mixed" broadcloth, and the pantaloons of white drilling.

The Harvard Light Infantry Company was organized September 24, 1822, and disbanded June 30, 1834. The orderly book has not been found, but the commissioned officers of the company as recorded in the records of the adjutant general's office were as follows:—

Ithamar Willard, captain, September 24, 1822.

Andrew Gardner, lieutenant, ——; captain, April 29, 1823, to 1829.

William K. Harrod, ensign, September 24, 1822; lieutenant, April 29, 1823; promoted to major, July 23, 1827.

Robert Willard, ensign, April 29, 1823; lieutenant, March 24, 1828.

Josiah Sawyer, ensign, March 24, 1828; lieutenant, September 12, 1829.

George Gerry, captain, June 16, 1829.

Peter Conant, ensign, September 12, 1829; captain, August 9, 1833.

John C. Knight, ensign, August 9, 1833.

Warren Hayden, lieutenant, September 14, 1833.

The uniform of the company was of dark blue cloth, the facings being white, and the hats were surmounted with a white plume.

At the close of the Revolution Josiah Whitney was colonel of the second Worcester Regiment, in which the Seventh and Eleventh companies were from Harvard. He was made a brigadier-general in 1783, but resigned the office before the breaking out of Shays' insurrection. The company officers July 1, 1781, were :—

Seventh Company.	*Eleventh Company.*
Thaddeus Pollard, captain.	Ephraim Davis, captain.
Israel Whitney, 1st lieutenant.	Francis Farr, 1st lieutenant.
Philemon Priest, 2d lieutenant.	Daniel Laughton, 2d lieutenant.

The militia organization of 1787 made the Lancaster regiment the second of the Second Brigade and Seventh Division. It so remained until the reorganization of 1820, when it was attached to the Second Brigade of the Sixth Division. The Harvard commissioned officers were as follows: It is impossible to tell to which of the two companies each belonged.

Josiah Haskell, major, January 26, 1787; colonel, December 20, 1787.

Marlboro Kingman, ensign, September 20, 1787.

Philemon Priest, captain, December 20, 1787.

Jonathan Wetherbee, captain, December 20, 1787; lieutenant-colonel, July 13, 1791; colonel, September 12, 1792.

Prince Turner, lieutenant, December 20, 1787; captain, August 4, 1791.

Benjamin Robbins, ensign, December 20, 1787; lieutenant, August 4, 1791; captain, March 23, 1795.

Jacob Haskell, adjutant, January 1, 1789.

Joseph Atherton, lieutenant, August 4, 1791.

Asa Houghton, captain, July 4, 1792.

Samuel Barnard, lieutenant, July 4, 1792.

Ephraim Fairbank, ensign, July 4, 1792; lieutenant, September 2, 1794; captain, March 23, 1795.

Dr. Isaiah Parker, surgeon, February 16, 1794.

Joseph Willard, ensign, March 23, 1795; lieutenant, May 22, 1797; captain, May 15, 1798.

Asa Daby, ensign, March 23, 1795.

Thaddeus Pollard, lieutenant, March 23, 1795.

Simon Whitney, lieutenant, March 23, 1795; captain, May 22, 1797.

Noah Fairbank, lieutenant, May 22, 1797; captain, May 15, 1798.

John Stacy, ensign, May 22, 1797; lieutenant, May 15, 1798; captain, April 14, 1800.

Cyrus Houghton, ensign, May 22, 1797; lieutenant, May 15, 1798; captain, July 5, 1802.

Israel Taylor, ensign, May 15, 1798.

Oliver Hill, ensign, May 15, 1798; lieutenant, July 5, 1802; captain, June 14, 1804.

Levi Willard, ensign, April 14, 1800; lieutenant, March 31, 1803.

Moses Whitney, lieutenant, April 14, 1800; captain, March 31, 1803.

Reuben Houghton, ensign, April 24, 1801: captain, November 7, 1812.

John Farwell, ensign, July 5, 1802; lieutenant, June 24, 1804; captain, June 27, 1806.

Ephraim Warner, ensign, June 14, 1804; lieutenant, June 27, 1806; captain, May 3, 1808.

Aaron Whitney, Jr., ensign, April 21, 1806; lieutenant, May 3, 1808; captain, August 29, 1808.

Ethan Wetherbee, lieutenant, April 21, 1806.

Abner Pollard, ensign, June 27, 1806: lieutenant, May 3, 1808; captain, April 24, 1810.

Levi Houghton, ensign, May 3, 1808; lieutenant, April 24, 1810.

Asa Haskell, ensign, August 29, 1808; lieutenant, July 12, 1813.

David Fleeman, ensign, May 3, 1808; lieutenant, August 29, 1808; captain, July 12, 1813.

Jonathan Fairbanks, Jr., ensign, November 27, 1812; lieutenant, May 4, 1813; captain, April 25, 1815.

Jonathan Wetherbee, quartermaster, May 14, 1813.

Abidan Knight, ensign, May 4, 1813; lieutenant, April 25, 1815.

Joel Bowers, ensign, July 12, 1813; captain, February 14, 1814.

George Willard, lieutenant, February 14, 1814; captain, May 5, 1818.

Africa Hamlin, ensign, February 14, 1814.

Jabez Priest, ensign, April 25, 1815.

Ebenezer Willard, ensign, April 9, 1816; lieutenant, July 10, 1818; captain, July 17, 1820. Company disbanded February 19, 1822.

Nehemiah B. Willard, lieutenant, July 10, 1818. Company disbanded February 19, 1832.

Abel M. Godfrey, ensign, March 22, 1819; lieutenant in the Harvard Rifle company, which see.

Charles Bateman, ensign, March 28, 1820; lieutenant, July 17, 1820.

Ithamar Willard, ensign, July 17, 1820. Company disbanded February 19, 1822, when he was commissioned captain of the Harvard Light Infantry, which see.

Jerome Gardner, division quartermaster, September 29, 1821, to 1826.

John Whitney, lieutenant, July 10, 1823: captain, April 20, 1826.

Charles Willard, ensign, Sept. 2, 1823; lieutenant, May 20, 1826–1829.

John P. Whitcomb, major, August 23, 1826; lieutenant-colonel, July 23, 1827; colonel, April 21, 1828; brigadier-general, July 19, 1830.

Charles W. Grover, ensign, April 20, 1826; captain, June 16, 1829.

John Nurse, lieutenant, June 19, 1829; died June 15, 1832.

Jonathan Lawrence, ensign, June 16, 1829; lieutenant, June 15, 1832; captain, April 16, 1833–1835.

Dr. Eliakim A. Holman, surgeon's mate, September 3, 1829: surgeon, September 7, 1830, to 1836.

George Whitney, aide-de-camp, August 6, 1830; brigade quartermaster, July 22, 1831.

Nelson Whitcomb, ensign, July 15, 1832: lieutenant, April 16, 1833; major, January 4, 1836; lieutenant-colonel, July 30, 1838.

Stedman Willard, major, August 10, 1833; lieutenant-colonel, September 9, 1835.

Washington Gilbert, chaplain, September 14, 1833–June 20, 1836.

Nahum Stone, ensign, April 6, 1833.

Reuben Brown, ensign, May 3, 1836; captain, May 3, 1837.

Christopher L. Willard, ensign, May 3, 1837.

The officers last commissioned were discharged by a general order, dated April 24, 1840; but a military title clung to a man as long as he lived, and was generally chiseled upon his grave-stone. It is told of Captain Joseph Willard that he once began a season's haying by leading six sons, all militia captains, in mowing—their six scythes swinging with military precision in unison with their father's stroke around the field.

The muster fields were nearly always in Lancaster, and muster day was a general gala day for all the country around. Each soldier brought in his cartridge-box twelve blank cartridges; and his flint-lock musket, bayonet, and other accoutrements were scrubbed and polished to spotless brilliancy in order to satisfy the lynx-eyed brigade inspector. The exercises upon the field always began with prayer by the chaplain, the companies being massed about him in hollow square. Then the battle line was formed, and after inspection and review, a few regimental evolutions were practiced, the twelve cartridges were burned in volleys and "running fire," and the muster was over. About the field, at every vantage ground attainable, gathered groups of the country people, staring in wide-eyed admiration at the pomp of mimic warfare; and tents and booths and bakers' carts here and there invited the hungry and thirsty to an exhaustless supply of gingerbread, buns, candy, pies, root beer, mead, and thin lemonade. The sale of intoxicating fluids on or near the grounds was forbidden.

It is claimed that the notorious "striped pig" first appeared on a muster field in Lancaster or the vicinity. There were

always a few "show" tents in the neighborhood of the camp, for the accommodation of the six-legged calf, the man who was born without arms, and similar monstrosities. At one of the last musters such a tent bore the legend "Striped Pig! Admission fourpence." Before the day was far advanced this show had proved itself the most popular by far on the grounds. The squealing by which the pig advertised himself proved him genuine; the stripes were obviously red paint; but no soldier who paid the entrance fee complained that he was swindled. On the contrary he came out from the tent smacking his lips, and to the thirsty comrades he met he quietly said with a wink, "Go and see the striped pig." The aroma of the adviser's breath told the rest, and they went.

NICKNAMES.

About the beginning of the century it was a whim of the times to tag persons and places with quaint nicknames. Many of these, first attached by some rude witling, caught the popular fancy, and clung so closely to the victims that citizens more or less worthy walked among their fellows all their lives almost unknown by their baptismal names. Oddity of feature, habit, dress or speech was quite sure to win some sobriquet; but no man, however unobtrusive and well-rounded in person or character, was exempt. Some salience would be found on which to fasten a tag securely, and not necessarily a descriptive one. The "Old Rake" of Still River was a dignified and entirely reputable gentleman, with no undue leaning to gallantry. "Fool Ben" was as wise as the average Benjamin; and "Wicked Bill" was one of the best of men. The "Commodore" had never trod a quarter deck, but was plain Ben. Bridge, until the Constitution and Bainbridge became household words and gave him his nautical title. "Mac" had neither Irish nor Scotch blood in his veins. The "Old Jew" had nothing Mosaic about him but his beard. "Deacon Dummit" didn't belong to the church, but used a stereotyped form of oath. A ruling patriarch in the Sawyer family was known as the "Governor," and a worthy Atherton as "Gent." Levi Willard, who was prone to boasting about

his responsibilities as a town functionary, was dubbed "Old Public Business." One of a numerous family was distinguished from his cousins as the "Pig-eyed Pollard." A humpbacked Darby answered to the name of "Bunker Hill." One of the Reeds was known as "Dumpy." A prosperous and benignant Willard was everybody's "Uncle Abel," and another, whose plain penmanship fills many a page of the town's records, was honored as "Old Clark Bill" to his dying day. Family traits and perversities were often summed up in a pregnant phrase or epithet. One or two of these are of so disrespectful tone that to reproduce them on this page might offend some sensitive descendant; but none can object to "Wilful Wilders, Laughing Joslins, Wrestling Carters, and Whistling Whitcombs." The most honorable designation in the endless list was that given Joseph Willard, Jr., a sweet-natured and soft-spoken man, who believed ill of none, and was constantly laboring as a peacemaker among quarrelsome neighbors. His title of "Smoothing Plane" is no unworthy epitaph, for he made smooth rough places in many lives.

The equinoctial storm of September 22 and 23, when

> "...Oaks were scattered on the ground
> As if the Titans battled,"

has passed into song and history as the "Great Gale." Harvard had in Oak Hill a sturdy bulwark against the fierce blasts from the eastward; but chimneys went down, every apple was blown from its bough, and it was estimated that the orchard and forest trees laid prostrate, would furnish firewood for the inhabitants for eight or ten years.

The year 1816 was noted for extremes of temperature and especially for the fickle weather of the summer. In every one of the twelve months there was frost, in Harvard, and June 5 there was a snow-squall, and the hills to the north were clad in white. The corn was utterly destroyed but the wheat, rye, and apple crops were good.

HARVARD TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.

During the first quarter of the present century there were

usually two taverns upon the borders of Harvard's common, besides at least four retailers in the town, all licensed to sell spirituous liquors. To these there resorted every day and evening all sorts and conditions of men — from the dignified moderate-drinking squire, smoothly shaven and broadcloth-clad, to the disreputable toper whose shaking hand could hardly carry the glass to his lips, carbuncular-nosed, blear-eyed, wholly unkempt, and wrapped in tatters. They came from all the districts of the town, on foot, a-horseback, in every variety of vehicle — some bringing butter and eggs or other domestic produce to exchange for a few groceries and a jug of New England rum; some coming empty handed to kill time and soak themselves with toddy and flip. Especially in the long autumn and winter evenings would the sanded floors of the bar-rooms become the arena where a concourse of boon companions, in an atmosphere blue with tobacco smoke and profanity, wrangled about political questions, played practical jokes upon each other, told ribald stories, sang ribald songs, and guzzled until stupid or half crazed. About midnight, locked out by the landlord, these free American citizens would reel to their half-starved, shivering steeds tied near by, and drive howling home to add to the discomfort and misery there.

The saturnalia at the taverns on Harvard common were gross, but they were cheap and open to public scrutiny. There are traditions of more vicious, secret and costly orgies at which Harvard citizens figured in the old brick tavern of North Lancaster. Each retailer's sale of distilled liquors was reported to amount yearly to two or three hogsheads, and the tavern keeper's to twice that amount — this in a town of less than fifteen hundred inhabitants, with hundreds of barrels of hard cider in the farmers' cellars. Rum selling was a sure road to a competence and political honors. There is no reason to assert Harvard worse in this respect than her neighbors. In the adjoining town of Groton, in 1825, Elizur Wright calculated that the sale of rum, wholesale and retail, amounted to about twenty-eight thousand gallons. It was time for the great temperance movement which began to take form in 1826.

It is traditional that the first lecturer to address a Harvard audience upon the sin of intemperance was Dr. Justin Edwards of Andover. As one of the results of the awakening of public conscience, in 1829, on the fourth Monday of November, a meeting of citizens in the hall of Ezra Wetherbee, who kept a noted tavern where the town library now stands, discussed "the numerous evils arising from the use of ardent spirits." Then and there a society was organized for the promotion of temperance. The moderator of the meeting was the Baptist clergyman, Reverend Abisha Samson, and the clerk, Calvin Haskell. A constitution was submitted by a committee and accepted. Jerome Gardner was chosen president, John P. Whitcomb, vice-president, Calvin Haskell, secretary, Jonas Bateman, treasurer, and Dr. Eliakim A. Holman, Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., Cephas Houghton, John Whitney, Emory Barnard, Asa Wetherbee, Reuben Whitney and Jabez Priest, the executive committee. It is noteworthy that at the time Calvin Haskell and Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., were licensed retailers, and that the vice-president had held a license, abandoned but three years before, which had been a fruitful source of profit to him. The society adopted a pledge in these terms:—

> We whose names are hereunto annexed, believing that the use of ardent spirits is hurtful, agree that we will not use them except as a medicine in case of bodily hurt or sickness, that we will not provide them for the entertainment of friends, and in all suitable ways will discountenance the use of them by persons in our employment and by the community.

Fourteen members began the work. They had increased to one hundred within a year, and the retailers complained that half their trade in strong drink had disappeared, owing to the earnest labors of the society. Committees were assigned to the duty of distributing temperance papers and tracts, a member being appointed for work in each district. Meetings were held in the various school-houses. An address by Dr. Holman on the effects of alcohol upon the human system is especially noted in the records; and lecturers from abroad were obtained to give interest to the regular quarterly meetings. These, for the most part, were what, in the euphu-

ism of the day, were called "reformed inebriates." The clergymen of the town were drafted into the service, but the favorite orator was some one who could pose as a frightful example. The ethical value of an exhorter recently out of the gutter, and casually in a spasm of autobiographic repentance, was rated much higher than that of a moralist habitually sober. January 8, 1842, a Mr. O'Brien, one of the former class, so moved his audience that one hundred and sixty-seven signed the Washington total abstinence pledge.

The old organization had doubtless become somewhat comatose at this date, and the old pledge was too elastic to hamper strong appetites when backed by a seared conscience. It made the rum-jug disreputable, but cast no odium upon the wine-glass, nor interfered with the hard-cider drunkards, the ugliest species of the dipsomaniac race. Mr. O'Brien's eloquence seems to have aroused flagging enthusiasm, for January 22, 1842, a new organization supplanted the old, calling itself the Harvard Washington Total Abstinence Society. The new pledge was :—

> We whose names are hereunto annexed agree to abstain entirely from the use as a beverage of all intoxicating liquors, and from the traffic in them, and the furnishing of them for such use to others; and in all suitable ways to promote total abstinence from the use as a beverage of all such liquors throughout the community.

Aaron Whitney was chosen president of the society, Silas W. Holman, secretary, Samuel Bacon, treasurer, Eliakim A. Holman, Calvin Haskell and Charles Maynard, executive committee. As in all similar societies, so in this, the members found amusement in occasionally tinkering their pledge and patching their constitution and by-laws. The words, "excepting wine at communion," were inserted in the pledge at one of the earliest meetings after its acceptance, to be taken out again fifteen years later. Other alterations, generally in the direction of more explicit declaration and stricter form, were made in April, 1857. Occasionally a member was expelled, rarely one formally withdrew.

In the year 1842, a committee of the society was chosen to consult with Zophar Wetherbee the innholder, on the sub-

ject of "Keeping a Temperance Public House." This committee was composed of Oliver Hill, John P. Whitcomb, J. W. Lovejoy and Jonas Bateman. They reported, on March 19, that Mr. Wetherbee would agree to conduct his house upon thoroughly temperance principles if the society would guarantee him the sum of five hundred dollars per annum; that if not restricted in the sale of wine, cider and beer, he would ask but three hundred dollars for his sacrifice; or, if cider might be used at his table, four hundred dollars. Further discussion of the matter by the society, and interviews between the landlord and the committee, resulted in the banishment of distilled liquors from the inn, and in a temperance supper to celebrate the event — the society voting to guarantee to Mr. Wetherbee the sale of four hundred tickets to this supper at one dollar each. The occasion was fitly honored, at tables "most bountifully and invitingly spread," by the unalloyed enjoyment of the assembled towns-people, and by appropriate sentiments from the speakers, of whom were Reverend Jonathan Farr, Reverend George Fisher, Reverend Washington Gilbert, Augustus Granville Hill, John P. Whitcomb and William Buttrick. This was the origin of the annual temperance festivals, ever since publicly observed in Harvard on the evening of Washington's birth-day.

In June, 1843, the New England Temperance Union held a meeting in Harvard, and the dinner at Mr. Wetherbee's Temperance Hotel was a prominent feature of the exercises. The same year the commemoration of independence included a dinner, furnished by Mr. Wetherbee, the tables being spread under the trees in front of the residence of Asa Daby. The genial landlord and accomplished landlady of Harvard's Temperance Tavern soon won a wide reputation for generous and appetizing entertainment furnished for their guests, and it became a favorite resort for pleasure parties from the towns round about.

The society having succeeded in making the sale of intoxicating drink in Harvard disreputable, proceeded "to break up the dens" where ardent spirits were dispensed contrary to law; and when moral suasion failed an appeal to legal remedies was promptly made. The early prosperity and efficiency

of the society was very largely credited to the energy of General John P. Whitcomb, one of its founders. At his death, which took place April 21, 1847, the following action of his colleagues is recorded:—

Whereas John P. Whitcomb, Esq., the late president of this society, has been removed by death, therefore *Resolved*, that in his death the society has lost an ever vigilant and firm supporter, and the temperance cause one of its truest and most faithful friends.

Resolved, that we will hold in grateful remembrance his services in this cause, and will cherish the highest sentiments of respect for his memory as a friend and fellow-citizen.

Resolved, that incited by his example we will engage with renewed zeal in promoting the cause which lay so near his heart, and called forth his vigorous efforts and liberal contributions.

The membership of the society at the close of its fiftieth year numbered over twelve hundred names.

The younger portion of the community, in April, 1843, organized a society which was at first styled the "Cold Water Army," but in the second year of its existence changed its title to the "Young Men's Total Abstinence Society and Cold Water Army." The meetings were held for a time fortnightly, at which the entertainment was varied—sometimes including dialogues, declamations and singing by the members, sometimes a formal address or lecture by one of the town's clergymen or other citizen. At its anniversary in 1844, Henry B. Pearson entertained the society at his residence. Having for about five years been an effective agent in the cause which founded it, the association ceased to meet. The strong temperance sentiment of the town is shown by the fact that under the local option law the voters for license never number a score.

CANAL AND RAILWAY.

Long before the era of railways dawned, plans for the promotion of internal commerce by means of canals were rife. As early as 1792 the project of a navigable waterway from the seaboard to the Connecticut River, through Lancaster and Worcester, attracted public notice, and preliminary survey of a route was made. In 1825 the scheme found more

energetic promoters, and Loammi Baldwin, the noted engineer of the day, was employed to make surveys and determine upon a course for the canal to take. The citizens of Harvard could hardly have expected that the contemplated line would climb among their hills, but they were deeply interested in the plan, and appointed a committee "to wait upon the engineer," when he came into the neighborhood. One of the proposed lines ran from the Assabet River up the valley of the Four Mile Brook through Bolton, and crossed the Nashua near the mills in South Lancaster. This route contemplated a tunnel through the Wataquadock range. Another passed through Littleton, the south part of Groton, now Ayer, and Shirley to the valley of Miller's River. The financiers were wisely cautious, and soon the success of Robert Stephenson's locomotive radically changed the problem of internal commerce in New England.

March 5, 1845, the farmers of Harvard were brought two or three hours nearer their chief market by the opening of the Boston and Fitchburg Railway, with two stations, those of Ayer and Littleton, little more than a mile from the northern boundary of the town. Of even greater interest was the location in 1846 of the Worcester and Nashua Railway through the town. By necessity the line, following the river valley, left the villages from one to two miles away; but two stations established at the most convenient points made all possible amends for that. On July 3, 1848, the road was opened to Groton, and November 22, to Worcester.

Many rosy predictions were made about the increase of inhabitants and prosperity that were to come to Harvard by railway; but thus far the enlarged facilities of travel seem to have favored departure more than ingress. The locomotive has brought many advantages to the community, and also some false ambitions, morbid appetites and artificial tastes; and borne away much simplicity in life and manners without compensation in human happiness. More than all it has hastened and made easy the search of the uneasy and ignorant for that far-away, elusive Canaan, where the maximum of success is to be quickly won with a minimum of toil; and thus it has helped rob the town of much of its best muscle and brain.

THE MORUS MULTICAULIS SPECULATION.

In 1837 there raged throughout the United States an extraordinary speculative excitement known as the "*morus multicaulis mania*," which at its height bore striking resemblance to the tulip craze of Holland in a previous century, and like that ruined thousands. Harvard was a sore sufferer from this speculation, in the persons of several of her more enterprising farmers, whom vain dreams of sudden wealth persuaded to neglect their orchards and grain fields for the culture of the mulberry-tree.

There had grown up in America an enormous demand for silk goods, and high prices had much earlier induced the raising of silk-worms and the manufacture of silk, but mostly in a modest, experimental way. A congressional committee, by a rainbow-hued report upon the possibilities of the silk industry in this country, gave an unhealthy stimulus to it. Our climate was declared peculiarly favorable; the raising and feeding of the worms and the care of the cocoons was set forth as easy, pleasant labor, by which the farmers' children could greatly contribute to the family earnings; finally, the *morus multicaulis*, because of its easy propagation by cuttings, its rapid and late continued growth, the succulence of its leaves, and the superb quality of the silk produced by the worms fed upon it, was announced as the one thing needful to make this the greatest silk-producing nation upon earth. A single tree, it was said, would afford sustenance for the worms that would spin over one hundred pounds of raw silk worth five dollars per pound at least.

Soon great nurseries of *morus multicaulis* were established, but could not keep pace with the increasing demand for their product among the agricultural towns. Numerous orchards of young mulberry trees were set out on the Still River and Bare Hill farms. Silk-worm eggs were bought at extravagant prices, and ultimately Harvard cocoons sought a market. The returns were never encouraging, even to the most fortunate silk farmer; a financial depression throughout the country added discouragement; and a blight that affected all the mulberry trees, in 1844, put an end to the speculation. Prob-

ably not ten specimens of the *morus multicaulis* can be found in the town today where thousands were planted and carefully cultivated about half a century ago.

In 1835 a new road to Littleton was laid out by the county commissioners, leading from the common through the town farm and by what was then the East Family of Shakers. Strenuous opposition was made by the town to the building of this highway, and every means was used to persuade the commissioners to reconsider their action.

In 1837 Reuben Whitcomb was chosen to act as the town's agent to receive its share of the surplus revenue from the national treasurer and receiver general, twenty-eight millions of dollars being then distributed among the states. Harvard's share amounted to $3,328.83. The money was loaned to citizens upon real-estate security, and the interest was for a time annually devoted to education, being divided among the districts according to the number attending the schools. In 1853 but six hundred dollars of the sum remained in the treasury, and the Harvard Agricultural Society obtained a town-meeting vote granting it to them. The legality of this being questioned, the vote was subsequently reconsidered, and the fund finally disappeared in public expenditures.

The Agricultural Society above mentioned had its origin in 1850, being then called the Farmers' and Mechanics' Association. It held annual exhibitions, or "cattle shows," sometimes quite comprehensive in plan, and embracing varied attractions enough to engage the attention of all the town's people, and draw to the town common hundreds from the neighboring villages.

February 6, 1845, Harvard Lodge No. 60, of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, was instituted. The charter members were George J. Smith, Ebenezer Willis, Trumbull Bull, A. W. Churchill and Samuel F. Whitney. The last named is the only one now surviving. The present number of members is forty-seven, and the registered membership one hundred and forty-seven.

In 1848 the sum of five hundred dollars was appropriated and expended in improvement of the highway over Pin Hill.

As far back as 1819 the summit had been lowered by blasting, but the grade remained excessive until this appropriation made possible more extensive alterations.

In 1849 it was ordered by the town, in defence of sheep farming, even then almost abandoned, that no dog should go at large unless licensed by a register appointed by the selectmen. This foreshadowed the state law of 1859. But there are nearly twice as many dogs as sheep in Harvard today.

AUGUSTUS GRANVILLE HILL.

In 1867 Harvard lost the inspiring presence of a leading citizen, Augustus Granville Hill, who removed to Boston. Born in this town August 15, 1803, the son of Oliver and Mary (Goldsmith) Hill, he lived for most of his manhood's years at the homestead he inherited, now the residence of Henry Butterfield. The last ten years of his life were spent in Boston, where he was instantly killed, on Sunday, January 14, 1877, while on his way to afternoon service, being struck down at the corner of Beacon and Tremont streets by a runaway horse. From a feeling obituary written at the time by his friend and neighbor, Reverend John B. Willard, these sentences, descriptive of Mr. Hill's person and character, are derived:—

In face and form Mr. Hill was a striking model of manly stateliness. ..... His mind and soul were not unworthy of the shrine that held them. The superiority of his intellect was manifested by his keen taste for high studies and the wide range of them. He was not only a most reverent but an eager reader of the Bible. For years he was an enthusiastic student of Shakespeare. He kept himself always and largely informed in the political and statistical matters of the United States, and especially of Massachusetts and his own vicinity. His education at the Rensselaer Institute gave him a taste for and a knowledge of the natural and exact sciences very unusual with men of his day. But his strong forte in study was history. Only two days before his startling death he told me he had just finished Carlyle's..... history of Frederic the Great for the second time; and he spoke of it with exceeding delight. I merely give this fact as a prevailing habit of the man's mind. I have found him equally delighted over Bancroft and Gibbon. His own historic faculty was remarkable. He instinctively seized and held in a most tenacious memory all the old legends and traditions of his native town that he loved so well; and he could tell them so graphically as to make all the scenes and

actors of our past live again.....I never knew a man who could tell stories of almost any kind more exquisitely than he. In fact his power of lucid statement was admirable. He had no eloquence, but it was a pleasure to hear his public speeches, they were so clean cut and clear.

He had a most genial and intensely social nature. Over every church or town-meeting, lyceum, party or public gathering his mere presence diffused a magnetism that could be felt. He was one of those men made to hold society together.....

Mr. Hill's moral and religious nature was his crowning excellence. I have yet to hear the first thing that has sullied the integrity or the purity of Granville Hill.....In all the years that I was honored with his love and intimacy, I know that the thought of God was never absent from his heart.

The youthfulness of the man was marvelous. Counted by years he was seventy-three; so by his white hair. Counted by his brightness, his activity, his vigor, his power of enjoying the young and giving them enjoyment, he was twenty-three. He had drunk at the fountain of perpetual youth, because he had always kept his moral, intellectual, and social faculties strained to their utmost tension.....

To many citizens who knew Mr. Hill less intimately, this picture of him by Mr. Willard's pen may seem too brightly colored; for he was not fully trusted nor greatly loved by the majority, and he signally failed of success in his obvious ambitions. He lacked the means, if not the inclination, to be free-handed, and wanted that tact which wins men's suffrages without asking for, or seeming to desire them. His undoubted abilities therefore secured for him no political honors, and even in town-meeting the advocates of any measure never reckoned upon his support as an element of strength.

FIRES AND FIRE EXTINGUISHERS.

April 4, 1831, a report to a Harvard town-meeting recommended the appropriation of one hundred dollars in favor of an engine company which had been recently organized in the town. The company had bought a fire engine, one of the "tubs" of the period, the price agreed upon being two hundred and twenty-nine dollars, and had raised by subscription one hundred and sixty-eight dollars. The adoption of the committee's report cleared the company of debt and built an engine house, which was ordered located in a "corner of the burying ground near the hay-scales." The engine company

and its machine were sufficiently esteemed fifteen years later to obtain a new engine house in place of the old one, but after 1846 no mention is found of them in the records. About 1880 the old engine was sold at an auction, among the chattels of A. A. Jenkins, and is now in Worcester, utilized as a pump. The burning of the Fletcher Brothers' mills and the Unitarian meeting-house disclosed the utter lack of means to control a fire even in the most populous part of the town, and in June, 1875, the selectmen were instructed to buy twenty-five hand fire-pumps and distribute them. This vote was subsequently amended, and the pumps were ordered to be kept at the town hall and almshouse. November 2, of the same year, the need of more efficient fire apparatus was discussed, and the town was stirred to quite radical action. It was voted:—

to purchase a sufficient number of Force Pumps to supply every head of a family in town that wishes to have one, by the paying to the town of one-half the cost of same; the pumps to be the property of the town, the parties receiving them to have them always in order ready for use in case of fire. The town reserves the right to call them in at pleasure....

November 4, 1879, the selectmen were authorized to procure two carriages with buckets, fire hooks, ropes, ladders, axes, etc., to be used in case of fire—one for Still River and one at the Centre—and to build suitable houses for their protection, and to appoint men to care for them. The trucks and apparatus, costing $386, were at once purchased.

A fire May 14, 1892, which destroyed two dwellings and greatly endangered others in the heart of the central village, aroused general attention to the insufficiency of the town's preparations to cope with any considerable conflagration. In the lack of convenient water supply it was evident that recourse must be had to chemical extinguishers, and at a special town-meeting on June 2, it was decided to buy a fifty-five gallon Hathaway hand machine and three small extinguishers for each of the two villages, at an expense of about twelve hundred dollars.

Some of the most noted fires in Harvard of which record has been found are the following:—

1755. March 15. The Gates mansion at East Bare Hill was consumed with all its valuable contents, while the family were attending the funeral of one of their number.

1833. September 7. The house of John Blanchard, at Old Mill, was burned.

1850. February 28. The store of Ebenezer C. Willard, at the north-east corner of the burial ground, was burned at night with all its contents.

1852. August 31. The dwelling of Charles Atherton — the ancient garrison house of Hezekiah Willard — on the western slope of Maka-macheckamuck's Hill, was burned.

1855. August 3. The Bromfield mansion, built in 1734, for Harvard's first minister, Reverend John Seccomb, was destroyed with barn, etc., but most of the contents were saved.

1862. January 23. The Fletcher saw and grist mills, but a short time before bought of Samuel F. Stone, were destroyed by fire.

1869. April 6. The old garrison house of John Priest, Jr., known as the Forbush house, on the northern slope of Bare Hill, was burned.

1871. November 6. The Silas Craggin or Dudley house, at North Still River, owned by Abel Willard, was burned.

1872. March 5. The buildings of the Worcester and Nashua railroad station, at Still River, were wholly destroyed by fire.

1873. September 11. The Noah Warner house and barn at West Bare Hill, once the house of Sylvester Priest, were burned.

1874. August 8. The Fletcher Brothers' saw and grist mill, box factory, etc., were consumed for the second time, the loss being total and estimated at eleven thousand dollars.

1875. February 7. The Unitarian meeting-house was discovered to be on fire in the roof, and little could be done to save it, there being neither water nor fire apparatus available.

1875. May 8, the barn of Jonathan Crouch, at West Bare Hill, was consumed with cattle and other stock, the fire being incendiary.

1875. September 20, the Edgarton house in North Still River, occupied by Michael Coffee, was burned.

1877. October 28, Jonathan Crouch's house — the old Calvin Warner dwelling at West Bare Hill — was burned; an incendiary fire.

1878. April 17, Samuel F. Whitney's barn and stock were destroyed, the loss being estimated at ten thousand dollars.

1879. March 11, Captain Eben Willard's house and barn, a short distance north-east of the common, were burned.

1880. August 25 and 26, the Wetherbee tavern, or Elm House, and Asa Daby's dwelling, with barns, etc., were totally destroyed. The fire broke out in the stables a little before midnight, and was no doubt the work of an incendiary.

1883. July 20, Turner's mills were destroyed — the third conflagration on the same site.

1883. December 6, at Still River, Gustavus Newell's store, Harrod's smith shop and the Lawrence house were destroyed.

1885. June 25, Michael Griffin's barn was burned — loss $500.

1885. July 29, the saw-mill and dwelling of the Clapp Brothers, at the south-east corner of Harvard, were destroyed.

1885. August 12, the house and barn of George L. Sawyer, near the Bromfield School, were burned — supposed to be an incendiary fire.

1886. March 3, the McNiff or David Pollard house was destroyed — loss $800.

1886. April 11, the house of Mrs. Mary McGurn, on Oak Hill, was burned — loss $1200.

1887. September 2, the Huse house, the dwelling of Patrick Joyce, in Shabikin, was destroyed.

1888. March 18, the dwelling of Ephraim H. Burgess, near the Boxborough line, was burned — loss $1200.

1888. August 28, Martin Kerley's dwelling on the road to the almshouse, was burned — loss $500.

1888. October 18, J. Willard Bacon's glue factory at Old Mill was burned at night — loss $2700.

1889. July 18, A. C. Hewin's dwelling, in Still River, was destroyed — loss $1200.

1892. May 16, the houses of Miss Ellen Gamage, and Mrs. Crouch, near the common, were destroyed, other dwellings near by being saved with great difficulty — loss $3000.

TOWN HALLS.

The earliest movement looking to the building of a hall especially adapted for the transaction of the town's business was on April 7, 1807, when a committee was appointed to consider the proposition. The report of the committee was probably adverse, as no further action in the matter is recorded, and the town-meetings continued to be held in the meeting-house as they had been from the first. In 1827 the subject was again agitated, perhaps stirred by some natural objections on the part of the first parish to submit their place of worship to the defilement and injury incident to its frequent use by mixed and sometimes disorderly assemblies. A town-meeting debated the question of the town's right to use the meeting-house, and finally referred it to a special committee for investigation. Samuel Hoar, Esq., was consulted, and advised the town that the edifice was the property of the first parish exclusively, and that a precisely similar case had already been decided by the supreme court in favor of the church in Medford. A plan was at once presented

for a new building for the town's use, forty-four by thirty-four feet, estimated to cost seven hundred dollars, but the whole subject was dismissed at that time.

May 5, 1828, a town-meeting was called at the Baptist meeting-house in Still River, and then it was voted to proceed with the erection of a town house at once. The building was placed on the north-eastern portion of the common, across the highway from the present town hall, where E. W. Houghton's barn now stands. It faced to the south, and had four Tuscan columns supporting the front gable. There was no provision for warming it until 1832, when a chimney was built and a stove purchased.

March 30, 1854, the selectmen were instructed to buy a safe wherein to bestow the town records. To economize space, it was at the same date "voted, that a committee of two be appointed to examine the books and papers in the Town Clerk's office, and put all that are valuable in a proper condition, *and destroy all that are worthless*"—a short-sighted and reprehensible act, which may account for the fact that no files of papers relating to the conduct of the town's affairs in the early period of its history are now to be found. But for this unfortunate "house-cleaning" in the town-clerk's office, perhaps there might have come down to us sundry receipts or other papers of interest and historic value, touching the participation of Harvard citizens in the French and Indian and Revolutionary wars, about which our knowledge is now so imperfect.

The first town hall served the people for forty years, and would have satisfied the requirements of ordinary town-meetings some time longer; but for many social uses it was not easily adaptable, nor commodious enough. The suggestion that a new and much more capacious building for public meetings should take the place of the old one, excited the determined opposition of all the conservatives in the town. The fact that the town debt at the time amounted to about eleven thousand dollars, gave force to the arguments for further delay. The contest finally came in March, 1870, before a full town-meeting, when after spirited discussion a vote was taken, and ninety-four declared themselves in favor of,

and ninety-four against, the immediate building of a new hall. A second day's wrangle resulted, when each party brought out its full strength, and ended in a vote of one hundred and seven favoring and one hundred opposing the project. The sum of ten thousand dollars was appropriated and the plans were selected, but the location became a source of bitter contention, and was changed by town vote again and again, before the present site was finally adopted. The last meeting in the old town-house was that of August 5, 1871. The building was sold, removed a short distance to the north and converted into a dwelling. The first meeting in the new house was that of April 1, 1872, the March meeting of that year being called at the Centre school-house.

The fire-proof vault was built in 1881, and the furnaces were added in 1885, at a cost of three hundred dollars. In 1891 the roof was slated and a hard-wood floor laid in the upper hall. The same year a piano was bought, four hundred dollars being appropriated by the town for the purpose, and one hundred and sixty dollars obtained by individual contributions.

The Harvard Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry, No. 12, was organized by Augustus J. Sawyer, master, in December, 1873. It was reorganized December 27, 1887, as No. 149, with twenty-one members, and now has a membership of fifty-nine. It has twice received the first premium in the competition of granges at the Worcester East yearly agricultural fairs.

On Memorial Day, 1873, the Harvard Cornet Band, numbering eighteen members, made its first public appearance. After a time, the interest flagging and several of the musicians having removed from town, the organization ceased to meet. In 1889 it was resuscitated by some of the members, and appeared in the memorial services of 1890.

Extract from the will of Mercy Maynard, who died November 18, 1889:—

..... To the town of Harvard, Mass., the sum of five hundred dollars, to be expended under the direction of the selectmen of said town for the purchase, erection and maintenance of a Town Clock; said clock

to be placed on the Unitarian Church, and in case the whole of said sum is not needed for said purpose, the balance thereof may be paid over by said selectmen to the said Unitarian Society, for the maintenance of said clock.

This bequest was accepted in 1892. As an excellent tower clock had been presented to the town by Warren Hapgood, and placed in the steeple of the Unitarian meeting-house, several years before, the fund is invested awaiting contingencies.

In 1889 died Asa Daby at the ripe age of eighty-nine years. He was honored by election to the office of town treasurer for thirty-two years, 1847–1879, when he declined further service. He was also treasurer of the Congregational Society, executor or administrator of many estates, and a director of the Lancaster Savings Bank. An incident illustrating the popular trust in the man, as well as his untiring willingness to serve his neighbors, was his appearance at the counter of the Lancaster Savings Bank, when the receivers of that bankrupt institution paid their first dividend in 1876, with eighty-five books of deposit, in most of which he had the interest of a trustee. Mr. Daby was a lineal descendant from John Daby, one of the original petitioners for the creation of the town in 1731.. He served Harvard in the lower branch of the legislature in 1839, 1840 and 1841.

IV.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

I. THE FIRST CHURCH UNDER JOHN SECCOMB.

FROM the language of the preamble to the act of incorporation it seems certain that, for at least two or three years before 1732, a portion of the inhabitants of Stow Leg, the south part of Groton and the Bare Hill region had been associated for public worship, and had employed some one as leader in their Sabbath exercises; but who served them in that capacity is nowhere told. The place of meeting, according to tradition, was a building which stood about one-third of a mile northward from the meeting-house of the Unitarian Society, and nearly in front of the residence of Samuel Freeman Stone. It was in this that the town-meetings were at first held. Here, July 25, 1732, the town chose Jacob Gates and John Whitney a committee to see that the pulpit was supplied for the next six months, and instructed them to secure board for the minister at Shadrach Hapgood's as "the most convenient place." August 29, there was a discussion of the proposition to improve this building for a meeting-house, but it was voted to build a new one a few rods further south. September 14, a solemn fast was held, in the exercises of which occasion the clergymen of Lancaster, Groton, Littleton and Stow assisted; this ceremony being considered at that day an indispensable preface to the work of organizing a church and selecting a pastor.

The first town-meeting after the fast, on September 19, seems to have been entirely harmonious. It was voted to invite Philemon Robbins, a graduate from Harvard College

in the class of 1729, to a settlement, and "to Build a Meeting House fourty-seven feet long, thirty-five feet wide and twenty feet between joints." James Atherton, Jonathan Whitney, Josiah Church, Jonathan Sawyer and Simon Stone were elected a building committee, with authority to procure materials and "state men's wages." They were instructed to be ready to raise the house by June first.

There must have been some difference of opinion respecting the fitness of the site selected, for at the next meeting, after debating the location of a burying place and pound, it was voted to "reconsider about the place of meeting house." and October 3, "after some hours Debate, the Town Voted that the Spot of Land on which two heaps of Stones were Gathered that Day shou'd be the Place for Erecting their Meeting House." The course of procedure at a similar juncture forty years later throws light upon this peculiar record. It marked an unconscious reversion to classic methods. The assembled voters had signified their preferences by stone ballots, each depositing a pebble where he wished the corner stone to be placed. Thus early in the exercise of their right of autonomy did the yeoman of Harvard, though unwittingly it must be supposed, justify their town's wearing that classic name jointly with the university, by adapting to their occasions the method of voting by *pséphoi* familiar to ancient Greek assemblies. The land selected was common, the property of the Lancaster proprietors; accordingly, on October 3, it was "Voted to Petition the Town of Lancaster for a Tract of common Land known by the Name of Meeting House Plain," and a committee was appointed to conduct the business. Their petition as recorded in Lancaster was as follows:—

> These are to certifye you that the Town of Harvard Desiers you would make a Grant to them of about Thirty acres of Land lying at Pin hill or the northwest side of bare hill near where they have bult a hous for publick worship (which now Lyeth Common) which they desier may be Granted to them for to set a meeting-hous on and for a training field and for a buring Place and other Publick uses.

The request met favorable consideration from the proprietors on February 5, 1732–3, and the old burial field and cen-

tral common mark the location of the grant; although piece by piece about half of the original area has unfortunately been converted to strictly private uses, in ways perhaps hardly consistent with the terms of the gift.

Mr. Philemon Robbins having declined their call, preferring to settle in Branford, Connecticut, the town, at a meeting on April 26, voted to extend an invitation to John Seccomb, who had been preaching on probation from March 11, to become their pastor. The negotiation is fully recorded and seems peculiar enough to be worthy of recital here. The letter of invitation was as follows :—

To Mr. John Seccomb — Sir. We the subscribers being chosen by the Town to treat with you about Settling with us in the Work of the Ministry Do now in the Name of the Town Invite you thereunto offering you for your Incouragement the Sum of £300 and for your continual support During your Life and Ministry £120 yearly for your Salary to be paid you in Publick Bills of Credit or Province Bills as they are now Currant.

JOHN DABY,
SIMON STONE, } *Committee.*
JOHN MARTYN,

Silver was then worth nineteen shillings an ounce. Mr. Seccomb evidently took ample time for deliberation, and replied thus :—

Gentlemen. Having some time since received your Invitation to Settle with you in the Work of the Ministry, wou'd now thankfully take notice of the Respect which you have shewn me herein, and wou'd signify to you the Pleasure and Satisfaction it has been to me to see you so happily and religiously united and so hearty and Sincere in this your call and invitation. I have took this matter into serious Consideration. Upon the whole I think your Offers are generous and honourable considering your present Circumstances and in the Difficulty which you are involved in etc. But Doubtless you are very sensible that what may be honourable at Present cannot be accounted so when things come to be differently Circumstanced; and for that Reason I am Perswaded that you will readily make an Allowance as need Requires so that your Liberality may appear to all Men as has begun already to appear. The Town being so United as it is at Present I shou'd be very loath to be the means of dividing it and of being the cause of any Uneasiness among you. I am not desirous of demanding anything more of you than your Circumstances will conveniently and safely allow of, nor to strain you beyond reason and means, nor wou'd you account it a piece of Prudence in me to make such an Agreement or Contract with you as may be prejudicial to my Interest,

so far as I am capable of Judging in that appears. I hope you have thought upon the affair and judiciously weighed things in your minds. Possibly you may make some small Graduall Consideration for my future Subsistance without doing yourselves an Injury thereby. I need not mention what others have already done among and about us. As to the Circumstances of Cutting and Sledding my Wood for me I hope that wou'd not be thought an Unreasonable Desire. I do but hint at these things which I presume is sufficient, for I make no Doubt but you will Proceed to what is Consistent with your Interest as well as mine, and what you Do must be and I think will be free, chearfull and voluntary, which will be acceptable both to God and Man. If we cou'd come to a Settled Determined Agreement and harmony, I shou'd think myself very happy in such a relation to a People who have such a Share in my Affections and whose Interests and Happiness I have such a Regard to. You see I have not fully and Premptorily determined the affair which is to be decided between us and for this Reason. Because I am not willing that any thing shou'd be done through Constraint or of Necessity least thereby that happy union shou'd be dissolved and dissipated which is at this Day so visible among you and which is one of the greatest inducements to abide with a People, as well as the best Symptom and token of a happy Life here and hereafter. I shall add nothing further only (as you are Christians and therefore are influenced in all your Actions by the Gospel) shall leave with you the words of Solomon, Vizt: There is that Scattereth and yet Increaseth; there is that with holdeth more than is meet but it tendeth to Poverty — the liberal sons shall be made fat and he that watereth shall be watered also himself — and that of the Apostle — He that Soweth Sparingly shall Reap Sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall also Reap bountifully. Every Man as he Purposeth in his Heart so let him Give, not Grudgingly or of Necessity for God loveth the Chearfull Giver. And God is able to Make all Grace abound toward you, that you always having all sufficiency in all things may abound to every good work.....being enriched in every thing to all Bountifulness which causeth thro' us thanksgiving to God.....Be not therefore weary in well Doing, for in Due Season you shall Reap if you faint not.

From your sincere Friend and well wisher,

HARVARD, May 18th, 1733. JOHN SECCOMB.

.....After the Reading Mr Seccomb's Answer to the Town which was not so peremptory and full as was Expected and the Town being loth there shou'd be any Obstacle laid in the way by them, after some Dispute the following vote was passed, vizt: To Give Mr Seccomb £20 yearly in Work over and above what was before offered; and if the necessity shall call for further help and Support and the Town's Ability enables them to Give it him the Town voted they wou'd give it. this was accepted. [May 22, 1733.]

The building committee were instructed to finish the meet-

ing-house "to the Turning of the Key, except the Pews, as quick as they can." They were ordered to wainscot the interior four or five feet from the floor, lath and plaster the sides and roof, glaze the windows, and build the pulpit. The frame was raised June 20, and the bills for eatables and drink indicate that it was a highly festive occasion. The viands charged for were: "175 pounds of veal at 5^{d} per pound; 110 pounds of mutton at 5^{d}; 120 pounds of pork at 12^{d}; 3 bushels of wheat at 10^{s}; 3 bushels 'Rye and Indian Bread' at 8^{s}; 16 pounds of Butter at 1^{s} 6^{d}; 15 pounds of Sugar at 12^{d}; 2 barrels of beer at 5^{s}; 3 barrels of cider at 11^{s} 6^{d}; cheese and allspice."

The ordination was celebrated October 10, the organization of the church dating from the same day. Ordination exercises had lost the simplicity observed in the previous century and become fully as ceremonious as at the present day. Town-meeting after town-meeting was called, at which various committees were chosen and charged with specific duties in the preparatory work, and protracted discussions arose about ways and means. On the appointed day, according to Mr. Seccomb's records:—

> The Rev^{d}. John Gardner of Stow began with prayer. Rev^{d} John Prentice of Lancaster gathered the Church, and gave the Charge. The Rev^{d}. Mr Eben^{r}. Turell of Medford preached the Sermon from these Words in 2 Cor: 6. 3. "Giving no offence in anything, that the Ministry be not blamed."—The Rev^{d}. Mr Caleb Trowbridge of Groton gave the right hand of Fellowship.

If this were all we knew of Harvard's first ordination festival, it might be set down as a very quiet affair; but a bright side-light is thrown upon it through the account rendered to the town by its agents appointed to extend hospitality to official guests:—

Joseph Willard's Bill for Expences at the Ordination Oct. 10th 1733.

The night before Ordination I Supped Eleven of Mr Seccomb's friends....	1£..18..6
The next Morning I Breakfasted nine....	1..11..6
The same Day Dined Eleven at 3/6....	1..18..6
The same Day Breakfasted 24 Ministers and Messengers....	4.. 4
The same Day Dined 38 Ministers and Messengers....	6..13

The Keeping Mr Seccomb's relations' 9 horses 2 nights....	18	
To Lodging nine Persons 2 nights at 4^{s} p night....	6	
To six Gallons and 2 quarts of Wine at 10/6 p Gallon....	4..	6..3
To Pipes and Tobacco 4/, Loaf Sugar and Nutmegs 5/....	9	
For my Journey and bringing up Liquor....	10	
For Keeping 38 horses Ordination Day at 6^{d}.....	19	
For 27 Persons some Scholars and some Ministers' wives at Dinner....	4..14..6	
For 8 horses belonging to Scholars and others one day at 6^{d}..	4	
	£28..12..3	

The "Scholars" were students from Harvard College.

Simon Stone's Bill for Expences at the Ordination October 10, 1733.

For Wine 26/6, White Bread and flower 8/2, Sugar 8/4....	2£..	3
For spice 4/8 Plums 8/2, fresh meat 29/....	2 ..	1..10
	4 ..	4..10

From these itemized accounts we may infer that the public ceremonials of the church in the early part of the last century were by no means feasts of reason only. Even a small rural town was by custom bound to show an unstinted hospitality at such times, and the occasion was meant to be hilarious. Some of the faded tell-tale vouchers lead us to wonder, supposing the ecclesiastical punch to have been of normal potency, whether any body in town on ordination day went to bed quite sober. Even in modern times, however, a consecration in Harvard is hardly deemed quite valid unless attested by a generous collation for all taking part therein. Mr. Seccomb gives us no particulars respecting the day's doings other than those before set down, but opens his records with the covenant :—

The Church Covenant (*with the names of those who were in y*^{e} *foundation*).

We whose names are hereunto subscribed (being Inhabitants of the Town of Harvard in New England) Apprehending ourselves call'd of God into the Church State of the Gospel, do first of all confess ourselves unworthy to be so highly favoured of the Lord, and that free and rich Grace of his which triumphs over so great Unworthiness. In humble dependance on free Grace for divine assistance and acceptance, We do in the name of Christ Jesus our Lord freely Covenant & bind ourselves solemnly in the presence of God himself, his holy Angels and all his Serv-

ants here present to serve the God whose name is Jehovah, Father, son and holy ghost, the only true and living God; and avouch him this day to be our God, our Father, our Saviour, & our Leader, & receive him as our Portion for ever. We give up ourselves unto the blessed Jesus, who is the Lord Jehovah and adhere to him as the head of his people, in the Covenant of Grace, and rely on him as our Priest our Prophet and King to bring us unto eternal Blessedness. We declare our serious belief of the Christian Religion as contained in the Sacred Scriptures, heartily resolveing to conform our lives unto the Rules of that holy Religion therein contained, as long as we live in this world. We acknowledge our indispensible obligations to glorify our God by a Christian life and Conversation: and very particularly in the duties of a Church State, and a Body of people associated for an obedience to him in all the Ordinances of the Gospel; And we therefore depend on the gracious assistance of his holy spirit for our faithfull discharge of the duties thus incumbent upon us. We desire and intend, & (with dependance on his powerfull Grace) we engage to walk together as a Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the faith and order of the Gospel, so far as we shall have the same made known unto us; conscientiously attending the publick Worship of God, the Sacraments of his new Testament, the Discipline of his Kingdom, and all his holy institutions, in communion with one another, and watchfully avoiding sinfull stumbling blocks, and contentions as becomes a People whome the Lord has bound up together in the bundle of life.....At the same time we do also present our offspring with our selves to the Lord, purposing with his help to do our part in the methods of a religious Education as he has required of us; counting it as our high favour that the Lord will accept of us and our Children with us, to be his People. And all this we do, flying to the blood of the Everlasting Covenant, for the pardon of our many Errors; beseeching the Lord to own us for his people, and to delight to dwell in the midst of us; and praying that the glorious Lord, who is the great Shepherd would prepare and Strengthen us for every good Work, to do his Will, working in us that which will be well pleasing to him: That we might walk worthy of God who hath call'd us to his Kingdom and Glory, & ever more rejoyce in his mighty power and salvation, which he sheweth to us thro' our Blessed and gracious Redeemer, Jesus Christ: to whome be glory for ever & ever. Amen.

John Seccomb	Hezekiah Willard	Joseph Sawyer
Jonathan Farnsworth	John Willard	Jonathan Worster
Dea. Simon Stone	Joseph Willard	John Daby
Ebenezer Worster	Joseph Atherton	Jonas Whitney
Dea. Joseph Fairbank	Jonathan Crouch	Nahum Daby
Jonathan Whitney	Jonathan Rand	Samuell Meeds
Peter Atherton	Ephraim Farnsworth	John Davis
Henry Willard	Reuben Farnsworth	John Witherby
Jonathan Farnsworth junr.	Isaiah Whitney	Abraham Anderson
Elijah Whitney	Thomas Willard	John Whitney

The deacons chosen were: Simon Stone, Joseph Fairbank, Jonathan Whitney and Joseph Haskell.

The purely agricultural community of a little more than fifty families, into which the young poet collegian came as spiritual leader, was a widely scattered one. The meeting-house stood near the geographical centre of the township, but there were only two or three dwellings within a mile of it, and the minister could find no home with accommodations suitable for his wants and dignified station nearer than that of Joseph Willard, at the Still River Farm, nearly two miles from his pulpit. We may be sure, therefore, at the time that home was the best supplied with mundane comforts of any in the town. Only the best was held good enough for the minister. The first recorded meeting of the church was on December 19, 1733, when it was voted :—

1. To Celebrate the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper once in eight weeks. 2. To Contribute two Shillings and Sixpence each Member for purchasing a Flaggon and buying Bread and Wine. 3. To Celebrate the Lord's Supper 20th day of Jan^{y} next ensueing, being the first time. 4. To receive Persons to full Communion without any Relation written or verball. 5. To propound such persons as desire admission to ye Lord's Table one Sabbath to the Church and the two following Sabbaths to the Congregation. 6. Appointed a private Meeting to be kept, on the 10th of next month at y^{e} house of Mr John Daby at one of the Clock P. M.

John Seccomb was born at Medford, Massachusetts, April 25, 1708, and was graduated at Harvard College with the class of 1728. He probably continued to reside at Cambridge until called to the Harvard pastorate, and there he wrote certain minor poems, one of which, entitled Father Abbey's Will, found many admirers on both sides of the Atlantic. This humorous rhyme was published through the agency of Governor Jonathan Belcher—whose son, Jonathan, and private secretary, Thaddeus Mason, were Seccomb's classmates—in both the Gentleman's, and the London, Magazine for May, 1732. The other recreations of his muse are not preserved, and it is not known that his rhyming talent was ever exercised while at Harvard. Perhaps he had even grown ashamed of his lyric merriment. Indeed, such unpuritanic frivolity would very likely have been thought quite

unseemly in one wearing the clerical garb. Mr. Seccomb won a wide reputation for brilliant abilities, and was very impressive in his pulpit eloquence. In doctrine he was rigidly Calvinistic. Four children were born to him in Harvard.

His parishioners must have been thrown into a very fever of wonderment, when, after a brief residence as a bachelor among them, he built, fronting upon the then lonesome common, a gambrel-roofed mansion, three storied in front, two storied at the rear, so imposing in size, rich in its appointments, and tasteful in the arrangement and adornment of its ample rooms and the grounds about it, that a century later it could reasonably be called "one of the most baronial-looking residences in the commonwealth." Perhaps rural curiosity invented the story for a self-satisfying solution of perplexity, and perhaps it is true, that the Reverend William Williams of Weston, father of the to-be Mrs. Seccomb, promised to fully furnish any house which Mr. Peter Seccomb, the wealthy Medford merchant, would build for his son. March 10, 1736–7, Mercy Williams became Mrs. John Seccomb and mistress of this stately residence, the western and southern windows of which framed for her a landscape as varied in its hues as the phases of sky and season, but one always exquisitely beautiful, and reposeful in its harmonious blending of meadow and hill with wood-fringed and island-gemmed waters.

And yet scandalous tradition would have us believe that she in time grew so weary of landscape and home, that she certainly welcomed, and perhaps invented, the malicious charges of unfaithfulness to his marriage vows, that finally separated her husband from his parish. But this was twenty years later, when the long rows of trees he planted during his honey moon had so grown as to shadow the wide avenues that led up to the north and east doors of the parsonage; the former uniting with the pathway through the burial ground and over the training field to the meeting-house; the latter opening upon the public highway which connected Harvard with the Bay Path in Bolton. With the passing of a few years the lawns had been perfected, garden, shrubbery and

orchard had grown into beauty and fruitfulness, and new homes had sprung up within neighborly distance.

The Lancaster proprietors gave two islands in Bare Hill Pond to Mr. Seccomb, February 4, 1734. Upon Grape Island he built a substantial summer cottage, as a pleasant place of resort, accessory to the genial hospitality which at times filled the great house with gay guests from the bay towns. To such hospitality host and house were admirably fitted. He with all the starched dignity that attached to his paternal prominence in the community was yet young, and that lightsome humor which burst into rollicking verse in his early graduate days could not have been wholly extinguished. A farm of over a hundred and thirty acres kept granary, woodpile, cellar and larder well supplied. The capacious kitchen gave up half of one of its sides to a cavernous brick oven and a fire-place into which but for a thicket of dependent lug-chains or cranes, pot-hooks and trammels, the sooty cook could walk almost without stooping, and look up to the stars through the straight chimney shaft; while its broad stone hearth was none too ample on festal days for the ruler of the roast with her fire-dogs, roasting jack, tongs, fire slice, toasting iron, gridiron, griddle, three-legged spiders, pots, kettles and skillets. The generous hall, with broad stairway of easy ascent, and aspiring procession of twisted balusters, gave a welcome to the entering guest. The great square rooms were wainscotted with panel work, and below the shuttered windows were cosy seats in deep recesses, inviting the ungregarious. Across the low ceilings the huge beams showed themselves below the plaster, and mantlepieces of elaborate carpentry work surmounted the fire-places. Most of these features survived to be seen by recent generations. Would that some local chronicler of the days when they were grandly new had embalmed the gossip, and much gossip there certainly must have been among the goodwives of Harvard, about the furnishing and daily life, the doings, comings and goings at the palatial parsonage, the mistress of which was known to be a jealous, and suspected to be an ill-tempered, woman.

The construction of the meeting-house went on but slowly.

The bill for the glazing was approved at a town-meeting April 1, 1734, as follows: "For 214 feet of square Crown Glass sett in Lead at 3/ p foot £32..2'." August 26, a meeting was called at the new house, but was immediately adjourned to the old one. October 2, important action was taken respecting the completion of the building:—

1, Voted £200 for finishing the Meeting House. 2. The Town Voted there shou'd be sixteen Pews in the Meeting House. 3. Voted that John Martyn shou'd have that Pew adjoyning to the Pulpit Stairs. 4. The Town Voted for John Martyn, John Daby, Joseph Hutchins, Jonathan Whitney and Joseph Fairbanks to Dispose of the Vacancies in the Meeting House designed for the erecting of Pews, and that the Committee aforesaid shou'd Give the first offers of Places to those who Pay most towards Building the House, and they refusing, to the next highest and so successively till they are all disposed of, every Man to Build his own Pew by the Last Day of June next.

The John Martyn so especially honored was the town-clerk. He was the son of a Boston shipmaster, born in 1706, and a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1724. During the "Great Awakening" he was admitted to the church, began the study of theology, and was ordained the first minister of the West Precinct of Westborough, now Northborough, May 21, 1746. He died April 30, 1767.

At least four town-meetings in the autumn of 1735 were vexed with the task of instructing a committee how they should "dignify" the board benches, upon which those rate payers should be seated who could not build pews of their own. The three most exasperating questions seem to have been: whether six or seven men and their wives should occupy the foremost seat on either side; 2, whether the third seat below should outrank the front seat in the gallery, or *vice versa;* 3, whether in assigning their seats regard should be had "only and wholly according to what men have payed towards Building the Meeting House," or with some considerations of a personal character, etc. The wrangling finally ended in ordering the seating of the house before December 25, "agreeable to the Committee's best cunning and Judgment."

The committee reported in December that the pews had been disposed of as follws:—

Number 3.	John Daby.	10.	Joseph Atherton.
4.	Deacon Simon Stone.	11.	John Witherbee.
5.	Capt Hezakiah Willard.	12.	Jonathan Crouch.
6.	Peter Atherton.	13.	Lieut. Jonathan Sawyer.
7.	Jonas Whitney.	14.	Lieut. Eleazar Robbins.
8.	James Whitcomb.	15.	Jacob Gates.
9.	John Willard.	16.	Thomas Wheeler.

Numbers one and two were doubtless reserved for the minister's family and John Martyn, though by a formal vote the town refused to build a pew for Mr. Seccomb. The relative dignity of the rest of the congregation must be imagined, as no report of the seating was recorded at this time.

January 1, 1739, Mr. Seccomb presented to a town-meeting "a petition," the nature of which is not stated; but that it was of peculiarly serious import is evident from the fact that, after some debate, it was voted that "Mr Seccomb hath offered Christian satisfaction for his Offence and they are reconciled to him and Receive him into their Charity." However, ten freeholders, dissatisfied with this conclusion, procured the calling of another town-meeting and moved for a reconsideration of the vote, with a view to call a council to dismiss the minister, stating the "facts aledged against him to be more criminal than they were then thought," and such as rendered him unworthy his office. The town refused a reconsideration, and the next year added twenty pounds to his salary "on Consideration of moneys being sunk in valey since the Revarand Mr Seccomb's Settlement among us."

May fourth, 1742, the curious vote was passed: "to point y^{e} Joynts of y^{e} Roof of y^{e} meeting house with lime and hair."

The Marlborough Association of ministers printed a protest against the Reverend George Whitefield's methods during the excitement in the New England churches, known as the Great Awakening, consequent upon the preaching of that noted itinerant. Mr. Seccomb's name is not among those signed to that document, though the list of signatures embraces that of nearly every one of his clerical brethren in the association. He could not have been one of those clergymen censured in the protest for giving "countenance to one so erroneous in his doctrines, and so disorderly in his conduct, by inviting and admitting him into their pulpits,

and more especially by allowing him to administer the ordinance of the Lord's Supper in their churches." For, although Mr. Seccomb was classed as one of the "New Lights," the great revival in Harvard, which began in 1739 and lasted for about five years, was neither excited nor assisted by Mr. Whitefield's presence there, though doubtless some may have been stirred by his exhortations at Marlborough on the single occasion when he visited the town. The pastor's account of the revival, given in a lengthy letter, was published in Prince's Christian History for February and March, 1744. An extract or two from it will serve as an example of Mr. Seccomb's prose, and give a glimpse of Harvard's First Church during an early and interesting episode of its history:—

Rev. Sir HARVARD, Feb. 20. 1743/4.

According to your Request I here send you a cautious tho' brief Account of the REVIVAL of RELIGION in the Town to which I stand in a pastoral Relation.

The first visible Alteration among my People for the better was some Time in the Month of *September* in the year 1739, when several began to grow more thoughtful and serious, and somewhat reform'd; more constant and diligent in attending the publick Worship, more attentive in hearing the Word preached, more careful to sanctify the Sabbath, &c....

I think I may say there has been *a great shaking among the Dry Bones*, and some that have been for a long Time *dead in Trespasses and Sins* appear to be made *alive* to GOD: sleepy Sinners have been awakened, stubborn Sinners subdued, proud Sinners humbled, carnal Persons made spiritual, such as lived unmindful of Heaven, now *seek the Things which are above* and *set their Affections upon* them. Prayerless Persons now call upon GOD, and some that despised his *Word* now *tremble* at it. .....Hence the BIBLE hath appeared to some to be a *new Book;* and the *Catechism* of the *Assembly of Divines* to be a *new* and *most excellent* Composure, tho' before they saw no great Excellency to be in the one or the other; and therefore greatly admire at their former Ignorance. And some of the *same Sermons* they had heard some Time before (being sometimes necessitated to preach such) appear'd to be quite *new*, and better than ever they heard before, and I could hardly make them believe they had ever heard them before.....

The *Means* by which this Work of *Conviction* and *Conversion* (by GOD'S Blessing) hath been carried on, is one Evidence of a good Work. I mention this, to take off that *Objection* which hath been made by some; who say, *Persons were not truly convicted of Sin*, &c, but *affrighted* by the *Manner* of the *Preacher's Address* to their *Passions*, by the Loudness of the Voice, Gesture &c. And that this Work hath been carried on only

in such Places where such Preachers have been. *This is not the case here*; this Reformation has NOT been carried on *violently*, nor by *Strangers*.....And *furthermore*, this religious Concern began a Year before Mr *Whitefield's* coming into the Country; And after he preached in *New England* very few of this People did ever hear him. But GOD was pleased to make Use of the usual *Means;* to rouse and awaken sleepy Sinners by the *small Voice;* and as before observed by some of the very *same Sermons* that made no Impression before. This I say is one Thing that confirms my Belief of a good Work; and that Assertion of the Apostle: who ever plants or waters it is GOD *that gives the Increase*.....

From statements in the letter not here quoted, it is plain that this period of spiritual fervor in Mr. Seccomb's church was not attended with eccentric or noisy demonstrations of enthusiasm, nor by excessive emotion and outcry, such as are recorded as characterizing many revivals of that era. The episode was of the kind so well described by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe:—

When a man of powerful mind and shrewd tact and great natural eloquence lives among a people already thoughtfully predisposed, for no other purpose than to stir them up to the care of their souls, it is evident that there will come times when the results of all his care and seeking, his public ministrations, his private conversations with individuals, will come out in some marked social form; and such a period in New England is called a revival of religion.....It was the always existing spiritual becoming visible and tangible.

This revival—which was the subject of much comment at the time—at least proves that the pastor, in spite of the reputed luxury of his home life, his aristocratic affiliations and intellectual superiority, did not preach "above the heads of his congregation," and took a deeply sympathetic interest in their spiritual needs and aspirations. The records afford us no hint of dissensions in the parish attributable to this period, though such there may have been, for they were everywhere aroused by the feverish state of society. If they existed at Harvard they may have contributed to the troubles that culminated a decade later. Mr. Seccomb's earnestness is furthermore shown by a record dated January 5, 1743–4:—

The Church meeting at the house of John Wright after Lecture..... then Voted (upon my proposal) That the usual Church Meeting should be turned into a Monthly Lecture in ye meeting house, and to be contin-

ued if people gave suitable encouragement by their chearfull and constant attendance with their Children, at which seasons I also purpose to preach Lectures upon the Assemblies Catechism; and to Catechise and Instruct children and youth after service.

The growth of the town was such that after fifteen years had passed the meeting-house could not well accommodate the church-goers. In 1749 liberty was given to eight young men — Joseph Fairbank, Jeremiah Laughton, Samuel Harper, Josiah Davis, Benjamin Hutchins, Jonas Davis, Caleb Whitney and Samuel Haseltine — to build a seventeenth pew "over the men's gallery stairs." It was at the same time voted to add "one seat forward round the galleries," and a committee was chosen "to make as much more room above and below as possible." These changes made a reseating of the people imperative, and accordingly a committee was appointed for the delicate duty March 5, 1750. They were instructed to "seat the two foremost seats below Respecting men for Age as well as Pay, and all the other seats and persons to be seated on Dignity according to what they payed to the minister, real and personal estate the three last years passed." The committee disclosed the result of their labors May 21, and their report, being recorded in full, gives us — in connection with the list of the pew owners — a reasonably complete roster of the taxpayers of Harvard at the middle of the eighteenth century :—

1750 May 21. [*Report of the*] *Committee to Seat the meeting house. Each man and wife in following order.*

In the fore Seat Below.

Joseph Hutchins.	John Burt.	Joseph Willard.
Caleb Sawyer.	John Warner.	Dea. Joseph Fairbank.
Daniel Peirce.	Ebenezer Worster.	Dea. Jonathan Whitney.
Dea. John Laughton.		

In the Second Seat Below.

Dea. Joseph Haskell.	Nathaniel Haseltine.	Jacob Powers.
John Wright.	Gabriel Priest.	Jonathan Procter.
Richard Hall.	James Willard.	Thomas Houghton.

In the third seat Below.

Henry Willard.	Elijah Whitney.	Ephraim Houghton.
Jonathan Hartwell.	Jonathan Rand.	Josiah Kent.
John Atherton.	Jonathan Farnsworth.	Ebenezer Davis.

In the fourth seat Below.

Henry Houghton.	Thomas Willard.	Caleb Brown.
John Forbush.	John Davis.	Samuel Mead.
John Samson.	Jonathan Worster.	Tarbel Willard.

In the fifth seat Below.

Robert Holland.	Jeremiah Foster.	Hezekiah Willard Jun^{r}.
Judah Clark.	Daniel Foster.	Jonathan Hale.
John Farwell.	Nahum Daby.	Samuel Hand.

In the sixth seat Below.

Justinian Holden.	Amos Davis.	George Dickinson.
John Farnsworth.	Jonathan Read.	Josiah Peirce.
Nathan Brooks.	William Keyes.	Jonathan Cole.

In the seventh seat Below.

James Perry.	Abraham Rugg.	John Samson, Jun^{r}.
Ebenezer Worster, Jun^{r}.	Edward Powers.	Elisha Fullam.
Amos Russell.	Joseph Daby.	David Crouch.

In the fore seat in the front [*Gallery.*]

Samuel Haskell.	Abraham Whitney.	John Park.
Lt. Shadrach Hapgood.	Isaac Taylor.	William Buttrick.

In the second seat in the front.

Silas Farnsworth.	Oliver Stone.	William Willard.
Phineas Fairbank.	Benjamin Barnard.	Benjamin Stow.

In the third seat in the front.

John Wetherbee.	Isaac Stone.	Eleazer Robbins, Jun^{r}.
William Saunderson.	Daniel Peirce, Jun^{r}.	Isaac Hale.

In the fourth seat in the front.

William Whetcombe.	Lemuel Willard.	Phineh Brown.
Richard Whitney.	John Peirce.	Jeremiah Priest.

In the fore seat in the side gallery.

Ebenezer Burges.	Jonathan Gates.	Seth Sawyer.
Abraham Willard.	Nathan Warner.	Ephraim Robbins.
Andrew Harper.	Nathaniel Farnsworth.	Phinehas Farnsworth.
John Burt, Jun^{r}.	Joseph Sawyer.	

In the second seat in the side gallery.

Simon Daby.	Simon Whitney.	Samuel Fellows.
Jason Russell.	John Preist.	Richard Harris.
Simeon Farnsworth.	Jonathan Bigelow.	Peter Dudley.
Amos Brooks.	Timothy Hall.	Ebenezer Warner.

In the third seat in the side gallery.

Jonathan Crouch.	David Whitney.	Isaac Foster.
John Warner, Jun^{r}.	Joshua Warner, Jun^{r}.	Asa Willard.
David Warner.	Jonathan Oak.	Jonathan Whitney, Jun^{r}.
Joseph Hutchins, Jun^{r}.	Nathaniel Warner.	Isaac Willard.

In the fourth seat in the side gallery.

Samuel Mead, Jun^{r}.	Oliver Brown.	Asa Houghton.
John Davis, Jun^{r}.	Amos Stone.	Moses Warner.
William Harper.	Jonathan Farnsworth, Jun^{r}.	Jonas Whitney, Jun^{r}.
Elias Stone.	Jonathan Read, Jun^{r}.	

ISAAC TAYLOR,
EBENEZER DAVIS, } *Committee*
HENRY WILLARD,

Mr. Seccomb's last entry in the church book is :—

I was dismissed from my Pastoral Relation to the Church of Christ in Harvard on the Seventh day of September A. D. 1757, upon my request, by the consent of an Ecclesiastical Council of Six Churches, and a Vote of a major part of the Brethren of the Church in full communion.

Such a vote practically exonerated him from the charges made against him. For three or four years he remained in Harvard, but in 1761 transferred his estate here to his brother Thomas, a resident of Medford, and removed to the parish of Chester, Nova Scotia, where he passed the remainder of his life as a Congregational missionary. He was one of the eight dissenting clergymen located in that province. A letter from Halifax dated January 18, 1770, printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Proceedings, Series II, Vol. IV, 69, says of him :—

He has never had any Established Salary, but receives about 20£ p annum from his Parish, which contains a few Industrious but poor People. He has expended all the Money he brought with him (and which we are inform'd was considerable) in Buildings and other improvements, on a new Farm, which has reduced him to very necessitous Circumstances: He has had some small relief from this Town. We cannot avoid Earnestly recommending this Gentleman, now advanced in years, as an object very worthy of charitable assistance.

It is said that Mr. Seccomb's later years were freed from care about money matters by an opportune inheritance. He kept his powers of mind little impaired until so enfeebled in

body twat he could not climb the pulpit stairs without help, and he never lost the esteem of his people. He died October 27, 1792. During his ministry at Harvard two hundred and forty-six members were added to the church, he baptized seven hundred and eighty-three persons, solemnized one hundred marriages, and attended the funerals of three hundred and thirty-two of his parishioners.

II. THE FIRST CHURCH. 1756–1820.

For two years there was no settled minister over the church in Harvard. Near the end of 1758 an invitation was given Deliverance Smith, a Yale graduate of the class of 1749, to permanently occupy the pulpit wherein he had for some time been the temporary supply, but he declined the position. Joseph Wheeler having preached on probation from May 27, 1759, was invited by the church, September 10, to become their pastor. The town seconded the call on September 24, offering a settlement of one thousand pounds, old tenor, "eqnal to one Hundred Thirty-Three pounds, six shillings and eight pence Lawful money," and an annual salary of five hundred pounds, old tenor. From about 1695 it had been the law that the minister must be settled by a concurrent vote of church and town-meeting. The meeting-house was the town's; the church was a town institution, to the support of which the total resources of the township were pledged, instead of being, as is now too often the case in the rural town, one of three or four rival corporations dependent for sustenance upon fairs, entertainments, a sewing circle, or the dole of a dead generation.

Mr. Wheeler accepted the town's offer on the fifth of November, and was ordained on the twelfth of December; Timothy Harrington, of Lancaster, opening the services with prayer, Samuel Woodward, of Weston, preaching the sermon with Ezekiel III, 16, for his text, John Gardner, of Stow, delivering the charge, Daniel Rogers, of Littleton, giving the right hand of fellowship, and Thomas Goss, of Bolton, making the closing prayer. The town made the usual hospitable preparation for the ordination, and took one extraordinary

precaution — the meeting-house galleries were strengthened by additional supports that they might safely bear the crowd of guests invited to the festival from beyond the town's bounds.

From the records in the handwriting of Mr. Wheeler a few items follow, illustrative of the times, or possessing other historic value :—

August 1761.... voted to keep the 20 day of this month as a Day of Fasting and prayer on account of the Drouth....

May 18, 1764. The chh. met to consider the charge offer'd by Eliphalet Wood against Benjamin Lawrence for cleaning his Cattle on the Sabbath Day. Upon Examining the Evidence it was voted that the Charge was proved. And upon Mr Lawrence appearing before the chh. and Declaring that he was sorry that he had given offence (tho' he was not conscious to himself of its Being a Crime) yet as it was matter of Offence to others he promised that they should not have occasion to complain of him any more for so Doing; of whh. the Chh. voted their acceptance.... The chh. approved of Mr Willard (who had before been nominated by the pastor,) to set the psalm, and with him joined Mr Simon Daby and Cap. Joseph Fairbank to be assistants.

May 8 1766..... Mess. Joseph Fairbank, Jonathan Whitney and Joseph Haskell (who had long sustained the Office of Deacons in the chh.) and now desiring to be excused from any other service in that office, the chh voted their thanks to them for their past services and then proceeded to the Choice of four new Deacons..... Phineas Fairbank, Lemuel Willard, Simon Whitney, Jeremiah Laughton. Simon Whitney declining, Oliver Whitney was chosen in his place.

Feb. 16, 1768. It was voted that the interest of the legacy left to the Church by the Widow Beaman of Bolton "be laid out for the purchasing of Two Flaggons for the Communion Table and that the care of purchasing them be left to the Deacons."

The benefactress thus designated was Deborah, the wife of Jonathan Beman, in whose will, dated December 5, 1758, was this item: "I give to y^e^ Chh. of Christ in Harvard three Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence to be paid by my executors." The same sum was left to the Bolton church.

July 7, 1768, Reverends Daniel Rogers, of Littleton, Thomas Goss, of Bolton, and John Mellen of the Second Precinct in Lancaster, met at Harvard by request of the deacons as an advisory council, when the following statement was presented for their consideration :—

On the behalf of the Church of Christ in Harvard, we say our circumstances are attended with much Difficulty by reason of the Rev[d] Mr Wheeler's bodily Weakness and Infirmity by means of which he has been for a long Time in some Measure unfit for the public Dispensing of the Word: and of late wholly unfit for it: Which has occasioned the Town Extraordinary Cost; and sometimes after all they have been left Destitute of Preaching upon the Sabbath Days. Moreover his ail is such that he is obliged to Travel much out of Town as a means to Recover his Health: So that we are deprived not only of his publick Ministry, but likewise in a great measure of his private Instructions, Visiting the Sick, attending funerals, catechizing children, and Baptizing Infants; all which are so grievous; notwithstanding the Love and Regard we owe to our Rev[d] Pastor it seams to be the mind of the Town to compound with him and the Church, and to accomodate which we take to be the Design of this Meeting, for this Cause we have called the assistance of the Rev[d] Pastors here present, asking their Direction and Counsel.

PHINEAS FAIRBANK
LEMUEL WILLARD
JEREMIAH LAUGHTON } *The Deacons*
OLIVER WHITNEY

HARVARD July 7[th], 1768.
Voted by the Church.

An ecclesiastical council was called on July 26, which resulted in the dismissal of Mr. Wheeler; the closing sentence of their recorded action being:—

....We think it but justice to him to declare that both his moral and Ministerial character are without Exception, and we accordingly do with the fullest assurance recommend him to any People that stand in need of his Labours should his Health ever permit him to engage in Ministerial Service.

Mr. Wheeler was the son of Joseph and Abigail (Butterfield) Wheeler of Concord, born March 13, 1735–6. He was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1757, and studied theology with Mr. Woodward at Weston, teaching school at the same time. During his pastorate of nearly nine years Mr. Wheeler received sixty-five into the church, baptized three hundred and twenty-eight, married sixty-four couples, and attended one hundred and twenty-seven funerals. He continued to reside in Harvard until 1781. For several years he labored upon his farm — he had bought forty-five acres of John Seccomb in 1761, and the town gave him

several acres from its common—but at length opened a store of that omnigenous type of the period found in every prosperous country village. The house which he built for his own occupancy is in good preservation today, being now owned by William H. Savage, Esq. October 21, 1760, Mr. Wheeler was married to Mary, the daughter of Dr. Daniel Greenleaf of Bolton.

Mr. Wheeler was very active in town affairs, and, being an ardent whig, was called upon to draft most of the patriotic resolves and other papers for the town relative to the difficulties between the colonies and parliament which culminated in revolution. He was a member of the first Committee of Correspondence, and Harvard's representative in the first and third Provincial Congresses and the legislature of 1775. In the first Congress, October 25, 1774, he presented a letter in which it was suggested that while they were attempting to save themselves from slavery to a British ministry, they should "also take into consideration the state and circumstances of the Negro Slaves in the Province." At the Lexington Alarm he marched as a private in Captain Joseph Fairbank's company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's regiment of militia. There is a well-founded tradition, cherished by his numerous descendants, that he assisted in laying out the earthworks at Bunker Hill the night before the battle, and also that he served as chaplain at General Washington's headquarters in Cambridge for a time. He was appointed justice of the peace and quorum in 1776. Elected register of probate for Worcester County in 1776, he held that office until his death, February 10, 1793, and was succeeded by his son; the two holding the position for over sixty consecutive years. Mr. Wheeler's eleven children, with one exception, were born in Harvard. He moved to Worcester August 17, 1781, where his wife died August 28, 1783, and the following year he married his second wife, Marguerita (Olivier) (Cooledge) Jennison. One who knew him well, says of him:—"He was a true representative of the good old English gentleman; genial, witty and companionable with his children, he nevertheless sustained and inculcated the dignity of his office and character."

At the March meeting of 1766, it was voted to "Seat the Meeting-house," and a committee was assigned for that duty. They were instructed:—

.....that the two foremost Seats be seated by age and pay.....that the Rest of the Seats be seated by pay only.....that the Committee should have Reference to the pay three years back.

The committee's report was submitted and accepted May 19, 1766. It is rare to find early lists of a town's tax payers, and this report is therefore given in full:—

The Report concerning Reseating the Meeting House in Harvard, Agreeable to a vote in sd Town passed in the Last Annual Meeting.— We the Subscribers have seated each man and his wife in the Following Order, Viz:—

In the Fore Seat Below.

Dea. Joseph Fairbank	Capt. Samuel Haskell	Mr Seth Sawyer
Dea Jonathan Whitney	Mr Josiah Kent	Mr Henry Willard
Dea Joseph Haskell	Mr James Willard	Mr John Park
Dea John Laughton	Lieut. Shadrach Hapgood	Wido. Hannah Warner.
Mr Nathaniel Whittemore		

In the Second Seat Below.

Mr Henry Houghton	Mr John Davis	Capt. Israel Taylor
Ens. Ebenezer Davis	Mr Jonathan Rand	Mr Abraham Whitney
Mr Jonathan Farnworth	Mr Ambrose Hale	Mr John Burt
Mr Ephraim Houghton	Mr Samuel Hunt	Mr Jonathan Hale
Mr Jonathan Cole		

In the Front fore seat. [*Gallery.*]

Benjamin Barnard	Ephraim Stone	John Priest
Elijah Houghton	Nathan Warner	Phinehas Fairbank
Nathaniel Farnworth		

In ye third Seat Below

Thomas Willard	Capt. Joseph Fairbank Jr.	Lieut. Judah Clark
Lieut. Benjamin Stow	Tarbel Willard	Benjamin Lawrence
Capt. William Butterick	Capt. Jonathan Oak	John Forbush

In ye Fourth Seat Below.

Richard Harris	Simeon Farnworth	Samuel Mead
James Haskell	William Willard	Dea. Oliver Whitney
Simon Whitney	Thomas Willard Jr.	Simon Daby.

In ye Fifth Seat Below.

Nathan Brooks	Henry Bromfield	Ephraim Robbins
Ebenezer Burges	Jonathan Crouch	David Whitney
William Sanderson	Joseph Blanchard	Joseph Atherton
Ebenezer Warner	John Safford	Wid. Rebecca Worster

In ye Sixth Seat Below

Nathan Haskell	Isaac Willard	James Brooks
Zaccheus Stevens	Isaac Hale	Jacob Robbins
Nathaniel Martyn	Josiah Haskell	Jabez Potter
Benjamin Cutler	Asa Houghton	John Darby

In ye Seventh Seat Below

George Conn	James Stone	David Crouch
Samson Hildreth	Jonathan Read	John Warner
Jonathan Symonds	Grover Scollay	F. A. Hill
Nahum Daby		

The fore Seat in the Side [*Gallery*]

Miles Putnam	Joseph Sawyer	Peter Dudley
Isaiah Whitney	Dea Lemuel Willard	John Farwell
The Tenant on Peter Eads Estate	Dea Jeremiah Laughton	Ens. Jason Russell
	William Burt	The Tenant on the Estate of Elijah Whitney late Deceased.
Samuel Cooper	Jeremiah Priest	
Joseph Wetherbee		

The Second Seat of the Front.

Solomon Samson	Josiah Whitney	Silas Rand
Ens. Gordon Hutchins	Jonathan Clark	Joseph Willard
Richard Whitney		

The Second in ye Side

Jonathan Gates	Benjamin Hale	Amos Fairbank
Ephraim Gates	Jonas Whitney Jr.	John Sawyer
Jonathan Davis	Charles Taylor	John Atherton
Hezekiah Whitney	Isaac Gates	Caleb Sawyer
Phinehas Farnworth	The Tenant on ye Estate of Capt Jabez Keep	
Jonathan Whitney Jr.	Daniel Knight	Wid Patience Haseltine

The Third Seat on ye Front.

Samuel Meads Jr	Benjamin Barnard Jur.	Josiah Davis
Abel Davis	John Houghton	Phinehas Willard
Abijah Cole		

The Third Seat on ye Side.

John Sanderson	Abel Farnworth	Ye Estate of Joseph Hovey
Oliver Sawyer	Lemuel Farnworth	
Samuel Haild	James Burt	Joseph Farnworth
Jonathan Peirce	Moses Warner	Elkanah Keyes
Oliver Whetcombe	Timothy Kneeland	Eliphalet Wood
Ens. Zadock Davis	Micah Stone	Susanna Haild

Ye Fourth Seat in ye Front.

Aaron Whitney	Joseph Houghton	James Haskell Jur.
Elias Haskell	John Daby Jur.	James Read.
David Sampson	Wid Elizabeth Davis	

Jeremiah Laughton
Phinehas Fairbank } *Committee*
Simon Daby

The third minister of Harvard, Daniel Johnson, was born at Bridgewater in 1747, and was graduated at Harvard College in 1767. He studied for his profession with Reverend Matthew Bridge of Framingham. December 19, 1768, a unanimous call was extended to him from the town, concurring with the church. He was offered one hundred and thirty-three pounds six shillings and eight pence as a settlement, and eighty pounds annual salary. This invitation Mr. Johnson for some reason declined, but upon its renewal June 19, 1769, he signified his acceptance in rather florid rhetoric, and was ordained on the first of November. Daniel Perkins, of West Bridgewater, delivered the sermon on that occasion, and Timothy Harrington of Lancaster, Thomas Goss of Bolton, John Gardner of Stow, and Matthew Bridge of Framingham, joined in the services.

Mr. Johnson was a young man of great promise and magnetic address, whose pastorate of less than eight years seems to have made a lasting impression upon his people. May 1, 1770, he was married to Betsy Lee of Manchester, Massachusetts. He admitted ninety-three to the church, baptized three hundred and seventy-one, solemnized ninety-one marriages, and attended one hundred and thirty-two funerals. Reverend Alonzo Hill, D. D., telling the story as he heard it in his boyhood from Harvard veterans who were eye witnesses of the facts, relates that when the news of the march of British troops for Lexington came, Mr. Johnson shouldered his musket and went with the Harvard companies to Cambridge. While there, upon one occasion he stood upon the common with his hat hung upon his bayonet, in the presence of the patriot army, and offered a prayer that thrilled all hearts with its earnest and eloquent pathos. The next year he was appointed chaplain in the Continental army, but died soon after. At a town-meeting January 12, 1778, it was:

4. Voted that the Town prepare a Desent pair of Grave Stones and set them up at Rev^{d}. Daniel Johnson's Grave. Chose Mr Simon Daby to procure said Grave Stones. 5. Voted and Granted two hundred pounds lawful money for the purpose.

October 20, 1778, Mr. Daby was authorized to erect a mon-

ument instead of gravestones, and provided a massive slate slab, which rests in a horizontal position upon brick piers. The epitaph upon it is as follows:—

Sacred to the Memory
of the Rev. Daniel Johnson,

Late Pastor of y^e^ Church of Christ in Harvard; early in Life | he entred y^e^ Ministerial office | and during his continuance therein, | shone with a brilliancy and Lustre | surpassing the most of his order. | For the God of Nature had endowed him | with Powers of mind | uncommonly sprightly and active. | A copious invention & ready utterance | made him in extemporaneous Performances | greatly to excell. | In his Sermons he was orthodox & elegant; | In his delivery zealous popular & engaging; | So that when he assended the desk | a peculiar attention | marked the countenances of his auditory. | To his Friends he shewed himself Friendly, | who had frequent Pleasing experience | of his generous hospitality. | He was formed for action & Possessed | of a martial Genius | which led him to accept y^e^ office of a Chaplin | in the American Army, | just on his entrance into which | He was siezed with a malignant Dysentery, | which Put a period to his valuable Life, | (disappointing the expectations | of his family friends and Flock.) | on the 23^d^. of Sept. 1777. In the | 30^th^. year of his age and 8^th^. | of his Ministry.

All flesh is Grass & all y^e^ glory of man | as the flower of Grass.

A conspicuous share of Mr. Johnson's entries in the church book relate to a bitter quarrel between Deacon Oliver Whitney and Doctor John Taylor, which, after prolonged bickering and several attempts at ecclesiastical arbitration, was finally composed when the fight at Lexington inaugurated a war of broader interests. November 16, 1775, Samuel Mead and Oliver Atherton were elected deacons, but the latter declined to serve in that capacity, and Richard Harris, Jr., was chosen in his place.

The house that had served the town for its various public meetings during forty years was overcrowded by the assemblages called to it by Mr. Johnson's eloquence and magnetic personality, and August 24, 1772, it was voted to build a new one. Numerous town-meetings were held, at which conflicting opinions swayed the fickle minded now in this way and now in that. The old house was to stand until the new one was completed, and the choice of a new site was a fertile source of discussion. A committee of ten appointed for the service selected a spot as near the old house as possible, "four

or five foot to the south and advancing some to the west," which was accepted in December. May 31, 1773, this acceptance was reconsidered, and a method of ascertaining the popular preference similar to that used in 1732, was adopted, the town-meeting taking a recess of one-quarter of an hour for the purpose, after voting that :—

....Every Voter lay a stone where he would have the meeting house set, with this restriction that there be but Two heaps and that heap which has the most stones in number be the place for the meeting house. Voted that the Selectmen inspect the heaps and see that no man lay more than one stone.

Upon the count at the close of the voting it was found that there was the same number of pebbles in both piles, and no choice, when it was voted "that the south cell of the meeting house be laid at the north heap of stones." This fixed the location nearly as had been before proposed, and on the spot occupied by the present building of the Unitarian Society.

It was determined to raise money for the building by selling "the Pew ground to the highest bidders in the town," no person being allowed to buy more than one pew. The "vendue of pews" was held October 22, bids being made according to a ground plan furnished by the committee, Phinehas Fairbank, Phinehas Sawyer and Lemuel Willard. There were twelve wall pews in the front gallery, the rest were upon the main floor. One pew was reserved for the minister's family, and Mr. Johnson was asked to select it. The bidders at the vendue were notified that one-fourth of the purchase money must be paid when the frame was raised, one-fourth when the outside was finished, and the rest upon the completion of the building.

After vainly striving to arrange all the details of construction in open town-meeting, on April 5, 1773 :—

Then voted to let the whole of the Meeting-house which the town purposed to build to be done by the Grate at one Jobb from the bottom of the sils and upward, after the Timber for the fraim was brought to the spot. 2^{dly}. Voted that the man who will take it at the cheepest lay provided he do the work to the Town's acceptance shall have it. Whereupon Mr Oliver Atherton offered to do it for 790£, and to Receive the

Stuff which Mr [Grover] Scollay had provided for the said house at the price it cost as part of the said sum. 3^{dly}. Voted that Mr Atherton shall have it.

The other bidders were Asa Kendall, whose estimate was 833£ 6..8, and Phineas Sawyer, whose bid was 800£. It was understood that the town was to raise the frame, and for this preparation was made in town-meeting as follows:—

The Town voted first to make provision for one hundred and sixty men to Raise the meeting house on the Town's Cost; then voted that the man who would provide well, and at the cheepest lay for the 160 men designed to Raise the meeting house as above said should do it. Mr Nathaniel Farnsworth offered to provide a diner of meats fresh and salt, rost and boiled during the Time of Raising, be it Day or Days, and bring it to the meeting house, with suffitiancy of sider and bear for the Dinners at eight pence pr. Diner for Twenty Eight men and no more; and no other man offering to Diner the one hundred and thirty two which remained not provided for at so cheep a lay, the Town then proceeded and chose a Committee: Joseph Wheeler, Joseph Atherton, Nathan Warner, Silas Parkhurst, Nathaniel Farnsworth, to provide for the one hundred and thirty-two more Dinners and lay their acct. before the town. Likewise that the above said Comm^{tee} make choice of the men to Raise s^{d}. meeting house. The Town voted to provide two barrils of Rum for Raising, then voted one barril of Rum shall be West-india and one New England. The Town voted one hundred [weight] of brown Sugar to be provided. Likewise Eight barrils of Sider. And Eight barrils of bear...

The incidents and accidents of the raising must be imagined from the quality of the preparation, for there is no record of them extant; but the frame was duly accepted July 19, and after the reports of various committees of inspection and some dealing with contractors for alleged inferiority of workmanship and material, on the twenty-sixth of October a committee was chosen "to seat the new meeting-house." This was ordered done according to the last two years' invoice and valuation, regard being had to age in assigning the two fore seats below. The town also instructed their committee: "in Dignifying the seats to proceed from the second seat below to the fore seat in the Front Gallery, then to the third seat below, then to the fore seat in the side, then the side pews in the gallery, then the second seat in the front [gallery], then the second seat in the side." . . . It took two

months' time, a deal of excited discussion and some readjustments, before a classification of dignities could be made that a town-meeting would endorse. The following report was finally adopted; this list of names is given in full because, being practically a census of the men of military age in the town at the opening of the Revolution, it is of peculiar interest. The names of the private pew owners only are lacking.

January 2, 1775,....The Report of the Committee in Reseating the Meeting-house.

First Seat Below, men and their Wifes.

Shadrach Hapgood	William Buttrick	John Darby
Israel Taylor Esqr.	Jonathan Rand	
Jonathan Farnworth	Joseph Sawyer	*Widows in the same*
Henry Houghton	Isaac Gates	Alice Whitney
Nathan Warner	Walter Pollard	Margaret Whitney
Ephraim Houghton	Richard Harris	Moriah Houghton
James Whitcombe	Samuel Hunt	Abigail Sampson
Nathaniel Farnworth	Thomas Willard	Experience Atherton
Oliver Atherton	Benjamin Barnard	Abigail Willard.

Second Seat Below

Joseph Fairbank	Ebenezer Burges	Josiah Wetherbee
Simon Whitney	Tarbel Willard	Joseph Knight
Ebenezer Kingman	Samuel Meads	
Phinehas Willard	James Haskell	*Widows in the same.*
Jabez Potter	Simeon Turner	Jane Lawrence
Jonathan Puffer	Jeremiah Laughton	Mercy Warner
John Safford	William Sanderson	Barbery Burt
William Willard	Eleazer Stearns	Experience Keep.
Isaac Willard	Peter Dudley	Rebecca Davis.

Third Seat Below

John Warner	Jonas Whitney	Ebenezer Warner
John Sawyer	Simeon Farnworth	Asa Houghton
Hezekiah Whitney	Aaron Whitney	James Stone
Manasseh Sawyer	Josiah Davis	George Conn
Joseph Wetherbee	Samuel Cooper	Mrs —— Blood
William Burt	David Whitney	Widow Mary Hartwell

The Fore Seat, Front Gallery

Jonathan Clark	Richard Goldsmith	Caleb Sawyer
Elijah Houghton	Josiah Haskell	*Widows in the same*
Isaiah Whitney	Oliver Whitney	Azubah Farnworth
Richard Whitney	Lemuel Haskell	Keziah Fairbank

Joseph Willard
Joseph Atherton
Samuel Haskell
John Priest Jun.
Ruth Holden
Sybil Haskell

Fourth Seat Below

John Sampson
Abel Farnworth
Oliver Sawyer
Shadrach Hapgood Jun.
William Conant
Abel Davis
Samuel Meads Jun.
Micah Stone
Enoch Huse
Jonathan Reed
Oliver Whetcombe
Joseph Blanchard
Jabez Keep
Jonathan Crouch
Benjamin Barnard Jun.
David Crouch
James Burt
John Atherton

Fore Seat in the Side Galary.

Henry Bromfield Esqr.
Jeremiah Priest
Charles Taylor
Aaron Davis
Ephraim Davis
Joseph Knight Jun.
Ephraim Barnard
Phinehas Willard Jun.
Simeon Willard
William Park
Zacheus Stevens
Moses Richards
Phinehas Warner
Estate of Jona Symonds Dec[d].
Stephen Randal
Timothy Phelps
Elijah Whitney
Jotham Barnard
Israel Whitney
James Perry
Widows in the Same
Mary Hale
Elizabeth Knight
Hannah Davis
Elizabeth Davis
Annis Houghton

Fifth Seat Below

Joseph Houghton
Elkanah Keyes
Jonathan Stone
Abner Whetcombe
John Crouch
David Stratton
James Robbins
Benjamin Willard
Jonathan Crouch Jun.
Timothy Crouch
Thomas Willard, Jun.
Oliver Sanderson
Jonathan Russell
Zachariah Fletcher
Daniel Forbush
Thomas Wright
Nathaniel Meriam

Sixth Seat Below

Mathias Farnworth
Samuel Russell
Josiah Wetherbee Jr.
Jotham Whetcombe
Samuel Finney
Gibson Willard
Samuel Worster
Abraham Johnson
Samuel Cooper Jr.
Jacob Davis
John Farnworth
Asa Haven on the Estate
of Josiah Kent Deceased

Side Gallery Pew.

Joel Stone
Abel Whetcombe
David Sampson
Phinehas Sawyer
Silas Rand
Ambrose Hale
Lemuel Farnworth
Josiah Gates
Simon Cooper
George Conn Jr.
Jonathan Pollard
John Knight
James Whetcombe Jr.
Hezekiah Willard Jr.
Oliver Wetherbee
Isaiah Parker
Nicholas Patterson
John Meads
Ward Safford
Joseph Sawyer Jr.
Josiah Willard
Colman Sanderson
Isaac Holden
James Pollard
Jacob Whitney
Richard Whitney Jr.
Widows in the same
Rebecca Sampson
Susannah Daby
Mindwell Wentworth

Second Seat in the Front Gallery

Abraham Willard	Abijah Worster	James Robbins Jr.
Zacheus Dudley	Nathan Priest	Benjamin Robbins
Elijah Willard	Abijah Warner	Lemuel Willard Jr.
Oliver Meeds	Moses Hale	Willis Seccomb

All that are above twenty-one years old and not otherwise seated, set in the second seat in the side gallery.

JOSIAH WHITNEY
JOSEPH ATHERTON } *Committee*
December 30, 1774. SIMON DABY

An innovation was effected at a town-meeting July 2, 1779, presaging the decadence of congregational singing:—

Voted that the singers have liberty to seet in the south end of the Side Galaries both on the men's and women's side in the short seats as far as the ally — each sect observing their proper side.

The old meeting-house stood at the rear of the new one until 1776, when it was sold to the committee of a society formed by certain inhabitants of Stow, Harvard and Littleton, for 14£ 19^{s}. 4^{d}. It was removed and re-erected where it has served the district and town of Boxborough as a meeting-house and town-hall until modern days; having, however, undergone reconstruction in 1855.

From the records and recollections of the aged we know that the second meeting-house, in its plan and furnishing, copied the type of architecture most favored for church uses in New England at the Revolutionary period. Built when town and parish were one and supposed to be indivisible, to accommodate a congregation which embraced the whole population of Harvard, it was capacious; being sixty-five feet in length by forty-five feet in width, with twenty-seven foot studding. It was a plain barn-like structure, without bell tower or vestibule, its rectangularity unrelieved save by small porches at the front and the two side entrances, and by two tiers of windows. The upper windows lighted the galleries built around the sides and one end. The pulpit was raised high above the heads of the worshipers, as though to emphasize the social elevation of the solemn personage in white bands and black silk gown, who had been set apart and conse-

crated to its occupancy for life. Over it there hung by an apparently thread-like tenure a cumbrous sounding board, which it was pretended gave resonance to the pastoral exhortations and denunciations, but had the appearance of an ingenious improvement upon the torture of Damocles; being a threat more conspicuous and offering less hope of escape.

Between the pulpit and the seats for the congregation was a space railed in and raised a step above the floor, called the elders' seat. In one corner of this space stood the baptismal font; in its centre, the communion table; and on each side were seats for the aged officers of the church, where on Sundays they sat together, an awe-inspiring row, in their high-collared, sabbath-day coats and official gravity of expression, bearing little resemblance to the linsey-woolsey-frocked farmers, and leather-aproned mechanics, into whose common-place individuality they shrank on week days. To this platform the minister came down from his desk to conduct the rites of baptism and the Lord's supper, his dignity there enhanced by the venerable forms clustered about him. Under date of December 5, 1795, is this record:

> It was voted that those brethren who have formerly served the church in the capacity of deacons, namely elder Phinehas Fairbank, elder Samuel Mead, elder Oliver Whitney and elder Richard Harris be and they hence are invited to accept a seat in the elder's pew on our Lord's days, and on other occasions of public worship as a token of our gratitude and respect for their having used the office of a deacon well.

The elders, the deacons, the tithing men, were then august and potential dignitaries, veritable pillars of the sanctuary. The latter official as he strutted his brief day with knobbed staff, sleepless vigilance and authoritative frown, has no counterpart in modern assemblies save the sergeant-at-arms of the Great and General Court, and the high sheriff of the county when on duty; but the tithing man was much more an autocrat than they in his special domain. None but a New England tithing man would have dared to halt George Washington upon the highway, and make him excuse himself for traveling on the sabbath other than toward the meeting-house. Rare qualities were required for the making of a

standard deacon, though an air of calm benignity which nothing could ruffle was sometimes allowed to atone for mental disqualifications. It was a common adage that there was "good deacon timber always to be found in the Fairbank and Whitney families," and there has never been any lack of these in Harvard.

The private pews that gradually took the place of common benches were square, and enclosed to a height of three feet and eight inches from their flooring, so that only the heads and shoulders of ordinary humanity, when erect, appeared above the top railing; and the younger members of the family could not have seen their playmates in the next pew but for the fact that the upper ten inches of the sides were in form an open balustrade. There were plain board seats upon three sides of each pew, so hinged as to turn up and leave more standing room for the occupants during prayers. In summer time when the windows were open, one could tell half a mile away the instant that the final amen put a period to the long prayer, by the slamming of the falling seats, sounding like the straggling musket volley of an ill-disciplined militia company.

No chimney surmounted the roof, for there was no artificial warmth vouchsafed to the rural church-goer of those days, except what the housewives could carry in their diminutive foot-stoves, or the preacher could impart by his fiery denunciations of sinners. The first stove for warming the house was bought by vote of the town September 4, 1821.

Everybody, male and female, young and old, "went to meeting;" not that attendance was compulsory to the extent it had been under Puritan discipline one hundred, or even fifty years earlier; but because everybody wanted to go, to see and be seen; to hear of the week's happenings; to break the sombre monotony of six days' routine labor; to feel the pulse of the world's progress, as well as to satisfy the inborn or the acquired sense of religious duty. The few minutes' gossip and exchange of personal inquiry before and after the two services had to answer all the purposes now subserved by the newspaper. This was especially the case in Harvard, we may be sure, it being a thinly-peopled, agricultural town,

where everybody knew everybody else, and very probably could claim cousinship in some degree with at least a fourth part of the congregation. To these hard-handed and hard-headed yeomen and their goodwives whose daily lives were an endless struggle with reluctant soil and fickle climate, the two weekly sermons were almost their only literary recreation, their chief stimulus to mental activity. At the appointed hours of service all flocked to the common; afoot, on horseback riding single and double, and a very few — the rural aristocracy — in chairs. To modern eyes the assemblage, could it be recalled, would seem a strange motley; for individuality of taste was then uncurbed by any tyranny of fashion, and there was far less uniformity in color and cut of garments than now, especially in the masculine half of the congregation. Long scarlet waistcoats with deep pockets, buckskin breeches, full skirted coats ornamented with glistening steel buttons, wigs or powdered and queued hair, and paste shoe buckles were rife. The types of female head gear were many and quaint. The contrast between the bellows-top calash or the "poke," in the body seats, and the flaring, beribboned leghorn bonnet of the squire's wife in the wall pew, was startling. The inconvenient and hideous stove-pipe hat and that sartorial absurdity the swallow-tail coat, so long deemed indispensable to respectability on Sunday, came in much later.

Nearly five years elapsed before the installation of a successor to Mr. Johnson; the delay, it is probable, being mainly due to the grave financial burdens incident to war. There were, morever, dissensions in the church. It was during this period that the Baptists organized a society at Still River, and the neighborhood meetings in what is now Boxborough weakened the Harvard congregation. October 15, 1778, the town voted to hire Deliverance Smith to preach for them "when Mr. Wallcutt's term, who now preaches for us, be up according to agreement." In April 1780, Edmund Foster was asked to fill the vacant pulpit, being offered a salary of one hundred and twenty pounds per annum, "stated in Indian Corn at two shillings and eight pence per Bushel and Rye at four shillings per Bushel." He declined the invitation and became minister of the adjoining town of Littleton. May 7,

1781, Paul Litchfield was favored as a candidate by the church, but some objections to him existing in the town he was not called, and was ordained at Carlisle November 7 of that year. In January 1782, both church and town agreed in seeking the services of Ebenezer Grosvenor, proposing an annual salary of £90 and thirty cords of wood. He had been for seventeen years the pastor of the church in Scituate, but because of his "moderate Calvinism" had not given general satisfaction, some even going so far as to suspect him of Arminianism. He accepted Harvard's invitation May 6, and was installed on the nineteenth of June; Josiah Whitney, of Pomfret, delivering the address from Acts xx. 26 and 27 as his text, and Jonathan Newell, of Stow, Timothy Harrington, of Lancaster, Daniel Grosvenor, of Grafton, and Joseph Sumner, of Shrewsbury, sharing the other duties of the day. Mr. Grosvenor was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, in 1739, and was graduated at Yale College in 1759. His son Ebenezer, a member of the Senior Class at Harvard College, was brought home sick with a fever and died May 15, 1788. The father contracted the same fever and followed his son to the grave May 28. Though his ministry in Harvard was so brief, he had greatly endeared himself to his people. He is described as possessing unusual personal comeliness and benignity of address, and though not above the average stature of men, to have had a commanding presence. He excelled in qualities of the heart, rather than in pulpit oratory, or mental gifts The town erected to his memory a monument copied from that over the grave of Daniel Johnson, the epitaph upon which is:—

To the memory of the
Rev. Ebenezer Grosvenor
late pastor of the Congregational church
in Harvard:

descended from respectable parents | in Promfret Connecticut; | educated at Yale College | in New Haven; | of such endowments as rendered him an ornament and blessing | in the various relations which he susained; | he was a good Steward in the house of God, | and discharged the duties of his pastoral office | with prudence & impartiality, care & fidelity, | he was a man of polite address, | and peculiarly formed for social life, | a tender and loving husband; | an affectionate & kind parent, | an agreable friend & pleasing companion; | he was much beloved

and respected in life, | in death greatly lamented, | and is we trust receiving the reward of his | labours in the Kingdom of his Lord; his bereaved & grateful people have erected | this stone the monument of his virtues, | & their affection, | He was the beloved pastor of the first church in Scituate 17 years, | And in Harvard 6.

He died May 28, 1788. | Aged 49.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord | for they rest from their labours & their | works do follow them.

March 28, 1785, the choir won the second step in dignity. It was voted to make the two hind seats on both sides of the aisle into pews for the singers. The numerous changes in the congregation compelled the reseating of the meeting house in 1786. Deacons Phineas Fairbank and Samuel Mead on November 28, 1786, resigned their offices because of advanced age and growing infirmities. Amos Fairbank, John Darby and Isaac Whitney were chosen deacons, but Mr. Darby refusing to serve, Micah Stone received the office.

Mr. Grosvenor saw forty-seven added to the membership of his church, baptized one hundred and thirty-seven, officiated at forty-eight marriages and sixty-three funerals. About two years after his decease, the church voted to extend a call to his brother Daniel who had filled the pulpit at Grafton for many years and subsequently became pastor at Paxton. The town seconded the invitation, but with little unanimity, and the proposal was therefore dropped.

After the pastorate had been vacant for four years, and numerous candidates had been heard, December 21, 1791, the church unanimously invited William Emerson, who had been preaching upon probation, to become their minister, and the town joined in the call, offering him two hundred pounds as a settlement and one hundred pounds as annual stipend. He signified his acceptance of the position on the ninth of April, and was ordained on the twenty-third of May, 1792. The exercises on that day were opened with prayer by Eliphalet Porter of Boxborough, Ezra Ripley of Concord preached the discourse from Acts xxvi. 18; Josiah Bridge of East Sudbury gave the charge; Edmund Foster of Littleton, the right hand of fellowship; and Moses Adams of Acton made the closing prayer. Mr. Emerson was born at Concord, Massachusetts, May 6, 1769, and was a graduate of Harvard College in the

class of 1789. His grandfather, Joseph, his father, William, and his son, Ralph Waldo Emerson, were also clergymen—though the latter won his world-wide fame in other fields. William Emerson was a man of striking personal appearance and courtly manners; he was methodical in his work, and his literary abilities were considered extraordinary. His dignity of demeanor approached to stateliness, if not pomposity, and was, if we may trust his journal, premeditated; for being socially inclined he feared lest he might abate too much that reserve supposed to become his high calling, and records a resolve "to be more free with my hat and less with my hand." When exchanging pulpits for a Sunday with his classmate, Reverend Nathaniel Thayer of Lancaster, as he often did, he always called to pay his respects to the venerable Reverend Timothy Harrington. Once during such a visit, noticing that the aged man was restless in his reclining position, the young minister in his stately manner stepped forward, saying: "Do you desire to be lifted up, Mr. Harrington?" "Not by pride, sir!" was the pointed reply.

The town fixed the minister's salary at $333.30. Mr. Emerson records that he was "too poor to keep a horse," and he had no other resources than his stipend, having supported himself by teaching school previous to his ordination. As a teacher, his inability to control a fierce temper was a bar to his success. We learn from his diary that he played upon the bass-viol, and practiced singing with some of the music-lovers in his parish, and was a welcome guest at the firesides of Mrs. Grosvenor, Justice Benjamin Kimball, and Colonel Henry Bromfield. October 25, 1796, he was married to Ruth, daughter of John Haskins of Boston, and the couple began their life together upon the farm which he bought of Mrs. Elizabeth Grosvenor, widow of his predecessor. "We are poor and cold," he writes, "and have little meal, and little wood, and little meat, but, thank God, courage enough." They took boarders, he taught school and worked upon the farm, and the town increased his salary, though grumblingly, to $583.

Mr. Emerson had a resonant voice and was an exceptionally fine reader. His discourses and prayers were highly

elaborated and carefully polished for effective delivery; and even his grace before meals was a studied rhetorical effort. Once when a guest of Captain Samuel Ward at a late lunch, there being besides the bread upon the board some cold beef and chicken and one little pickerel, Mr. Emerson's grace was:—

> "For these fruits of the earth, the air, and the sea,
> We give, O Lord! our thanks to Thee."

"The fish is so small, Mr. Emerson, that it is hardly worth praying about," was Captain Ward's comment.

Mr. Emerson's doctrinal views, though not officiously paraded, unlike those of all his predecessors in the Harvard pulpit, decidedly favored Arminianism. He from the first felt cramped and out of place in his little rural parish, and seems not to have gained the hearty sympathy of his parishioners, though they were very proud of his abilities. Early in 1799 he was invited to preach the Artillery Election sermon, and by his popular and graceful oratory won great favor with influential members of the First Church in Boston, then seeking a pastor. Finding him not averse to removal from his seclusion, they addressed the Harvard Church June 17, expressing their desire to secure his release. The town objected through a committee chosen in town-meeting, but ended their arguments with a suggestion of money payment for the inconvenience and loss the town might sustain by the surrender of their pastor. Mr. Emerson in a long letter to the town, excused his desire to leave them, stating that upon the salary paid him he found it impossible to get out of debt. He adds:—

> The ills of poverty, however, are not so great, as those of ecclesiastical dissention. During upwards of forty years the town of Harvard has been so unhappy as to be distracted, more or less, by various disputes and opinions and sects in regard to religion and its ministers.

After a few months' negotiation, and the refusal of an offer of eight hundred dollars made by the city society, the sum of one thousand dollars was accepted by the Harvard committee, and Mr. Emerson was honorably dismissed by ecclesiastical council, September 7, 1799. He preached his

farewell sermon September 15, and began his duties in Boston the next sabbath.

During Mr. Emerson's residence at Harvard he organized a social library club, and served as custodian of the books. September 7, 1795, Deacon Richard Harris resigned his office, and Israel Whitney was chosen to succeed him on November 4, 1798. Deacons Amos Fairbank and Micah Stone resigned and were succeeded by Benjamin Kimball and Jacob Fairbank. Mr. Emerson received seventy-six to church membership, baptized one hundred and forty, officiated at sixty-four marriages and ninety-four funerals. Sixteen occasional sermons by him have been printed, among them one preached at Harvard July 4, 1794. He died at the early age of forty-two years, May 12, 1811.

Mr. Emerson's liking for the bass-viol seems not to have been shared by the majority of his parishioners. The choir aided him in its introduction to the meeting-house, but there was much scowling and shrugging of shoulders among the elders. They had become reconciled to the fuguing tunes, and perhaps recognized useful exhilaration to devotion when treble, bass and alto, in more or less harmonious iteration, shouted: "Stir up this stew—stir up this stew—stir up this stupid heart to pray;" but this "fiddling the psalms" was too much. March 2, 1795, the church "voted that the use of instrumental music, which has for some time past been tolerated, be for a time suspended in our public worship on the Lord's day." A village choir is not prone to undervalue its share in the Sunday exercises, and the Harvard minstrels seem to have resented this interference with their melody. For some time the congregation had to "do their own singing." The conservatives were not strong enough to prevent the society from voting, July 5, 1795, to exchange Tate and Brady's Psalms, which had been in use over forty years, "for the collection of psalms and hymns edited by the Rev. Jeremy Belknap D.D." The choir continued to stand upon its dignity and the elders were obstinate, but the voices of the experts in anthem and fugue were sadly missed by the people. Finally, in 1797, a town-meeting took the matter in hand, and appointed a committee to conciliate the aggrieved sing-

ers by offering them, among other concessions, the privilege of choosing their own leader. After some deliberation the choir "agreed to *carry on* as usual, provided they could have the liberty of bringing in the Bass Viol at the next annual Thanksgiving." The battle was won, and flute and clarionet and violin soon joined in, adding to "the witchcraft of harmonic sound," but scandalizing many church-goers to whom any novelty brought into the house of God was deemed one of Satan's snares.

The successor of Mr. Emerson in the Harvard pulpit was Stephen Bemis, a native of Westminster, Massachusetts, born in 1774, and a graduate of Dartmouth College with the class of 1798. After serving as tutor for a year, he studied theology with Reverend Joseph Lathrop D.D. of West Springfield. January 26, 1801, the church voted to invite him to a settlement, and the town seconded the invitation February 16. He accepted the call on April 27, and was ordained on the third of June; the clergymen officiating at the ordination ceremonies being Joseph Lathrop D.D. of West Springfield, Asaph Rice of Westminster, Phinehas Whitney of Shirley, Phineas Wright of Bolton and Daniel Chaplin of Groton. Dr. Lathrop's sermon was printed at the Harvard Press of Luther Parker. The salary voted Mr. Bemis by the town was four hundred and sixty dollars and ten cords of oak or walnut wood. He bought for his residence the house of his predecessor.

In 1794 an effort was made to have the town build a bell tower, but without success, and it was not until 1806 that the meeting-house was furnished with a steeple. This was built as an addition to the front, and in it was hung, in 1807, the first bell used in the town for calling the congregation together. The bell was paid for chiefly by private subscription. The cost of the bell tower — one thousand dollars — was met by the sale at auction of sixteen pews built in the space that had been devoted to the choir. Colonel Henry Bromfield paid one hundred dollars for the first choice. The bidding for the other pews was spirited, as is shown by the prices obtained, and by the bill paid for "liquor at sale of pews —

$10.25." The singers were thenceforward seated in the front gallery.

Deacons Isaac Whitney and Benjamin Kimball resigned August 16, 1807. Reuben Whitcomb and Luke Pollard were chosen to the vacancies October 29. Mr. Bemis resigned the pastorate April 9, 1813, recording as his reasons for so doing: "want of adequate health; want of adequate support; want of unanimity, order and harmony in the society, and as the result of all, want of a prospect of usefulness and comfort." A prolific source of the discord between the pastor and a large portion of his parish was the political rancor of the day, although he records that at his coming the church was "in a divided, broken and discordant state." Mr. Bemis was an ardent Federalist, and on August 20, 1812, the day appointed by the national government for "public humiliation and prayer," he took occasion, as did most of the clergymen of New England, to preach a political sermon. In this discourse, "complying with an imperious sense of duty," he denounced the administration in unsparing terms for declaring "an unrighteous war" against Great Britain. The Republicans, as the administration party then styled themselves, grew so indignant while listening to his sharp arraignment of the Jeffersonian policy, that they shuffled their feet vigorously upon the sanded floor, and in other disorderly ways made manifest their wrath. The administration men were numerically the stronger party in Harvard and they never forgave Mr. Bemis for his fast-day sermon. In a town-meeting ten days after its delivery, brief resolutions were offered by a leading Federalist, Benjamin Kimball, Esq., asserting the freeman's right "at all times and in a becoming manner to express his opinion of men in office and of their measures, fearless of threats and menaces," and condemning "all Mobs whether their fury be directed against the freedom of speech, or the press, or against the constituted authorities appointed to execute the laws of their country." These were refused by a vote of eighty-eight to seventy-three, and sundry acrid resolves submitted by a committee of the democrats were passed. These were published in the Boston Patriot for September 12, 1812. The committee signing these resolutions

were: Jonathan Symonds, Joseph Wilder, Jr., Moses Whitney, Stevens Hayward, Ward Safford, Ellis Harlow, Jacob Robbins, William Parkhurst, Jr., and Jonathan Beard. The paragraph which closes their angry tirade against political foes may serve to illustrate the bitterness of feeling existing, and the rhetorical style often employed at this date in public wrangles:—

Resolved, That it is with horror and detestation that we behold so many of the Clergy lending their aid to the vicious and yielding themselves alway to the insidious schemes of furious demagogues; that these men and the praying part of the community, who would sooner burn at the stake than petition Heaven for the prosperity of their country and a successful termination of the present war, are guilty of the greatest impiety and merit the disapprobation of every good citizen and insure the displeasure of Heaven.

At town-meetings November 12, 1812, and January 26, 1813, the fast-day sermon was the subject of a disorderly and wrathful debate, and the author of it, who was present, finally quieted the pandemonium by announcing his readiness to surrender his pastorate. June 13, 1813, he was dismissed by an ecclesiastical council with record of their hearty commendation. Mr. Bemis resided in Harvard for the rest of his days, busying himself with the management of his farm, the homestead of about fifty acres, which he had bought of Reverend William Emerson, and which had been the home of three of his predecessors in the Harvard pulpit. Reverend George Fisher says of Mr. Bemis: "while he did not equal his predecessors in his manner of speaking, he was superior to most if not all of them in natural genius and general scholarship." He was, in doctrinal belief, a moderate Calvinist. During his ministry the admissions to the church numbered one hundred and three, the baptisms, one hundred and ninety, the marriages, one hundred and fourteen, the deaths, two hundred and forty-two. Mr. Bemis died November 11, 1828, aged fifty-four years.

Warren Fay, who had received his dismissal from the church in Brimfield two years before, was on November 1, 1813, asked to occupy the pulpit left by Mr. Bemis, and on the twentieth of December accepted the charge. He was

installed January 26, 1814, when the ordaining sermon was assigned to Reuben Puffer D.D. of Berlin. Joseph Willard of Boxborough, Peter Whitney of Northborough, Edmund Foster of Littleton, and James Murdock of Princeton, took part in the day's exercises. November 19, 1819, Mr. Fay asked dismission, which was granted by council January 5, 1820, when he was installed over the First Congregational Church in Charlestown. He added to the Harvard society seventy-five members, baptized one hundred and thirty-six persons, solemnized forty-three marriages, and served at one hundred and forty-six funerals during the seven years of his pastorate. March 9, 1819, Deacon Israel Whitney "having adopted Universalist views" was dismissed and John Hapgood was chosen deacon in his place. Mr. Fay was born in Northborough, and studied theology with Samuel Austin of Worcester, after graduation at Harvard College in 1807. He received the degree of S.T.D. from Dartmouth College in 1828, and died in 1864. With the close of Mr. Fay's ministry ended the days of an undivided Congregational church in Harvard.

At a town-meeting in November 1820, it was voted:—

> that the Universalist Society have the proportionate part of the meeting house for one year, and that the assessors of the town be a committee to make an estimate for the purpose.

In January, 1821, certain members of the church claiming to represent "the Congregational Society," petitioned for incorporation, that they might "transact their parochial concerns distinct from the concerns of the town;" complaining that in 1819 members of other religious societies in Harvard, though exempted by certificate from paying tithe to the first parish, had opposed the granting of a salary to Mr. Fay; and that in 1820, after the dismissal of Mr. Fay, they had voted the use of the meeting-house to the Universalists, and also claimed for the benefit of the whole town the ministerial fund of one thousand dollars which had been granted in 1799 to the Congregational society by the Boston church. This petition was signed by Jonathan Beard, Salmon Whitney and John Hapgood "for the church." The town entered formal remonstrance against granting the petition, through a

committee consisting of Benjamin Kimball, Esq., Joseph Willard, Ephraim Hinds, Esq., Aaron Whitney and Reverend Stephen Bemis. In their statement it was alleged that the petitioners were not the First Congregational Church, but "only an association of sectarians;" that Mr. Fay after his settlement had greatly modified his theological views and "became a violent advocate of Hopkinsianism, and by his great zeal to make proselytes to his faith was the occasion of about seventy withdrawing from the society and associating with other denominations of christians;" that the pews were now mostly in possession of those opposed to the petitioners, not over one-fourth part of them being the property of those asking for incorporation. It was moreover suggested that the controversy was one for the courts to decide rather than the legislature. The petitioners failed to attain their object.

Differences of doctrinal belief were rife from the days of Mr. Seccomb's great revival. A member of the parish, however, who did not shirk his tithes and attended all sabbath observances with decent regularity, was rarely subjected to discipline for peculiar religious views, unless they were altogether heterodox, or noisily proclaimed to the disturbance of church order. It was a deeply religious age and community, and men held to their creed with great tenacity; but with a spirit of tolerance and a respect for private judgment, which we sadly miss not only in the early days of the New England Puritan churches, but also at that later period when schisms elevated what had been considered non-essential differences into sacred dogmas. Even the consecrated teachers, who were autocrats within their spheres, varied in their theological convictions, as has been told, through all the gradations from rigid Calvinism to downright Arminianism; and though not without creating more or less confusion and strife in the parish, without dividing it. The defection of the Still River Baptists in the days of the Revolution had not greatly disturbed or weakened the church, for the seceders were very few, and their society drew much of its strength from other towns. The Shakers were persecuted not for their heresies, but because suspected to be tories, and for their flagrant dis-

turbance of family and social order. With the possession of political freedom came increased liberty of thought and much scepticism. The whole people were growing into new theologies through rebellion against the monarchical principles that attached to the theology which was their inheritance. Liberal views had long been gaining ground in the Harvard congregation, until, in 1820, those bound to a stricter Calvinistic faith resolved to withdraw and set up a tabernacle for themselves. This secession was a serious one, rending the society into two nearly equal parts.

III. THE STILL RIVER BAPTIST CHURCH.

It has been alleged, and it is not an unreasonable supposition, that Henry Willard and his sons, the first settlers at Still River, imbibed Baptist theological views from his mother, Mary Dunster the third wife of Major Simon Willard. She was a member of the family of Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard College, who was compelled to lay down that office because openly a sympathizer with the Anabaptists. There was certainly no very uncharitable feeling in the first Harvard church towards the believers in that creed, for in Mr. Seccomb's records we find this entry: "Dec^{r}. 5, 1742. At a Meeting of the Brethren, Voted—Daniel Peirce (of the Anabaptist perswasion) to occasional Communion with us." There appears, however, to have been no attempt made by those in Harvard who inherited the Baptist belief to form a separate society until June 27, 1776, when fourteen persons associated themselves as a church. They were: Stephen Gates, Tarbel Willard, Dr. Isaiah Parker, William Willard, Jr., Josiah Willard, Joseph Stone, Ruth Kilburn, Sarah Willard, Elizabeth Gates, Huldah Edes, Sarah Kilburn, Jemima Blanchard, Rachel Willard, Annis Willard.

Dr. Isaiah Parker had studied for the medical profession under the noted Thomas Green M.D., founder and first elder of the Baptist church at Greenville, Leicester, Mass.; and had embraced the theological views of his instructor. He was chosen to lead the Sunday services of the new church and in 1778 was ordained its pastor under an ancient elm

that stood near the house of Tarbel Willard, which is that now occupied by Mark A. Farnsworth. Dr. Samuel Stillman of Boston preached the sermon on that occasion. A "Covenant and Doctrine of Faith" bears the date, September 3, 1788. Dr. Parker's meagre records of his pastorate are preserved, but they yield few facts of historic value, being for the most part minutes relating to cases of church discipline. Although such records paint in bright colors the ruling passions of the hour and place, and serve to show the boilings in society, they can be given small space here.

Joseph Stone and William Willard were the first deacons. On December 2, 1782, it was voted to choose three more, and Josiah Willard, Lemuel Willard and William Wilder were elected. The last named declined to serve. Deacon William Willard was accused of excessive use of strong drink, and finally excommunicated February 21, 1791. The fact that Ann Lee was a disturbing presence in the neighborhood during 1781–2 is given no special mention in the records, but the church was greatly troubled thereby, and ultimately excluded some of its members for embracing the Shaker doctrines—among them Ebenezer Pratt and his wife. Business difficulties and a serious disagreement with Deacon Josiah Willard much detracted from the pastor's influence in the latter years of his ministry. The records state that the society then was "in a very broken situation. There were divisions and contentions in the Church, to such a degree, that we had neglected Communion for the space of several years." Early in 1798, Dr. Parker asked dismission, which seems to have been refused at first, but the church at length acceded to his desire to call another to lead in the sabbath exercises, and it was by his invitation that Elder George Robinson of Bridgewater came to the service of the society.

During the twenty-two years that Dr. Parker presided over the Still River church, one hundred and seventy-four members were added to those in the foundation. Besides the defections caused by the preaching of Ann Lee and the Shaker elders, Universalist doctrines gained several converts in the community. A more serious schism arose in 1801, originating in the hostility of Deacon Lemuel Willard and others to

Mr. Robinson. The controversy ended in the excommunication of Deacon Willard. In consequence of this action of the church, fifteen others, including Dr. Isaiah Parker, withdrew in 1802 from its fellowship. In 1804, two discourses preached by Dr. Parker upon "The Final State of the Human Race," were printed "by particular desire," at the press in Still River, by his son Sewall Parker. In an advertisement to the pamphlet he says:—

> As I have heretofore preached the doctrine of partial salvation, and now embrace the doctrine of the salvation of all men, as an honest man, I am not unwilling but consider it a duty to let my bosom friends and acquaintances know my present state of mind, and the reasons by which I am determined.

Dr. Parker served the town as one of its representatives in the legislature of 1806. He seems to have been a busy, energetic man, possessed of fair abilities and culture. He for a time held a large landed estate, having bought of Elias Haskell the farm adjoining the meeting-house lot upon the north, and other lands in Still River; but at the date of his removal from town he was financially embarrassed and "under a cloud." He was the son of Aaron Parker of Westford, born November 13, 1752, and married Sibyl Willard, February 20, 1773, by whom he had twelve children born in Harvard. He went to Cavendish, Vermont, it is said in 1806, and his first wife dying June 23, 1820, he there married a second, Betsey Whitcomb. She was a young woman—born in 1791—and bore him two children—Betsey Miranda in 1823, and Isaiah Whitcomb, in 1832. He was eighty years of age at the birth of the last, and lived until his ninety-sixth year, dying January 16, 1848.

The first building used for their Sunday services by the Baptist society stood upon the site of the present meeting-house until 1832, when it was moved across the highway and converted into a parsonage. It was originally the first meet-house of Leominster, which after serving that town for over thirty years was sold at auction, torn down and rebuilt at Still River.

But seven churches of the Baptist denomination preceded this in Worcester County, and for many years it held a very

prominent position in the association by reason of the number of its communicants and the influence of its elders. Its missionary work in the neighboring towns in time made it a mother of churches. It claims to have planted, or nourished the seed from which grew the Baptist societies of Acton, Ayer, Bolton, Clinton, Fitchburg, Leominster, Littleton, West Boylston and West Townsend. The inheritors of Puritan traditions looked askance at the proselyting spirit of those they stigmatized as "itinerant and disorderly ministers," and sometimes their disfavor showed itself in ruder fashion than the shrugging of shoulders and sarcastic comment; but the zeal that was well-balanced and regardful of other's rights rarely failed of due tolerance, if not honored with respect.

In the spring of 1799, Elder George Robinson brought his family to Still River, and soon after bought of Samuel and William Haskell the farm now owned by Elisha B. Stone. His services as pastor continued until 1812, when he resigned. Ephraim Emerson was made a deacon August 23, 1803, and Deacon Joseph Stone, being accused of a neglect of diaconal duty, of intimacy with Dr. Isaiah Parker, of showing a litigious spirit, and of unjustly persecuting John Mycall, was expelled from church fellowship January 1, 1808. The nature of the persecution of his neighbor is not described, but it resulted in Mycall's departure from town.

Benjamin W. Willard, who was chosen chorister in 1802, acted as scribe for the church during the whole of Mr. Robinson's ministry. His neatly kept records afford evidence that the church was an earnest and aggressive force in the community. Those unable to justify their business methods by bible precepts found it unpleasantly aggressive. The apathetic had no peace in its ranks. There was of course in its exhortations a deal of hair-splitting and a constant threshing of old straw. It exercised an espionage too intrusive to be long endurable in a protestant-republican neighborhood, and its judgments and discipline were often harsh; but the church was an alert militant power, coercing the sinner who would not be coaxed, and always battling sin in all its shapes without refinement of tactics. Mr. Robinson was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, November 23, 1754, and was

ordained at Killingly, Connecticut, in 1776. After leaving Harvard he preached for several years at Wilmington, Vermont, and Guilford, Connecticut, but being crippled by an accident he came to Lancaster to pass the closing years of his life with a son. There he died September 15, 1847, at the age of ninety-three years.

Elder Abisha Samson from Tisbury succeeded Mr. Robinson, preaching his first sermon here August 9, 1812. September 13, he was invited to the pastoral charge, and on December 12, "was publicly recognized as Pastor of this church; sermon by himself from Rom. i. 16, Elder George Robinson gave the right hand of fellowship." December 27, 1812, Richard Haven of Bolton was chosen a deacon, and in August 1819, Levi Howard and Charles Chace, Jr., of the south district in Lancaster, were elected to the same office. Mr. Chace is yet living, having served in the diaconal office for over seventy years. During 1819, Mr. Samson was influential in organizing the Worcester Baptist Association, and he was chosen president of the annual convention for more years successively than any man who has held that position. The covenant was revised and parish organization effected in February 1822. The same year probably marks the introduction of a stove in the meeting-house; the committee chosen to make some needed repairs being instructed to build a "chimblie through the roof to receive the stove funell." February 5, 1822, thirty-four members were dismissed for the purpose of forming a Baptist church in Littleton which was organized March 14. Benjamin W. Willard, who for twenty years had been the clerk and chorister of the Still River society, had been preaching as a licentiate at Littleton for several months. In 1824 it was recorded that there were one hundred and eleven members in good standing on the Still River church books. The pastor was employed year by year, and the money for his salary was always raised by voluntary subscription.

The Sunday-school Association dates its organization from May 1827, when a small sum of money was collected and books bought for the foundation of a Sunday-school library. The same month several members resident at Townsend

were dismissed to aid in the establishment of a church there.

Mr. Samson's service with the Still River society ended with May 1832, but he continued in the ministry until 1840, at Southborough. In 1844, after a brief residence in Worcester, being blind and infirm, he went to pass his remaining days with his son George Whitefield Samson D.D., then president of Columbian College, He died at Washington, D. C., in June 1861.

From June to December 1832, the pulpit was occupied by Benjamin Manning, licentiate. September 2, 1832, Deacon Richard Haven and twenty-three others, residents of Bolton, were formally dismissed to found a church in that town. The council at that time refused its consent to the organization, however, and most of the twenty-four were restored to membership. Mr. Manning was solicited to remain as pastor with the society, but ill health forbidding his acceptance of the charge, John Ellis Lazell, a native of Bellingham, educated at Washington college, was unanimously called to the pulpit in September and was installed December 12, 1832. The sermon of the day was by E. W. Freeman of Lowell. Mr. Lazell, after a service of but few weeks' duration, was disabled by serious illness, and his ministerial duties were performed by students from the Newton Theological Institution. His resignation was accepted in August 1833, and he died not long after.

October 22, 1832, it was voted to build a new meeting-house, and to locate it upon the site of the old one, but a few feet nearer the street. The money for the purpose was soon raised by private subscription and the house erected. A bell was also purchased by individuals and presented to the society. It is said to be one that for many years hung in the belfry of Harvard Hall at Cambridge.

Benjamin Herbert Hathorne of Salem, a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1830 and of the Newton Theological Institution, was asked to occupy the vacant pulpit after he had preached several weeks upon probation, and accepting the invitation was ordained in the new meeting-house December 11, 1833. His resignation dated January 1835, was thought to be inspired by depression consequent

upon the death of a lady whom he expected would soon become his wife. He died at Lynn in September 1837.

Moses Curtis, who had been pastor of churches at Canton, Medfield and Chicopee Falls, was called to the pulpit thus made vacant, his salary being stated at four hundred and fifty dollars per annum. He rendered faithful and profitable service at Still River for seven years, 1835–1842, when he removed to Belchertown. Mr. Curtis was born at Stoughton July 2, 1795. Though not a graduate of collegiate or theological institution he had obtained a good education, and for several years had charge of one of the public schools of Providence, Rhode Island. He was ordained in 1830. After leaving Harvard he was settled over several churches for from two to seven years each, and finally retired to his Belchertown home, where he died August 26, 1874.

Clark Sibley of Mansfield, a member of the class of 1829 in Amherst College, became pastor of the church in April 1842, and remained in Still River until April 1850, receiving a salary of three hundred and fifty dollars and the use of the parsonage. During Mr. Sibley's pastorate the Second Advent excitement reached its height and somewhat interfered with the work and regular progress of the society. He is lovingly remembered as a meek and gentle-mannered Christian. He died of a cancerous affection March 28, 1853, at the age of fifty-two years.

Charles M. Willard from Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, succeeded Mr. Sibley. He received a salary of five hundred dollars and the use of the parsonage. A strangely bitter dissension arose in 1855–6 between certain influential members of the church and the pastor, caused by his employing as family physician one who was fancifully described by the leader of those disaffected, the clerk of the society, William Bowles Willard, as "a villain of the deepest and darkest kind." The pastor was constrained to ask dismission September 29, 1856, and removed to Eastport, Maine. Mr. Willard was esteemed one of the ablest ministers who have occupied the Still River pulpit, and amid the bickerings that finally drove him from his parish he bore himself with becoming dignity and Christian forbearance. He was born in Ster-

ling, Massachusetts, in 1815, and was fitted for the ministry at the Hamilton Institution, New York. He died of paralysis November 12, 1877, at Suffield, Connecticut. In the early days of Mr. Willard's pastorate at Still River, the church received from Dr. Ephraim Stone bequests amounting to one thousand dollars, which by his instructions must be kept as a permanent fund, the interest of which is devoted to the support of the Baptist ministry in Harvard. To this fund were shortly added gifts of Widows Amy Adams and Eleanor Willard, one hundred dollars each, consecrated to the same object.

For a twelve-month after Mr. Willard's departure the society heard several ministers for brief terms. Among these were F. G. Brown, Timothy G. Tingley, Joseph M. Rockwood and Lester Williams. The last two were in turn invited to a settlement, but declined. June 7, 1857, John H. Lerned was called to the pastorate and accepted the service. His ministrations ceased here with March 1860.

Andrew Dunn, a native of Gardner, born June 15, 1813, and a graduate of the Newton Theological Institution in the class of 1842, succeeded Mr. Lerned and remained at Still River three years. Mr. Dunn's previous service had been at Winchendon 1842–1852, Holden 1853, North Bridgewater 1854, Weymouth 1854–1858, Chatham 1859–1860. He left Harvard for East Gloucester in 1863. He is now living in Royalston.

Leonard Tracy occupied the pulpit from July 1863 to July 1868. During 1867 a vestry, twenty-two by thirty-two feet, was built upon the east end of the meeting-house, and the audience room was renovated throughout, the work being paid for by a general subscription. Mr. Tracy was one in whom rare mental and physical qualities combined to win respect and popular esteem. He was tall, dignified in manner, but genial and socially inclined. He died at East Bethel, Vermont, November 21, 1869. He was born at Tunbridge, Vermont, May 23, 1802, and before coming to Harvard had held pastoral relations to churches in Claremont, New Hampton and Keene, New Hampshire; West Boylston, Massachusetts; Whitehall, New York; and Burlington, Vermont. Upon Mr.

Tracy's dismissal, John H. Lerned for a second time assumed charge of the church, remaining a single year, and giving place to William Leach from Carver early in 1870.

Mr. Leach was born in Shutesbury, Massachusetts, in August 1803, and studied for two years at the Newton Theological Institution. He was ordained at Paterson, New Jersey, in 1840, and had held pastorates at Omaha, Nebraska, and several places in Massachusetts, before he came to Harvard. He died at Still River after a long and painful illness having its origin in a fall, March 31, 1871, and twelve days later his wife was laid in the grave beside him. During 1870 William Bowles Willard presented an organ to the church.

John Wilson Dick entered upon the duties of pastor here July 1, 1871, and removed to Woodstock, Connecticut, in July 1873. Mr. Dick was a native of Paisley, Scotland, born July 2, 1832, and as sailor and mechanic had seen more of the world than most when licensed to preach in 1860. Before coming to Still River he had preached at East Providence, and he afterwards held pastorates in most of the New England States. He died at Salisbury Beach, New Hampshire, August 12, 1889, being stricken with heart disease.

Daniel Round, then and now of Norfolk, Massachusetts, was unanimously called and entered the Still River pulpit April 1, 1874. March 16, 1875, Charles H. Haskell and Mark A. Farnsworth were elected deacons, but the former declined to serve, and Emroy Farmer was then chosen. The one hundredth anniversary of the church organization was celebrated June 27, 1776, with exercises appropriate to such a festival, calling together from near and far away the children of the church and their kin. During the morning hours religious exercises were held in the meeting-house, which was elaborately decorated. The centennial discourse was by George W. Samson D.D., a native of Harvard, son of the third pastor of the parish. It has been preserved in print, but unfortunately Mr. Samson gave small space to local story, and proof of haste is too evident in that portion of his essay. In the afternoon the guests were received in a tent upon the grounds of Elisha D. Stone, where after the enjoyment of a collation, they listened to addresses and reminiscences. Three or four

aged men were present whose recollections of Dr. Isaiah Parker, the first pastor, added much to the historical interest of the celebration.

Mr. Round closed his labors at Still River September 28, 1879, when he became pastor of the Nantucket Baptist society. Before his Harvard experience he had preached at Nantucket, Pawtucket, Cohoes, New York, East Providence and Wrentham. He is a native of Scituate, Rhode Island, born October 31, 1816, and was ordained in September 1839. He acted as superintendent of the public schools in Harvard 1876–1879.

William Read followed Mr. Round, entering upon his pulpit ministrations at Still River November 16, 1879. Deacon Mark A. Farnsworth resigned his office July 1, 1880, when Charles H. Haskell was elected to succeed him. Mr. Read was dismissed July 26, 1885, and has since been pastor of the Coldbrook Baptist society of Barre. He was the son of John and Sally (Freeman) Read, born November 10, 1825, in Barrington, Rhode Island. He had before 1879 preached for several years in Maine and New Hampshire and held pastorates in Gardner and Littleton. He has two sons, both clergymen.

James F. Morton supplied the pulpit during 1886. Charles M. Bowers, D. D., of Clinton was solicited by the society to become their minister, but declined. William Henry Evans, the present pastor, whose engagement began the first sabbath of December, 1887, came here from the North Oxford church. He was born in Cheltenham, England, November 9, 1831, is a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1855, and received his theological education at the Newton Institution with the class of 1858.

Miss Elizabeth W. Chace, who died June 10, 1888, attested her life-long interest in the society by the following clause of her will:—

> I give and bequeath the sum of one thousand dollars to the Massachusetts Baptist State Convention to be held in trust for the Baptist Church in Still River. If said church shall at any time cease to exist it shall be the property of said Convention.

February 23, 1891, died William Bowles Willard, who for

fifty-seven years had been clerk of the society and annually contributed from his ample means a large portion of the running expenses of the church. His will provided for a continuance of aid from his estate:—

Fifth—I give to the Clerk, Deacons and Treasurer of the Baptist Church in Still River in said Harvard, and to their successors in said offices, two thousand dollars in trust for the uses following, to invest and keep the same invested in good real estate mortgages and to pay the net interest and increase thereof for the support of preaching the Gospel in said church, such payments to be made semi-annually so long as said church remains in fellowship with the Baptist Convention in the State of Massachusetts and upon its ceasing to be in fellowship with said Convention to pay over said principal sum and all accumulation thereof to said Massachusetts Baptist State Convention for its own use forever.

In March 1891, Silas B. Haynes was chosen deacon.

IV. THE UNITARIAN SOCIETY.

The pulpit of the First Congregational Church—now known as the Unitarian society—had no stated supply for more than two years after the dismissal of Warren Fay. In August, 1822, Ira Henry Thomas Blanchard casually occupied it for a few sabbaths, though not with intent to offer himself as a candidate. His service was so pleasing to the society that he received a unanimous invitation to remain as their pastor. He accepted, and was ordained January 1, 1823, on which occasion John Thornton Kirkland, president of Harvard College, preached the sermon. Mr. Blanchard was born at Weymouth, September 9, 1797. He was the classmate of George Bancroft, Caleb Cushing and George B. Emerson, graduating in 1817. After leaving college he taught at the South as a private tutor for a year, and then entered the Theological Seminary at Andover. After a year's study, he accepted a tutorship at Harvard College. He entered upon his duties as pastor with intelligent zeal, instituting a Sunday-school, founding a parish library, and taking an active interest in every work calculated to benefit church or community. His health, frail at its best, frequently failed, leaving him incapacitated for any labor. His preaching was peculiarly impressive, but rather because of his earnestness and evident sin-

cerity, than by reason of oratorical pretention or rhetorical embellishment. He was married May 30, 1825, to Margaret Bromfield, the daughter of Eliphalet Pearson, L.L.D., who had recently become a resident in Harvard. In November 1826, alarming illness compelled him to seek rest and change of climate. His people refused to accept his resignation so long as there seemed any hope that they might again enjoy his ministrations among them, but new complications aggravating his disease, his connections with the church were finally severed April 13, 1831. A temporary return of strength enabled him to preside over a small parish in South Natick from 1835 to 1840, when he removed to Weymouth, where his life, distinguished for its fidelity to duty through long years of suffering and weakness, ended April 9, 1845.

The disposition of the income of the ministerial fund which dates its origin from the bargain with Boston's First Church in 1799, stirred bitter discussion in the town. The fund had increased to about eighteen hundred dollars in 1824, when a majority in town-meeting ordered the accumulated interest to be distributed "among all the inhabitants of the town that belonged to the Congregational Society when the fund was given." Upon this, the Unitarian society brought suit for the income, and obtained judgment in their favor. Ultimately by an act of the General Court dated April 18, 1838, the town was released from its trusteeship, and paid over the fund to the deacons of the First Parish.

February 4, 1831, the church invited Washington Gilbert, who had been with them upon probation for a few weeks, to become their pastor. He consented and was ordained April 13. For twenty-four years he was the spiritual guide of the society. He inspired general respect and confidence, although rather by worth and dignity of character and his stern observance of Christian duty, than by affability in his pastoral relations; for he was not gifted with winning manners. He was married May 23, 1833, to Achsah, the eldest of the eight daughters of Honorable Stephen P. Gardner of Bolton. They had two daughters, one dying in infancy and the other, though married, dying childless. Mr. Gilbert was born March 18, 1800, in Atkinson, New Hampshire. His

father was an Englishman, claiming descent from Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and John Gibbs Gilbert, the noted actor, was the son of his oldest brother. His mother, Mary Belknap, was the daughter of an officer of the Revolution, Lieutenant Ezekiel Belknap, who died in 1836, nearly one hundred and one years of age. This was not a rare length of days in the Belknap family, for the lieutenant's father died at the age of ninety-nine years and five months, his grandfather at the age of ninety-five, his grandmother aged one hundred and six years and eleven months, an uncle one hundred and one years, and four of his aunts, it is said, attained one hundred years each. Mr. Gilbert was graduated at Williams College with the class of 1826, and received his theological education at the Cambridge Divinity School in the class of 1829. His relations with the Harvard church ended April 13, 1855. He shortly after removed to West Newton, where he had pastoral care of the Unitarian society for two years. He died there January 5, 1879.

The meeting-house which had served the town and an undivided parish from the days of the Revolution was of too generous dimensions for that moiety of the worshipers who retained possession of it for weekly services, and being sadly out of repair, it was torn down in 1840 to make way for a neat wooden structure of much more modest proportions. Such portion of the old material as was found suitable was utilized in the new edifice, work upon which began in March. The new pews were appraised in October, 1840.

Mr. Gilbert ever retained a deep interest in the welfare of Harvard and its people. Indeed the last year of his life was chiefly devoted to them, for he spent much of his time in the work of establishing the Bromfield School, of which the founder had by her will made him a trustee. By request of his Harvard parish, he published two sermons: one upon The Connection of Religion and Morality, in 1831, the other upon The Law of Liberty, in 1834. In an obituary by a brother clergyman, it was said of him that though "he never shone in conspicuous position, or won prizes of elocution or scholarship, his industry in all pastoral and public duty, his sincere faithfulness and entire devotion to the religion of

which he was so long a teacher deserve most honorable mention."

William Gustavus Babcock was installed as Mr. Gilbert's successor November 18, 1855. He came from Lunenburg, where he had occupied the Unitarian pulpit for about six years. He remained in Harvard a single year, leaving to take charge of the First Church at South Natick. Mr. Babcock was born at Milton, Massachusetts, June 1, 1820, was graduated at Harvard College in 1841, and at the Cambridge Divinity School in 1844. He is now pastor of the Appleton Street Free Chapel, Boston.

William Augustus Whitwell supplied the Unitarian pulpit in Harvard from 1857 to 1861. He was a native of Boston, born January 10, 1804. He died at Chestnut Hill, Newton, February 10, 1865, leaving a widow, but no children. He was a graduate of Harvard College, belonging to the class of 1824, and of the Cambridge Divinity School in the class of 1827. Previous to his Harvard pastorate he had been minister over the Unitarian societies of Walpole, N. H., Rochester, N. Y., Hallowell, Calais and Houlton, Maine, Wilton, N. H., and Easton, Mass. Though not a man of brilliant parts, Mr. Whitwell had many estimable qualities which won the affection of all with whom he had relations. As a personal friend says of him: "He was a good man and true; simple as a child, but strong in faith, hope and love."

Henry Harvey Barber was born at Warwick, Mass., December 30, 1835. He was educated for his profession at the Meadville Theological Seminary, graduating in 1861. October 24 of that year he was ordained over the Harvard parish. In 1866 he became pastor of the Unitarian church at Somerville. In 1884 he was appointed Professor of the History and Philosophy of Religion at the Meadville Seminary.

Jefferson Myers Fox was born in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, December 5, 1831. He received his education at Hobart College and the Meadville Theological Seminary, graduating at the latter institution in 1861. He was ordained pastor over the Unitarian church at Trenton, New Jersey, October 7, 1862, and installed at Harvard, March 27, 1867. His pastorate here was a brief one, ending abruptly.

Daniel Francis Goddard, the successor of Mr. Fox, was called to the parish in 1870 from Revere. He occupied the Harvard pulpit for ten years. Mr. Goddard was a native of Plymouth, Massachusetts, where he was born November 29, 1827. He entered Amherst College, but left at the end of two years, his life plans having been materially changed by the death of his parents. He prepared himself for the ministry under the guidance of Reverend Russell Tomlinson, a clergyman of the Universalist denomination, and was ordained pastor of a Universalist society in Boston, whose house of worship was then upon Shawmut avenue. Upon leaving Boston, he preached in Chelsea for a time, as an Independent. He next became pastor of the Unitarian society in Weymouth, where he remained four years. He then presided over the Petersham church for three years, when he entered upon an engagement at Revere. Upon leaving Harvard he took a brief rest, but soon accepted a settlement at Chelmsford, where he died July 13, 1883.

Mr. Goddard was greatly respected and esteemed, both for his rare intellectual gifts and his spotless character. As a pulpit orator he was dignified in manner, fluent, and skilled in clothing his ideas with befitting rhetorical expression. Sound scholarship and refined taste shone conspicuously in his discourses. He possessed a choice library; especially rich in works upon metaphysics and mystic theology, which were his favorite studies. Perhaps the pulpit teachings of the preacher were sometimes so exalted by his spiritualistic sympathies that they failed to reach all the pews, but the daily life and conversation of the man were a benediction felt by the whole community.

In 1871 an organ was presented to the society by Enoch Perkins, and at the same date a gift from Edward Lawrence of Charlestown so increased the organ fund that the annual income suffices for the salary of an organist. Sunday, February 7, 1875, the meeting-house was destroyed by fire. Very little was saved from the flames, though the bell remains in use, slightly injured in tone. During the building of a new meeting-house, the Sabbath services of the church were held in the town-hall. The energy and judgment of Mr. Goddard

were influential in planning and pushing to completion the present tasteful and well-proportioned edifice, the fourth upon its site, which was dedicated January 11, 1876. The clock in its tower was a gift to the town from Warren Hapgood.

By the death of Margaret (Bromfield) Blanchard in 1876, the church received a generous bequest, provided for in this clause of her will dated 1871 :—

.....Third. I give and bequeath to the First Congregational Society in Harvard, two thousand dollars, in trust, nevertheless, to hold and keep the same invested in safe and productive securities, real or personal, and to apply the interest and profits arising therefrom, semi-annually, in aid of the support of a Christian pastor therein.

Enoch Perkins died at the City Hospital in Boston April 20, 1880, at the age of eighty-three years. He came to Harvard in 1820, and as a trader won a considerable fortune. By his will, after sundry legacies, the estate was left in trust, the annual income being devoted to the support and comfort of his only daughter, Julia Ann Perkins, and in case of her decease without issue this income was willed to two nieces during life. The First Parish in Harvard was designated as residuary legatee. By the death of the daughter in 1881, the termination of the trust now depends upon the lives of the nieces who survive. The value of it by a recent appraisal was about forty thousand dollars.

Upon the loss of Mr. Goddard the parish employed Alfred Edgar Mullett, who was acting pastor of the church during two years, delivering his farewell sermon the last Sabbath of March 1882.

October 3, 1881, the aged Deacon Jonathan Fairbank died at his home in the East Bare Hill district. He had held the office of deacon for fifty-eight years, being the fifth of his family in succession to wear that title in the First Church. He was born December 29, 1788, in the neighborhood where he died. He was a skilful cabinet-maker, but also an energetic farmer, having bought in 1821 the Gates estate which adjoined his birthplace. Deacon Fairbank's first wife, Hannah Howard of Bolton, died in March, 1819, two years after their marriage. Sally Hartwell became his wife in September 1820, and they lived a happy life together during fifty-six

years—until her death in 1876. Of four children, only one, Daniel Hartwell Fairbank, survived him. Deacon Fairbank was one of Harvard's most useful and honored citizens. He was a captain in the militia during the war of 1812.

During 1882, three deacons were chosen: Abner Barnard, Andrew Fairbank and Luke Whitney. The last two declining to serve, Holden Harlow was elected. After hearing several candidates, in July of 1882 the society invited Rushton Dashwood Burr to occupy the pulpit for a year. So brief an engagement not being acceptable to Mr. Burr, the vacancy was temporarily supplied until the instalment of Edward Bartlett Maglathlin November 22, 1882, at which the ordaining sermon was by the venerable William Phillips Tilden of Boston. Mr. Maglathlin's ministry at Harvard closed in April 1885, when he removed to Somerville for the convenience of pursuing professional study at Cambridge. Mr. Maglathlin received the degree of A.B. from Antioch College in 1844.

The next occupant of the Unitarian pulpit was William Henry Reeby, a graduate of the Harvard Divinity School in the class of 1876, ordained 1878. He came to Harvard in 1885 and served the society for two years, when being dismissed he abandoned the clerical profession for journalism, and after a brief residence at Harvard and Ayer, removed to Colorado.

By the will of Honorable Edward Lawrence, who died in Charlestown in 1885, the sum of two hundred dollars accrued to the society for the benefit of the Sunday-school.

December 29, 1887, Ai Stillman Annis was ordained over the society. He was born at Littleton, New Hampshire, December 29, 1856, and educated at the New Hampshire Conference Seminary. Before entering the ministry, he had been a teacher at Peterborough and Jaffrey. His pastorate terminated in July 1892; and on October 26, of that year, Benjamin Asbury Goodridge was ordained as his successor. Mr. Goodridge was born at Lyndeborough, New Hampshire, October 5, 1857, and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the Boston University in 1881. After graduation he passed seven years in teaching and newspaper work, and then prepared himself for the ministry by two years' study at the Harvard Divinity School and foreign travel.

V. THE EVANGELICAL CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY.

The disintegration of the original church of Harvard was attended with heart-burnings, and acrimonious debates which happily were not fully recorded, and are now mostly forgotten. As is ever the case in such fermentation, there were acetous as well as vinous products. The action preluding the life of the Evangelical Congregational Church, not before given, is best set forth by extracts from the early pages of that society's first book of records:—

At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Town of Harvard on the 14 of March 1821, to consult on the subject of forming a religious society, the meeting was organized in the following manner: 1st. Voted and chose Mr Salmon Whitney, Moderator. 2nd. Voted and chose John Park, Clerk. 3d. Voted and chose Salmon Whitney, John Park, Reuben Whitcomb, Seth Nason, and Luke Pollard a committee to prepare a Constitution for the Government of the Society and report at the adjournment of this meeting. 4th. Voted and chose Thomas Houghton Jr., Jacob Robbins, Richard Whitney Jr., Joseph Fairbank, Charles Priest, Cephas Houghton, Silas Cragin and Luther Farwell a committee to obtain signers. 5th. Voted that this meeting be adjourned to Thursday 22d. inst., at two o.clock P. M. at the Congregational meeting-house.

Thursday, March 22, 1821, the society was duly organized by the acceptance of a preamble and eight articles submitted by the committee for its regulation. From the former is this statement of the motives impelling the sundering of old affiliations:—

.....Being deeply sensible that whilst strife and contention on the one hand tend to the injury of Religion, so on the other union in Religious sentiments and peace and harmony in society lead to the promotion of it, and believing that the belief and practice of the essential doctrines and precepts of the Gospel are essential to the advancement of the Redeemer's Kingdom in the World, as well as our own improvement and happiness, we therefore deem it highly necessary and expedient when such union cannot exist in [a] society, for them to separate, and viewing this to be our situation we resolve that we will withdraw ourselves from those of our Society who will not unite with us in our religious views, and form ourselves into a distinct religious Society by the name of the Calvinistic Congregational Society in Harvard, and henceforth transact the business of the Society under that name.....

The signatures of the subscribers follow the resolutions, but being attached without date during several years there is no clue to the number of original associates. This formal withdrawal left the meeting-house and church furniture in legal possession of those refusing Calvinistic doctrines, and the records, though detained for a time by the clerk, Reuben Whitcomb, a leader in the new society, were soon surrendered to them. April 16, 1821, it was voted to apply to the town for a piece of the common whereupon to build a meeting-house, and a committee was instructed to present a plan.

April 29 the town gave the ground now in possession of the society, agreeing to remove the pound and hearse-house, then standing upon it. A building forty-four feet by fifty was agreed upon, its cost being divided into one hundred shares of twenty-five dollars each. May 17, the church and society unanimously invited George Fisher to become their pastor, a salary of five hundred dollars being assured him; and having signified his acceptance he was ordained on September 12 in the new meeting-house, although it was at the time unfinished and without a pulpit. Reverend Jacob Ide of Medway upon that occasion preached the discourse, which was printed. He was assisted in the ceremonies of the day by the Reverends William Eaton of Fitchburg, John Ballard of Pepperell, Reuben Puffer, D.D., of Berlin, Enoch Pond of Ware, Elisha Fisk of Wrentham, and John M. Putnam of Ashby. The Sabbath services, beginning from the first Sunday in May, were held in the Centre school-house until the new house was made ready for occupancy.

October 10, 1821, the church voted that "henceforth we will denominate ourselves—the First Congregational Church in Harvard connected with the Calvinistic Con. Society;" and the deacons were instructed to purchase "two tankards, six cups, two platters, and a baptismal font." October 22 it was voted to adopt "Dr. Worcester's Psalmody instead of Dr. Belknap's, now in use." In the summer of 1822, the meeting-house was painted white, inside and outside. The first deacons were Jacob Fairbank, Reuben Whitcomb, Luke Pollard and John Hapgood. December 30, 1824, Jacob Fairbank resigned, and Reuben Whitney was chosen to the

vacancy March 3, 1825. Luke Pollard resigned April 29, 1830, and and Richard Whitney was elected in his place July 1 of that year. Reuben Whitcomb resigned December 27, 1836, and was succeeded by Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., March 2, 1837. John Hapgood laid down his office July 1, 1847, and Isaac N. Stone was elected September 9, 1847.

In August, 1827, a subscription, headed by Seth Nason with a gift of one hundred dollars, was raised to add a cupola to the front of the meeting-house and provide a bell. The sum of $903.50 was obtained, and the addition was made, including an increase in the number of pews. In 1836 a new pulpit was built by a few individuals of the society.

At a church meeting, March 14, 1843, resolutions severely condemnatory of slave-holding were adopted and ordered sent for publishment to the Boston Recorder. Among the annual expenditures of the society was always a small sum for "bass viol strings," but in 1848 there came into the treasurer's accounts a new item, "tuning the organ;" April 6 of that year an organ having been presented to the society by Deacon Reuben Whitcomb, senior.

June 27, 1853, the society was saddened by the receipt of a letter from the pastor formally announcing his inability to longer continue his pulpit ministrations and asking release. On September 6 he died at his post of duty of pulmonary consumption, being nearly fifty-seven years of age. Mr. Fisher was a native of Wrentham, Massachusetts, where he was born November 7, 1796. He was a graduate of Brown University in the class of 1819, sharing the highest honors of graduation with Horace Mann. His studies for the ministry were conducted under the direction of Elisha Fisk of Wrentham and Jacob Ide of Medway. July 11, 1832, it being the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of the town, Mr. Fisher preached a discourse upon Harvard's history, taking for his text—Deuteronomy xxxii. 7: "Remember the days of old, consider the years of many generations." The manuscript of this, with that of a sermon by him giving the annals of the Congregational Church in Harvard, preached September 8, 1833, have been deposited with the Congregational Library Association in Boston. These discourses contain a

condensed sketch of the chief events in the town during the first century of its existence, and more especially of those set down in the church books. During Mr. Fisher's life work he added two hundred members to the church, baptized two hundred and twenty-four, and was called upon to take part in eighty-five ecclesiastical councils. Six young men pursued under his instruction their studies for entrance to college. No higher testimony to his rare tact and judgment could be adduced than the fact that he was chosen a member of the school board for thirty years. A discriminative obituary printed in the Puritan Recorder for October 6, 1853, says:—

> Mr. Fisher was distinguished for his wisdom and judicious management in the performance of his pastoral duties. Though differing widely, at times, from some of his strongest supporters, upon questions of an exciting character, he still retained their confidence and warm affection to the end..... His sermons were severely methodical and destitute of ornament, yet had a charm in transparency of thought..... It was his constant aim to instruct and reform rather than amuse and interest..... In doctrinal belief he was a Calvinist after the school of Emmons.

The successor of Mr. Fisher was John Dodge, who was invited by the society February, 1854, and was installed May 10, the ordaining sermon being by Benjamin Dodge of Acton. The salary of the pastor was raised to seven hundred dollars.

March 12, 1855, the society changed its name to "The Evangelical Congregational Society." In 1858 the gallery pews in the meeting-house were fitted for more convenient use, and two years later the building of a "piazza" brought the church into temporary debt. At the death of Deacon Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., his will was found to contain, among numerous personal bequests, these to the benefit of the society:—

> .....I give Five Hundred Dollars to the Committee of the Evangelical Congregational Society in Harvard, in trust, Fifty Dollars of which including interest is to be appropriated annually for the support of preaching the Gospel in their house of worship till all is expended.....I give Three Hundred Dollars to the Deacons of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Harvard, in trust, from Twenty to Thirty Dollars of which is to be expended annually for the American Messenger or other religious papers or Sabbath School books as said Deacons shall deem promotive of the greatest good.....I give to the above named Dea-

cons also Two Hundred Dollars, in trust, to be appropriated by them, till all is expended, for the supply of the necessities of such members of said Church as are unable to provide fully for themselves..... The above given to the Committee and Deacons to be loaned and kept in interest.

Within two years the will of Deacon Reuben Whitcomb the elder was filed, and added more substantial and unrestricted aid to the church :—

.....I give to the Deacons of the Evangelical Congregational Society in Harvard, One Thousand Dollars.....I give to the Deacons of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Harvard Two Hundred Dollars, in trust, to be used for the benefit of the Sabbath School of the above named Church and Society.....I give to my Executors, hereinafter named, Five Hundred Dollars, in trust, Fifty Dollars of which I direct to be given annually for five years to the Evangelical Congregational Society towards paying the salary of the Minister of said Society and Fifty Dollars annually to the Rev. John Dodge should he remain the Pastor of said Society; if he should not so remain I direct the annuity to be given to said Society.

Upon coming into possession of these bequests a new organ, built expressly for its position by George Stevens of Cambridge, was bought in 1863, at a cost of $1080—besides an expenditure of over two hundred dollars in necessary alterations in the meeting-house to receive it. February 27, 1865, Mr. Dodge expressed a wish to dissolve his pastoral connection, alleging as the reason: "a state of feeling existing in the society which would render it unpleasant and he thought unprofitable to the society for him to remain." He was dismissed August 23, lauded as a "faithful pastor, ever zealous for the spiritual welfare of his people, and earnest in every good work."

Mr. Dodge was born at Penobscot, Maine, March 28, 1812, and graduated at the Bangor Theological Seminary in 1841. His first pastorate was at Waldoboro, Maine, whence he came to Harvard. During his eleven years' residence here eighty-eight members were added to the church. He subsequently occupied pulpits at Middlefield, 1865–7, North Brookfield, 1867–71, and New Braintree, dying at the town last named June 19, 1872, greatly lamented.

The society purchased the residence of their retiring pas-

tor for a parsonage, it being valued at $3300. This was sold to Doctor Jacob S. Eaton, and the present parsonage built in 1869 with the proceeds. In May, 1866, four candidates were proposed for the vacant pulpit: J. N. Jones, M. M. Colburn, E. A. Spence and E. G. Porter. Mr. Spence proved the unanimous first choice of the society and Mr. Porter the second, but no further action in their behalf is recorded.

August 13 the society instructed a committee to employ George Harlow Pratt of Shrewsbury for the remainder of the year, with a view to settlement, offering a salary of $800. The proposition not meeting the assent of Mr. Pratt, church and society, September 10, joined in calling him to the pastorate with a salary of $1000. He was ordained October 11.

Deacons Reuben and Richard Whitney expressed a desire to be relieved of office November 28, 1861, but their resignations were not accepted. Deacon Isaac N. Stone resigned May 3, 1863, upon removal to Groton. Deacon Nathan Holden was dismissed April 29, 1858. Deacon Horace L. Peckham, elected December 5, 1861, removed to Townsend in 1863. Dr. George M. Howe was chosen at the same date with Deacon Peckham, but refused acceptance. George E. Burt and Charles H. Cummings were chosen deacons September 30, 1862. The latter resigned his office October 31, 1872. H. Fessenden Davis and J. Willard Bacon were made deacons in October, 1870. The former removed from town after a few years, leaving the diaconal duties to Mr. Burt and Mr. Bacon, the latter also serving the church as clerk and treasurer.

Mr. Pratt was a native of Shrewsbury, born March 12, 1839. He prepared himself for entrance to Amherst College at Leicester Academy, and became a member of the freshman class in 1860. A severe illness compelled him give up a college career, and upon his recovery he enlisted in the Forty-second Massachusetts Infantry for nine months, serving in the Department of the Gulf. He entered Bangor Theological Seminary, graduating in the class of 1866. In 1872 he received the degree of Master of Arts from Amherst College.

Mr. Pratt resigned his pastorate at Harvard because of ill health, and was dismissed September 4, 1872, the council commending him as "a faithful and successful preacher of

the Gospel, and a wise and earnest pastor." He has since served in the pulpits of Seabrook, New Hampshire, 1873–5; Agawam, 1875–9; Medfield, 1879–83; Talcottville, Connecticut, 1883–8, and Saundersville, 1889–93.

Henry Harrison Hamilton, a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in 1871, was invited to settle over the society April 4, 1872, but declined. Alfred Edward Tracy was next called to the pastorate, May 30, 1872, and was ordained September 4. Mr. Tracy was born at West Brookfield, July 2, 1845, was graduated at Amherst College in 1869, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1872. He was married shortly after his coming to Harvard, and the ill health of his wife led to his resignation. He was dismissed by a council September 22, 1874, with expression of esteem and "confidence in him as an able, scholarly, laborious and devoted Christian minister." Since Mr. Tracy's departure the church has had no settled pastor.

Stephen Sargeant Morrill was engaged as acting pastor in September, 1874, and served in that capacity during three years, his salary being nine hundred dollars with the rent of the parsonage. He was a native of Danville, Vermont, where he was born December 24, 1831. He was a graduate of Dartmouth in the class of 1855, and studied theology at the Andover and Chicago Seminaries. He graduated from the latter in 1859. Before coming to Harvard he had preached at Malden, Illinois, 1859; Hillsborough and Henniker, New Hampshire, 1865–70, and was a hospital chaplain during the Rebellion. He died at Danville, May 2, 1878.

John Hopkins Gurney was employed as acting pastor March 25, 1878, and served two years in that office. He was born at Dover, Maine, in 1821, graduated at Oberlin College in 1845, and at Andover Theological Seminary in 1849. He had occupied the pulpit at Johnstown, Vermont, New Braintree, Foxcroft and Dover, Maine, and Neponset, previous to his service in Harvard.

Frederic Alonzo Reed succeeded Mr. Gurney, April 11, 1880. His ministry here was brief; he was stricken with apoplexy and died June 9, 1883. Mr. Reed was a native of Boston, born December 7, 1821. He was graduated at Am-

herst College with the class of 1843, and at the Bangor Theological Seminary in 1846. He left a widow but no children. Mr. Reed's first settlement was at Cohasset, where he served nineteen years; his second at Taunton, where he was pastor for ten years. When called to Harvard he had been recuperating impaired energies by rest and a trip to Europe. He was the author of two historical tales for the young, printed for the Congregational Publishing Society, entitled "Twin Heroes" and "Boy Lollard."

The renovation of the meeting-house, long contemplated, was made feasible in 1882 by the generosity of "out-of-town donors," who contributed about eighteen hundred dollars for the purpose. The whole cost of the alterations was forty-one hundred and thirty dollars, including heating furnace, furniture and decoration. The original structure was single storied, containing a vestibule and audience hall only; the latter being of the usual plain and box-like style of the era in which it was built. The exterior was not greatly changed, but the interior now consists of an upper story seventeen feet in height, serving as the main hall, comfortably furnished and cheerful in its decoration; and a lower story containing a vestry room, parlor, kitchen, closets and offices, conveniently arranged for social and church uses. The remodeling occupied about five months, during which time the society assembled in the town hall for Sunday services. The larger gifts to the society were: One thousand dollars from S. N. and Sophia Bacon of Albany, New York; four hundred dollars from Mr. and Mrs. A. E. Hildreth of Cambridge; one hundred dollars from Jacob Taylor of Brighton, and a new communion service of eight pieces from Mrs. Harriet I. Draper and her daughter, Mrs. J. H. Robinson. Among the ornaments of the parlor are the portraits of three pastors of the society — Reverends George Fisher, John Dodge and Frederick A. Reed — presented by their children. At the dedication of the house on October 12, 1882, Mr. Reed's sermon was chiefly devoted to local history, and has been printed.

October 4, 1883, the society invited William R. Weeden of Providence to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Reed's death, but not receiving a favorable response, January 3, 1884, ex-

tended a call to George A. Perkins, who accepted the position of acting pastor, and at once entered upon its duties. Mr. Perkins's previous experience as scholar, teacher, missionary and pastor had been extensive and varied. He was born at Weld, Maine, June 24, 1827, and graduated at Bowdoin College 1849, and the Bangor Theological Seminary 1853. He also pursued a two years' course in natural science at Yale College, 1861–3. He was instructor in Hebrew at the Bangor Seminary for the years 1854 and 1861, and a professor at Robert College, Constantinople, two years — 1863–5. He had been a missionary in Turkey, 1854–1859, under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, for which service he was ordained May 25, 1854. at Farmington, Maine. His pulpit experience had been in Pownal, Maine, Lunenburg, Vermont, Raymond and Salem, New Hampshire. Upon leaving Harvard in March, 1886, he was called to Boxborough, whence he removed to preside over the church in Wendell, September 1, 1892.

In May, 1886, the society secured the services of their present minister, Charles Cutler Torrey, A.M., who was at that date resident at Andover. Mr. Torrey was born at Salem, Massachusetts, January 4, 1827. He graduated at the Vermont University, Burlington, in 1849, and after teaching for two years entered the Theological Seminary at Andover, where he graduated in 1854. He was ordained September 7, 1855, and, under the auspices of the American Board of Foreign Missions, became a missionary to the Cherokee Indians, with whom he resided until the breaking out of the Civil War in 1861. Among his labors in this office was the preparation for the press of a revised edition of the New Testament in the Cherokee language. Before coming to Harvard Mr. Torrey had occupied pulpits at Westford, Chester, Georgia, Charlotte and West Randolph, Vermont, Chelmsford, Massachusetts, and Schodack, New York.

The church is in an exceptionally prosperous financial condition, having invested funds, the bequests of various benefactors, as follows: Mrs. Cephas Houghton's bequest, $1000; Luther Farwell's, $2650; Harvey Wood's, $6100; Ezra K. Beard's, $200; Caleb Warner's, $2000.

VI. THE UNIVERSALIST SOCIETY.

The earliest believers in Universalist doctrines, mentioned in any Harvard records, were certain members of the Baptist society excluded by that church for their opinions. In 1804 there were preached at Still River and printed at the Still River press "by particular desire," two discourses in defence of his Universalist convictions by Dr. Isaiah Parker, who had been influential in founding the Baptist church twenty-eight years before, and had served as its pastor until 1798. Dr. Parker and his Universalist followers met on Sundays at a schoolhouse which stood near where Mrs. Bowles Willard now lives, and his preaching, it is said, was sometimes so sonorous that on a summer's day, when doors and windows were open, his late congregation in the Baptist meeting-house had full benefit of his exhortations as well as of those from their own pulpit. The building which served as the first Universalist meeting-house now forms a part of the house of Henry Harrod. Dr. Parker's departure from Still River about 1806 left those of his faith without a minister; but meetings may have been held at the same place or in private houses, perhaps without much regularity, for several years thereafter. Meanwhile a church was formed in Shirley, of which several Harvard citizens became members. A society seems to have been organized also in Harvard, for, though no record of its doings has been found, such a society existed in 1820, and was influential enough, no doubt greatly aided by the grave dissensions in the First Church at that time, to obtain the vote of a town-meeting, giving it the use of the meeting-house for Sunday services.

March 29, 1830, a compact was entered into by a number of Harvard's citizens, the first article in which was: "The name of this society shall be the *Second Universalist Society in Harvard*." The closing paragraph of, and the list of signers to this compact were as follows:—

.....Whereas it has pleas'd God in his providence to make us acquainted with his unlimited grace to all mankind and inclined our hearts to unite in a christian fraternity for the promotion of the publick worship of God we therefore the undersigned feeling desirous of enjoying this

blessing, do fully approve and ratify the foregoing articles as the compact or constitution of our Society in witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.....

John Gerry	Nabby Knight	Hannibal Nutting
Samuel Dudley	John Russell	Francis Goldsmith
Luther Sawyer	Abraham Foster	William Willard Jr.
Joseph Munroe	John Crosier	Reuben Barnett
Aaron Cook	Abel Whitcomb	Samuel Chickering
Leonard Edgarton	Shadrach Hapgood	Benjamin J. Dwinells
Ephraim Warner	Nathan Willard	George F. Warner
Rowland Willard	John Hapgood Jr.	Artemas Fairbank
Samuel Farnsworth	Martin Lawton	Widow Lydia Sprague
David Hammond	George Bacon	Jeremiah Barnard
Josiah Hartwell	Emory Wood	Scripture Frost
Daniel Lincoln	Luther G. Turner	John Blanchard
Samuel Sprague	Amory Trufant	J. G. Goldsmith
Joseph Carter	N. Follansbee	Amasa Aldrich
John Dudley	James Sawyer	Levi S. Crouch
Nathan S. Turner	Widow Lydia Sawyer	Almira Taylor
William Lewis	Samuel Newton	Horatio N. Cook
Nathan Sprague	Daniel M. Robbins	Isaac Saunderson
John Trufant	William Houghton	Amory Holman
Henry Hapgood	Benjamin Wood	Benjamin Whitton

The society held Sabbath meetings with more or less frequency in the town-hall. Russell Streeter was employed to conduct the exercises for several years, and was succeeded by George Talbot. From 1838 to 1841 Stillman Barden supplied the pulpit. He was followed by Walter Harriman, whose salary is recorded as one hundred and eighty dollars, a sum that affords no measure of his ability or energy. Under his leadership, December 5, 1842, the society voted to build a meeting-house, and to ask the town for ground whereupon to locate it. After a town-meeting, at which their petition was answered by the proffer of their choice of two sites, both at the northern verge of the common, the society, not being satisfied with either, on December 19 sent a committee to negotiate if possible the purchase of Seth Nason's house and lot at the south western corner of the common between the turnpike and old highway. This site proving unattainable, on December 27 it was voted to set the house "on the south side of the sheds" if land could be procured there. A town-

meeting acted adversely upon this proposition, and January 7, 1843, the society accepted a site east of the meeting-house sheds, just behind the present town-hall, and there the building was at once erected by contract. It was a neat wooden structure with a steeple, and cost about seventeen hundred dollars, the necessary sum being raised by a public subscription.

At his coming to Harvard in 1841, Walter Harriman was but twenty-four years of age. He displayed great energy in his work, presiding over both the Harvard and the Shirley church. He was ordained at the latter in June, 1841. He taught school during two or more winters to eke out his insufficient salary. In 1845 he returned to Warner, New Hampshire, his native town, becoming pastor of a church there. In 1851 he gave up his profession and soon became an active politician and campaign orator. He was commissioned colonel of the Eleventh New Hampshire Infantry, saw much service, and at the close of the Civil War was brevetted brigadier-general. He was secretary of state for 1866–7, and governor of New Hampshire from June, 1867, to June, 1869. While in the latter office he revisited Harvard. He died July 25, 1884. A biography with selections from his speeches and writings was published in 1888 by Amos Hadley. His successor in the Harvard pulpit was George Proctor.

Sunday, December 28, 1845, the "members of the Universalist Fraternity in Harvard and vicinity, worshiping in the Universalist meeting house in said Harvard," organized themselves under a new constitution, the first article of which is: "This Church shall be called the First Universalist Church of Christ, in Harvard." Benjamin Ball and Rowland Willard were elected deacons, and the former was also chosen clerk. The signers of the constitution were:—

George Proctor	Watson Wood	Nancy W. Adams
Benjamin Ball	Artemas Fairbank	Lucy Willard
John Sprague	Ezra Warner	Sally B. Hosmer
Rowland Willard	Joseph Farwell	Lucinda E. Crouch
Abel Whitcomb	Susannah M. Proctor	Mary E. Wood
Emory Barnard	Mary Ball	Mary W. Taylor
Thomas Cummings	Lydia Sprague	Rachel Fairbank

John Gerry	Melissa Willard	Sally Wetherbee
Jonathan P. Knight	Mary Whitcomb	Lydia Fairbank
Samuel Chickering	Susan G. Barnard	Sally Warner
Ithamar Willard	Mehitable Cummings	Lois W. Dickinson
Samuel Hosmer	Rebecca Gerry	Jane B. Symonds
George Crouch	Hannah E. Knight	Esther Rollins

During 1847 and 1848 it would seem from the brief records that no minister was regularly employed by the society, but Benjamin B. Whittemore, J. O. Skinner, Quincy Whitney and William Bell are clergymen mentioned as officiating in the celebration of communion services. Norris Coleman Hodgdon, coming from Vermont, presided over the society in 1850–1, and was succeeded by Quincy Whitney. April 4, 1852, John Sprague was elected deacon in place of Benjamin Ball, resigned. The records in the church book end abruptly. The meeting-house for many years was little used, fell into dilapidation, and September 27, 1866, John Blanchard, Samuel Hosmer, Stephen Withington, Caleb Gerry and Phineas H. Harlow of the society procured the calling of a meeting for the purpose of authorizing its sale. Shortly after it was taken down, removed to Ayer, converted into a dwelling with stores beneath, and was burnt in the great fire there April 13, 1872.

VII. THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL SOCIETY.

May 5, 1799, Caleb Sawyer, Isaiah Whitney, John Houghton and Phineas Sawyer asked dismission from the First Church "to the Episcopal Methodist Church now forming." A society was organized in that or the following year, but no records of its membership or doings have been discovered. The early meetings of the Methodists were held in private houses and under the leadership of itinerant preachers. The tradition is rife that the first sermon was preached in the kitchen of Jonathan Sawyer's house on the east side of Bare Hill, where Wilbur F. Sawyer now lives. April 4, 1823, the "Harvard and Boxborough Methodist Religious Society" was organized "at the Methodist Meeting House." This was a small edifice painted red, built under an oak tree by the

boundary stone at the Harvard and Boxborough corner, and just within the latter town, where it stood until destroyed by fire in 1843.

About 1840 some discussion arose in the society concerning the propriety of obtaining a more commodious and centrally-located house of worship. The younger and more ambitious members believed that it would be to the advantage of the church, and tend to its immediate and future increase to build upon the public common in Harvard. The more conservative members were out-voted and, in November, 1841, there appeared in the town-meeting warrant this article:—

> To see if the town will permit the Methodist Society to raise the town-house and build a suitable town hall under the present hall, and grant the use of the said hall or upper room to the society, or grant liberty to build a meeting house and stables on the town land in some suitable place.

The town declined to agree to alterations in its public hall, but gave permission for the location of the meeting-house in the burying ground, "twenty-three paces below the gate." There the society built, in 1842, a modest structure, thirty by forty feet in plan, costing, complete, about eight hundred dollars; which was paid by subscription to twenty-one shares of stock at twenty-five dollars per share, and the sale of pews. For a short time the Sabbath exercises were conducted at both houses; at that in Boxborough in the forenoon, and in the new house in the afternoon. The ambitious move which had seemed to the majority so full of promise, very soon proved unfortunate. The worthy chief elder, Joseph S. Ellis, died before the new house was opened for public worship. The hoped for increase in the congregation and consequent financial prosperity were not realized, and after a brief struggle with adversity the society ceased to exist. The meeting-house was sold at auction for two hundred dollars March 21, 1857, and converted into a dwelling on the opposite side of the street from its site in the cemetery.

In its more prosperous days between fifty and sixty persons were listed in the society's classes. Among the leading members were Benjamin Barnard, Jasper Stone, Luke Sawyer, Arad Sawyer, Stephen Gardner, Moses Hale, Zophar Taylor

and Asa Wood. The presiding elders now remembered were Isaac Bonney, "Father" George Pickering, Joseph A. Merrill, Abraham D. Merrill, Abraham Sargent, Bartholomew Ortherman, Lemuel Harlow, 1831; Warren Emerson, 1833; E. F. Newell, 1837; Joseph S. Ellis, 1842; Stephen Hiler, 1843.

V.

THREE FRATERNITIES.

I. SHADRACH IRELAND.

THE northeast corner of Harvard early proved to be a place apart from the rest of the town in all senses; its inhabitants from the first being peculiar in their spiritual condition and inclined to religious vagaries. The minister had to contend with heterodox eccentricities among them within twenty years of the incorporation. June 20, 1751, the church voted:—

to Send a Committee to discourse with Mr Samuel Mead and his Wife, and Ephraim Robbins concerning their withdrawing Communion from this Church; and also to discourse with Eleazar Robbins Jun^{r}. respecting some misbehaviour; and neglecting the Ordinance of y^{e} Lord's Supper, and timely to make report to the Church thereof.

December 5 the church heard the committee's statement and summoned the delinquents to present themselves for examination on an appointed day.

At a general Meeting of the Brethren of the Church December 9th, 1751, by Adjournment, to hear the reasons of the Seperation of several of ye Members of this Church from ye publick worship of God, & Communion in Special Ordinances with us, After prayer for Direction and considerable discourse among our selves, and with s^{d} Members. the Church came to the following Conclusion:

We apprehend the said Members to be erronious in their Judgment and practice in several particulars both in point of Discipline and Doctrine; more particularly, 1. In encouraging Lay-preachers and Exhorters to preach and Exhort in their Houses, whome we are satisfied are not called nor sent of God to such a Business. 2. In seperating from the Communion of this Church, which we look upon to be Unscriptural and

a plain breach of their Church Covenant. 3. In denying the Congregational Churches in New England, and this Church in particular, to be a true visible Church of Christ, built upon y^e^ foundation of y^e^ Apostles and Prophets. 4. In holding that it is the Will of God to have a pure Church upon Earth, All the Members whereof are to be righteous &c...And by holding these and such like Errors, they necessarily wrest and pervert the holy Scriptures in many parts thereof, we fear, greatly to their own and others hurt, who are in danger of being Seduced thereby...But inasmuch as we w^d^ Charitably hope that wherein they speak and act contrary to the Word of God in these matters, it is not the Effect of a willing and wilful Ignorance; but rather owing to too high an Opinion of certain Laypreachers and Exhorters (who therefore the more easily misled them) and partly to prejudice, to an Enthusiastical turn of mind, and giving way to Impressions.

These we conceive to be the principal causes of their errors in Doctrine and practice. Nevertheless, hoping they act Conscientiously in these matters, according to their present degree of Light and Knowledge, We would not despair of their recovery and return. Therefore as a Testimony of our Charity and good will, we agree still to wait as long as we shall think it our Duty so to do; willingly shewing all long suffering and gentleness towards them y^t^ are out of the way, considering ourselves lest we also be tempted; and desirous of pursuing those things which make for peace, and things whereby one may edify another. Praying (that notwithstanding any differences in lesser matters) we may yet, wherein we are agreed, and whereunto we have already attained, walk by the same Rule, and mind the same thing.

A True Copy JOHN SECCOMB, *Pastor.*

N. B. The names of the Seperatists referr'd to above, are as follows: Ephraim Robbins and his Wife, Samuel Mead and his Wife, & Isaac Willard with his Wife.

N. B. S^d^ Robbins his Wife is not a member of this Church; but hath long been, & yet is under Church Censure by the Church of Littleton; and s^d^ Willard's wife being ill, neither of them were present at the Church Meeting.

Who the "lay preachers" were that had labored in this vineyard is not certain; nor is it clear precisely what doctrines they inculcated. It is, however, a suggestive fact that the Willards were at a later date enthusiastic disciples of Shadrach Ireland. On December 15, 1777, in answer to a petition, the town voted:—

That Messrs Isaac Willard, Zaccheus Stevens and Abijah Worster be Released from paying their minister's Rates in this Town on their producing a certifiket according to the Laws of this State that they belong to some other Religious Sosiety.

Shadrach Ireland came to Harvard to live about 1760 from Charlestown, where he had a small estate; fleeing from that place, it is usually alleged, through fear of persecution for his unorthodox religious views. He deserted there a wife, Martha, and six children — Martha, Shadrach, Jonathan, Tabitha, Elizabeth and Margaret. Elder Joseph Hammond of the Shaker community has recorded that Ireland was converted by George Whitefield's preaching at the time of the great awakening; that he became a "new-light" itinerant preacher, and publicly denounced the churches as stagnant in dead formality, and cried aloud against the Congregational clergy as sunk in sloth and selfish indulgence; and that he was threatened with arrest for blasphemy. He probably selected the northeast corner of Harvard as a place of refuge, because of some acquaintanceship with Isaac Willard, Jonathan Cooper and other sympathetic spirits.

At his coming thither, Ireland announced that he had been "called of the Lord to forsake wife and family," but he brought with him a spiritual consort and helpmate, Abigail Lougee by name. He was kept in concealment by Willard and the Coopers for some time, until the converts to his teachings had sufficiently increased in numbers to desire a convenient place of rendezvous. Then they built the so called Square House, which remains a prominent feature of the Central Shaker village. The farm upon which it stands, eighty-six acres, was deeded by Isaac Willard and his wife to Zaccheus Stevens in 1771, and he transferred it to Ireland for the use of the community. The work upon the structure was attended with strange secrecy, much of it being done by night. The builders were: David Hoar, Malabar Bean, Isaac Willard, Abel Jewett, Samuel and Jonathan Cooper, Ethan Phillips, John Maynard and Zaccheus Stevens. As soon as it was fit for human shelter Samuel Cooper and his family moved into it, and with him Ireland, who there lived the life of a recluse until his death in 1780.

When, in 1845, the Harvard community found it necessary to make extensive repairs to the Square House, including a new roof, a secret, narrow stairway existed leading from cellar to attic. From the low hipped roof rose a small cupola

with a little window in it facing the south, whence the roadway could be seen for a long distance—a place of concealment and lookout combined. These features were destroyed by the alterations. Ireland is called a "pipe-maker" in the Charlestown records, a joiner and carver in other accounts. One of the early industries of the Shakers was the making of tobacco pipes from clay, and the art may have descended to them from Shadrach. The hand-rail and posts of the stairway in the Square House, yet in use, are thought to be of Ireland's workmanship. He occupied as a workroom the northwest chamber of the house, and a bell-wire connected this with the kitchen so that when strangers came in he could be warned to keep silent, or hide himself if needful. His disciples never spoke of him save as "the man," and very extraordinary precautions were taken to prevent his presence among them from being known.

If Shadrach had fears of persecution or arrest, they must have largely arisen from conscience or a fevered imagination, for we learn of no hue and cry pursuing him; and when the special nature of his heresy is sought we find only this: that he asserted himself an immortal in body as well as soul. It is thought also that he preached community of goods and non-resistance, in this anticipating Ann Lee. But he especially impressed it upon his neighbors that though he might seem to die it would be only seeming, and that his body must on no account be buried in case of apparent death; for on the third or the ninth day it would awaken from its coma with rejuvenated powers. And this fanatic found believers! But the history of every age proves, and none more plainly than that of the passing decade, that any leading or misleading spirit can find human followers and dupes enough whatever fantastic shapes his teachings take.

In the summer of 1780 Ireland's erratic pilgrimage ended in the commonplace way of most earthly journeys. He was taken ill and died very suddenly. His clay tenement, when the vital forces left it, differed in no respect from other flesh in its rapid decay. But the heirs of his prophecies obeyed his injunctions to the letter until human nature could no longer endure the foul presence. They then hid the corpse

in a sort of crypt in the wall at the west end of the cellar. But there Nature continued to assert her laws; Earth would have her own, and finally, to avoid confessing his demise even by a visible grave, David Hoar and Abijah Worster went out into a field of growing corn, carefully took up a few hills and by night burying the body, replaced the corn over it and carefully concealed all signs of disturbance from suspicious eyes. The too inquisitive were of course told that the immortal had been mysteriously translated.

Those disciples who were trusting that they too had partaken of "the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die," sat for a time stupefied in metaphorical sack-cloth and ashes. But not for long. A new prophet was at hand, and their receptive minds were ready for new interpretations of old texts, new revelations, new miraculous evidences. To most of them Mother Ann Lee was the natural successor of Shadrach Ireland, and was welcomed as such. A few, sobered by disappointed hopes and humiliated by the exposure of their credulity, gave no further heed to vagrant enthusiasms. David Hoar assumed the mantle that fell from Ireland's shoulders for a time at least, but the sect disappeared with the rise of Shakerism, or rather was absorbed in it.

II. THE SHAKERS.

The united Society of Believers, commonly called Shakers, dates its origin in Harvard to a visit made here in 1781–3, by Mother Ann Lee. On the thirty-first day of May in the first named year, she left Watervleit, New York, then called Niskayuna, accompanied by her brother, William Lee—who was a blacksmith and had been a non-commissioned officer in the Oxford Blues; James Whittaker—a weaver, the chief exhorter in the assemblies; John Farrington—a Baptist elder of Lebanon, New York; James Shepherd, Samuel Fitch, Mary Partington and Margaret Leland. The purpose of the journey eastward was to visit certain "believers" resident in various parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts. The party reached Harvard late in June and stopped the first night at the house of Zaccheus Stevens, in Still River, near the Bolton

line, where A. P. Brown now lives. The next day they moved on to Isaac Willard's, who lived in sight of the Square House at the spot now occupied by the Shaker South Family. Mother Ann was evidently endowed with the supernatural gifts ascribed in Knickerbocker's veritable History of New York to Oloffe the Dreamer; upon entering the little valley in the northeast corner of Harvard and making the acquaintance of its residents, she declared that she at once recognized place and people as having been shown to her in a vision before she determined upon emigration to America. Here she resolved to establish her headquarters. Though the fraternity of the Square House at first firmly resisted her influence, she soon won over the whole neighborhood to faith in her divine mission, and the house was fitted for her use.

The conveyance of building and lands to Shadrach Ireland had never been recorded and was understood to be in trust for the brotherhood. His sudden death prevented any reconveyance by him, and if a deed existed it was destroyed. It is generally alleged that the heirs of Ireland were treacherously informed of their opportunity by David Hoar; but however this may be, Zaccheus Stevens, on February 7, 1782, deeded the property to them, the consideration being recorded as 78£, 10', stating that this act was in confirmation of the grant of 1771. Thus after it has been for so long a time the home of the communists, the Square House had to be bought by them at a cost of 500£. The deed is dated April 29, 1782, and runs to Aaron Jewett, the grantors being Jonathan Ireland, blacksmith of Salem, his wife Elizabeth, Martha Davis, and Thomas Robbins with wife Tabitha of Charlestown.

Whether Mother Ann came so far to honor with her ministrations this obscure locality because guided by visions, by information sent to her, or by chance, it very soon became evident that she had entered a fertile field for the culture of novel doctrines. She was not unknown. Coming from England and preaching against war when the country was in the midst of a desperate struggle for liberty, Ann Lee and the elders were suspected of being British emissaries, and were imprisoned as such for several months at Albany and Poughkeepsie. This imprisonment and her audacious pretentions

had given her notorious repute far and wide, and soon people began to flock to Harvard to see and hear "the female Christ." Some who came to jeer remained to listen, and ended by yielding their wills to her magnetic influence. A self-divorced wife and the mother of four children (her married name was Stanley), she preached the duty of celibacy with such persuasive eloquence as to tear husbands from wives and wives from husbands. Most of the followers of Shadrach Ireland adopted the new faith, in some respects similar to their own. The neighboring churches were made anxious. Before she had been here two months, August 21, 1781, Reverend Moses Adams of Acton gave the Marlborough Association "an account of the strange conduct and temper of a number of people who were come to Harvard who were called Shakers, and under the guidance of an 'elect lady."

Society was greatly disturbed and sometimes horrified by the behavior of these English strangers and their converts. Their actions were represented by eye-witnesses of them to be grotesque, sometimes indecent, and often indicative of an excessive use of strong drink. Mother Ann, who was unable to read and write, and some of the elders, claimed to possess and exercise the power of speaking in unknown tongues and of healing diseases by the touch; to be endowed with the gift of prophecy; to see celestial visions and receive divine revelations. In the warrant for a town-meeting called August 31, 1781, was this article:—

> To hear and consider a petition of a number of Inhabitants of Harvard and see if the Town will, agreeable to said petition, consult and determine on some means to Remove the people called Shaking Quakers who are collected together in this town.

It was voted to "prosecute" them, and a committee was chosen to act in the matter. The prejudice against them was greatly heightened by the same accusations which had plagued them at Niskayuna. They were suspected of enmity to the American cause, and of secreting a store of war material and arms in the Square House. David Whitney was prominent in stirring opposition to them. Captain Ephraim Davis, when the town's committee made their official visit to

the Square House, escorted them with his militia company, and was accompanied by others from Harvard and adjoining towns, who were curious to see the strangers of whom such marvelous reports were rife. Of course no fire-arms were found. Elder James Whittaker made a conciliatory speech to the assemblage, and no disorderly or violent act was committed. Asa Houghton, Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, following the formula of the law, warned the strangers to be gone from the place by a stated day, and the militia then scattered to their homes.

During the month of December, Mother Ann and the elders left Harvard for Petersham, where they experienced much brutal treatment from those who accused them of witchcraft, hostility to the country, and false prophecy. Returning to the Square House in January, 1782, they were again formally warned to leave the place, and Captain Phineas Farnsworth with his militia company visited them prepared to enforce the order. They accordingly promised to leave on the next day, and the captain marched away without molesting them further. Having been absent but a brief time they returned, when a mob assembled before the Square House to drive them away. Mother Ann, warned of the coming danger, had the night before sought refuge at the home of Zaccheus Stevens, and with the elders at once journeyed to Enfield.

About May 20, 1782, the return of Ann Lee and the elders to Harvard again excited the fears and passions of the people in the region around. A day in the latter part of July was set for the expulsion of the Shakers, and notices were posted in all the neighboring villages bidding the people meet on Harvard common for the purpose. Two barrels of cider were furnished the assemblage, it is said, by Deacon Phineas Fairbank. It happened that the same day there was a ministers' meeting at Harvard, and the clergymen advised the people to go no farther until a committee had visited the Shakers and ascertained whether the charges made against them had any foundation. This being agreed to, four ministers, of whom the astute Zabdiel Adams — known as the "Bishop of Lunenburg" — was the spokesman, appeared at

the Square House and sought audience with the elders. After much questioning by Mr. Adams, which elicited nothing censurable, although Elder James Whittaker, Aaron Jewett and others freely answered all inquiries, the committee returned to the common and advised the people there congregated to abandon their intention, and finally persuaded them to disperse.

During August large numbers of believers from all the country, even from a hundred miles away, came to Harvard and assembled at the Square House. On Sunday, the eighteenth of that month, this throng of Shakers, in the words of their annalists:—

> .....went forth with great zeal, and worshipped God with singing, dancing, leaping, shouting, clapping of hands, and such other exercises as they were led into by the Spirit.....But the sound of this meeting, though joyful to the Believers, was terrible to the wicked; for the sound thereof was heard at the distance of several miles.....

The next morning very early a mob began to collect about the Square House, and rapidly increased until three or four hundred had assembled. The leaders of the crowd were Captain Phineas Farnsworth, Lieutenant Jonathan Pollard, Isaiah Whitney, Jonathan Houghton, Asa Houghton, Elisha Fullam, etc. They soon announced their purpose, which was to drive the non-resident believers out of town. One hour was given them for breakfast and preparations for the march, at the end of which time the procession was formed. The male believers were compelled to walk, but the females were allowed to ride the horses belonging to them. The mob escorted them, half in front and half in the rear. Having advanced about three miles a halt was called and James Shepherd, an Englishman, was scourged with switches cut by the wayside. Ann Lee, James Whittaker and others had the previous week gone to Abel Jewett's, in Littleton, and thence to Woburn, thus escaping the wrath of these infuriated men, which was especially violent towards those of English birth. The march continued to Lancaster, ten miles from the Square House, and was "one continued scene of cruelty and abuse." The believers from other places were dismissed at Lancaster

with warning never to appear in Harvard again, and the mob returned guarding a number of the resident Shakers who had persisted in accompanying their brethren. Reaching Captain Pollard's, the first house after crossing the Harvard and Bolton line, a ring was formed and Abijah Worster was stripped and whipped for the crime of "going about and breaking up churches and families." When Jonathan Houghton, one of the two chosen by the mob to inflict the stripes, had finished his ten and Elijah Priest was about to complete the allotted number of twenty, James Haskell, a reputable citizen of Harvard, chanced to ride up, and seeing what had been done, dismounting, stripped off his coat and offered to take the remaining stripes. At this the company, ashamed, released Worster, who went singing on his way.

The violent proceedings of this mob were not favored by the town's people in general. Throughout the ten-miles' march many expressed their displeasure with the cruelty shown, but their remonstrances only called forth threats and curses; and January twentieth, 1783, the feeling against the communists was strong enough in town-meeting to cause the voting of instructions to the selectmen "to warn and carry out of town all the Foreigners called Shaking Quakers." On the first of May, Mother Ann returned to Harvard, and the mob spirit broke forth again. Sunday evening, June 1, 1783 a crowd of men, chiefly from Harvard and Bolton, under leadership of Phineas Farnsworth, James Pollard, Elisha Fullam and Asa Houghton, surrounded the house of Elijah Wilds—which stands today in the village of the Shirley Shakers—wherein Mother Ann and the elders were then conducting their worship. The throng remained about the place all night, but confined their demonstrations to verbal abuse and riotous noise. In the morning the mob was largely re-enforced from Harvard, and became more violent, but the peace officers of Shirley appeared upon the ground and exerted their authority with the effect that the leaders, whose chief object it was to get Mother Ann and the elders into their possession, offered to return peaceably to Harvard if William Lee and James Whittaker would return with them. Mother Ann had been concealed in a closet, to which the only entrance

was by a low half-door, easily hidden by placing a chest of drawers against it, and those searching for her supposed she had escaped through a window into the swamps.

The elders consented to return to Harvard, it is said, after full promise that they should receive no abuse; and several of the brethren accompanied them. Being mounted they reached the house of Jeremiah Willard safely; but a party from the mob followed them, burst into the place, dragged the elders out and carried them back half-a-mile, where the main crowd had collected. Here James Whittaker was stripped, tied to a tree, and Isaac Whitney was deputed to scourge him, which was done with sticks cut near by "until the blood ran to his heels," or, as another account gives it, "till his back was all in a gore of blood and the flesh bruised to a jelly." William Lee was then whipped, but was not tied, as he chose to kneel upon the ground; and several of the believers present interposed their own bodies, receiving blows aimed at the elder. Among these was one woman, Bethiah Willard, and upon her receiving severe injuries in her attempts to shield Lee, the rabble apparently recovered some sense of shame and dispersed, leaving their bruised and bleeding victims to minister to each other. The spot where this strange and pitiable scene was enacted little more than one hundred years ago, has been purchased by the Community, and is marked by a plain stone. A few of the brethren who witnessed these acts of madmen lived to a great age, and were wont to tell—their voices thrilled with reverential awe—how God had requited the sins of the merciless; how Elisha Fullam had dropped dead by his own hearth-stone; how one prominent leader in the persecutions never prospered afterwards in any of his undertakings, lost his ample patrimony and perished in wretched poverty; how another became a social outcast and sought the charity denied him by the world's people from those he had wantonly abused; how a third, conscience-stricken, humbly sought forgivenness and died a Shaker; how another, stung with remorse, ended his hapless life with his own hands..

Mother Ann remained in Harvard and vicinity until July, 1783, when she returned to Watervleit, visiting on her way

sundry towns where Shaker converts resided, and nearly everywhere encountering opposition and ill treatment from mobs, similar to that experienced in Harvard.

To throw full and fair light upon this unpleasant episode in town history, brief extracts from contemporary records of their opponents will be quoted, in contrast with the statements of the church elders. In the Summary View of the Millennial Church, published by Shaker authority, the experiences of Mother Ann while in the East are thus set forth:—

> She arrived in Harvard the latter part of June, where she was shortly visited by great numbers of the inhabitants, and by many others from various parts of the country. Many embraced her testimony, and, as is natural on such occasions, the spirit of Antichrist was greatly alarmed at the danger to which he saw his Kingdom exposed, through the prevailing influence of the testimony of truth. Persecution, the usual engine of religious intolerance was immediately set in motion; and no means left untried to arrest the progress of the testimony. Every evil report and every wicked device, that falsehood and malice could dictate, were called forth to calumniate and debase the character of Mother Ann and her companions, and render them odious in the eyes of the people, with a view to excite them to acts of persecution. The charges of being enemies and traitors to the country; of having fire arms and munitions of war concealed among them; of living in drunkenness and debauchery, and practicing witchcraft and other base crimes, were continually alleged against them.
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> In consequence of these accusations, they suffered much personal abuse, and on several occasions, they were so shamefully and cruelly abused, particularly at Harvard and Petersham, that, to all appearance, it seemed as tho' nothing short of Divine Power could have preserved their lives. The people also, who embraced the testimony, often suffered a large share in these abuses; being scourged with whips, beaten with clubs, stoned, kicked and dragged about by their legs and arms, and sometimes by the hair of their heads, and driven from place to place in the most cruel and abusive manner; so that many of them but narrowly escaped with their lives; and numbers carried through life, the scars and marks of abuse which they then received from their cruel and inhuman persecutors. Through all these trying scenes they were evidently protected and supported by the power and providence of God; so that notwithstanding many attempts were made upon the lives of the believers, yet no life was suffered to be taken.....

On the other hand statements by apostates and others, participants in, or witnesses of, the extravagances of the early Shakers, accuse them of much unseemly and some revolting

conduct. From one of these, less acrimonious than most, which was printed while Ann Lee was at Harvard, this description of their religious ceremonies is taken :—

When they meet together for their worship, they fall a groaning and trembling, and every one acts alone for himself; one will fall prostrate on the floor, another on his knees and his head on his hands, on the floor; another will be muttering articulate sounds which neither they nor any body else can understand. Some will be singing, each one his own tune; some without words in an Indian tone, some singing jig tunes, some tunes of their own making in an unknown mutter, which they call new tongues; Some will be dancing and others laughing heartily and loudly; others will be drumming on the floor with their feet, as though a pair of drumsticks were beating a ruff on a drum head; others will be agonized as though they were in great pain; others jumping up and down; others muttering over somebody, and talking to them; others will be shooing and hissing evil spirits out of the house; all in different tunes, groaning, jumping, dancing, drumming, singing, laughing, talking and stuttering, shooing and hissing makes a perfect bedlam; this they call the worship of God.....One of their postures which increases among them is, turning round very swift for an hour and sometimes for two hours at a time, till they are all wet with sweat; this they say is to shew the great power of God.

They meet together in the night, and have been heard two miles by the people in the dead of night; sometimes a company of them will run away to some house, get into it, raise a bedlam wake up all in the house, and the neighbors round about for a mile. They run about in the woods and elsewhere hooting and tooting like owls....:...

Amos Taylor, signing himself of Harvard, April 15, 1782, published a brief pamphlet upon the "Strange Principles, Conduct and Character of the People known by the Name of Shakers," printed at Worcester. In this he alleges that he has been one of their number, but now warns the people of Massachusetts that the tendency of Ann Lee's teachings is "to introduce popery and ecclesiastical power." Although Amos, in this opinion, proved unskilled in prophecy, his relation of contemporary events may perhaps be allowed more respect. He informs us that a store of provisions was kept at the Square House sufficient for a large number of guests, and that meetings were there held daily which generally continued until past midnight, and sometimes until break of day. The exercises were chiefly singing and dancing, forty

or fifty men in one room and as many women in another, "moving about as thick as they can crowd, with extraordinary transport, singing sometimes one at a time, sometimes more than one," or dancing by a "perpetual springing from the house floor about four inches up and down."

From these and various other authorities, it is known that many came to the Square House from very great distances, and some came again and again, staying a longer or shorter time as they were able, and numerous converts were made. There was a constant coming and going of proselytes, and of those who sought novelties, or marvels, or a trial of the boasted healing touch of Mother Ann. Often scenes of unrestrained and uproarious excitement, both at the Square House and at the residences of adherents of the sect in Harvard, Lancaster, Shirley and Littleton, astonished and shocked the strait-laced, unemotional Congregationalists, their neighbors, and were magnified into scandalous orgies by village gossip. But these paroxysms of enthusiasm very probably did not far outvie those to be seen in modern days at some of the fervid hours in rural camp-meetings at the South and West.

It was natural for the unbelieving onlookers in the vicinity to judge of the spirit of these early enthusiasts by their physical demonstrations, by the delusions of the weak and ignorant, the folly of the ranters, and by the unhappy results of ecstatic delirium. The Shaker authority before quoted acknowledges that converts "were not able at all times to exercise their zeal according to the dictates of wisdom. Many times they exhibited a degree of wildness and enthusiasm in their conduct, which, to the beholders, appeared like the greatest inconsistency and delusion.....irregularities could not always be foreseen nor prevented." Those who often saw frenzied women "whirling" along the public road for long distances, and dancing with rhythmic shaking of heads, hands and arms dignified into a ceremonial of worship, were tempted to jeering comment and ridicule; and when they saw happy homes broken up, families impoverished, the acutely nervous made insane, affianced girls frightened into rejection of their sweethearts, it is hardly to be thought strange that

sometimes in wrath they sought to scourge out of town the promoters of such distractions. Human resentment acting in the interests of society is apt to use rude instruments.

The brutality of a mob is beyond the pale of apology. But the brutality of the period under consideration was not confined to mobs. The village whipping-posts and stocks had rotted away, but in army and navy the cat-o'-nine-tails flourished, and naked backs were scored in punishment for most offences. Many who were active in the persecution were soldiers fresh from the rough lessons of army experience. The passions of war-time and the demoralization of camp life lowered the tone even of the rural community. The personal abuse experienced by Ann Lee and her associates was hardly worse in kind and degree than that suffered by many outspoken tories, at the hands of life-long neighbors, five years before. It should also be said that whenever the local authorities were appealed to for protection, it seems to have been freely given, or at least attempted.

The successors of these pioneers in the Shaker faith, with progressive practical wisdom, established a covenant and organized, in 1792, a social system of which celibacy, community of goods, oral confession of sins and subjection to elders, form the corner-stone. Extravagances in demeanor gradually ceased; the novelty of their religious and political faith wore away; and their will or power for the subversion of society was no longer feared. The Millennial Communists soon developed into what they are now—a thrifty, intelligent and happy brotherhood, the most peaceable, temperate and industrious of citizens, wearing their crown of humility with becoming grace.

Among the earlier converts to Shakerism in this vicinity were: Elijah Wilds, who was the father of the Shirley Community, Isaac and Jeremiah Willard, Aaron and Abel Jewett, John Warner, David and Jonathan Crouch, Amos Buttrick, Samuel Barrett, Jonathan Symonds and Abijah Worster. An adventure of the last named has already been detailed. He had been a fifer at the siege of Boston, but was doubtless of too retiring a disposition for that profession; since he is recorded in the muster rolls as a deserter. In sectarian belief

he was an experimentalist who had passed through an unusually wide experience, He was born during Mr. Seccomb's great revival. When over eighty years of age he testified to the all-satisfying nature of his final faith in a letter which was printed. He evidently therein offers his testimony as of especial value, because he had successively held membership in the Congregational and Baptist societies and found their creeds inadequate to the supply of his soul's needs; and had then become a disciple of Shadrach Ireland, whose doctrines, though "nearly perfect," he discovered lacked spiritualism. Worster claimed to be miraculonsly gifted with healing power, and he narrates as commonplace facts his frequent cures of invalidism of long standing, specifying one case of many where the imposition of his hands saved a life abandoned by the regular physicians. This claim of his is supported by the evidence of present members of the community, who remember instances of the exercise of this power by him, and relate minute details of his cures among those in the faith. Jonathan Symonds was a zealous Shaker for a brief time. He became a prominent citizen of Harvard, holding many offices of honor and trust.

The Jewetts were of Littleton. Abel Jewett died in 1806, nearly one hundred years old. Aaron Jewett had served in the continental army with the rank of captain. He and Jeremiah Willard were the first deacons of the Harvard society. There were several patriot soldiers in the Shaker ranks. In 1832 the records showed that there was due the sum of $23,633.54 to thirteen pensioners of the United States belonging to the Harvard and Shirley societies. This money was never drawn from the national treasury, being the unhallowed wages of war.

In 1792, the year from which the Harvard Community dates its organization, Isaac Willard, "in consideration of the Love and good will I have and do bear to the church and society of Christians called Shakers.....and their future well being, maintenance and upholding in Christian fellowship and communion as well as support," deeded to Aaron Jewett and Jeremiah Willard, trustees, about one hundred acres of land. Abel Jewett at the same time transferred fifty

acres to these trustees. In 1808 and 1815 Seth Babbitt deeded to Aaron Jewett and Joseph Frost, trustees, over three hundred acres, and to Joseph Frost and Pliny Blanchard, trustees, twenty-four acres more. Gradually, by the assignment from members and purchase, the society acquired a very large landed estate, embracing the whole northeast corner of the town. Simon Atherton, a trustee for fifty years, is remembered as one by whose wise management the community greatly prospered. At its golden era it could count a membership of over two hundred souls. In its little burial ground there are ten rows of graves, averaging over thirty to a row—the death record of a century. For fifty years there has been a steady decrease in its numbers until now there are less than forty members, over three-fourths of these being females.

In the period of its greatest prosperity the Community was divided into four groups, called the Church or Centre, the North, the South, and the East Families. The capacious brick mansion of the North Family, built by Elder Augustus Grosvenor, proved an unfortunate investment. It is now leased and kept as a "Rural Home" for summer boarders. The farm and buildings of the East Family were sold a few years ago. The landed estate is estimated to be between fifteen and sixteen hundred acres, lying in the three towns of Harvard, Ayer and Littleton. It was originally a very rough, heavily-wooded tract, and embraced much unproductive swamp and rock-ribbed pasturage ground. Some of this has been well subdued and brought into a good state of cultivation, but pastures, mowing fields and orchards are sadly deteriorating because it is unprofitable to improve them since all labor has to be hired.

Financially the society is very prosperous and has invested savings. Its resources and support have been largely derived from horticulture, farming and the sale of standing wood and timber. Brooms are manufactured to the value of six or seven hundred dollars yearly, and herbs are pressed and packed for the retailers, the sale of which amounts to seven or eight thousand dollars per annum. Eight or ten laborers are permanently employed, besides the members of the Com-

munity. The chief farm product from which an income is derived is milk. This is sent to the Boston market, though the sisters make all the butter used. The variety of herbs, barks, leaves, roots and flowers, used for culinary or medicinal purposes, here dried and ground or pressed, packed and labeled, is very large. Many are cultivated or gathered upon the premises, others are bought by the bale. A boiler of ample capacity and a small engine furnish heat and power for the herb-packing department, laundry and dairy, all of which are provided with the most recent scientific and labor-saving machinery and economic devices.

In earlier days when many hands made diversified industries possible, the Shaker manufactures were far more varied and extensive. Their precinct contained a saw-mill, a tannery, a smith shop, in which five or six men made "wrought nails," hammers and knives, a tailor's shop—in short the tools and work rooms for all the common mechanical trades. A very large business was done in the raising and packing of garden seeds; the making of cider apple-sauce and the drying and preserving of fruit; in the braiding of palm-leaf and straw; the knitting of hosiery, etc. The cloth required for the dress of both sexes was once all of domestic manufacture, but spinning-wheels and looms have long been stored in the attics. It is twelve or fifteen years since the last hand weaving was done here, and that was in the fabrication of rag carpet.

The spinning-wheel owes its latest improvement, the patent head, to the mechanical skill of a Shaker woman in the Harvard Community. Seth Babbitt in the early days of the society lived upon the farm now owned by the town, but exchanged it for that during many years occupied by the East Family. He had two daughters who became converts to the Shaker doctrines, and they persuaded their father and mother to surrender a large landed estate and cast their lot with the Community. Seth Babbitt, in 1821, became insane, and was placed under restraint. His condition and treatment in 1825 gave rise to charges of cruelty or neglect, a discussion in town-meeting, investigation by the selectmen, and a summons of the Shaker authorities before the court; but pending further proceedings the insane man died. His daughter Sarah,

known as Sister Tabitha, was gifted with rare inventive faculties, showing herself of kin to the noted Taunton goldsmith, Isaac Babbitt, the inventor of Babbitt-metal. The new head to the spinning-wheel was but one of several gifts to the world from her brain. She had noted that half of the motion of a reciprocating saw is useless for work, and while at her spinning the thought struck her that if there were teeth on the rim of her wheel it would cut continuously what was brought in contact with it. After making an experiment with a little tin disk fastened to the spindle, she was prepared to develop the idea of the buzz saw. The first circular saw made under her instructions is said to be on exhibition in the geological buildings at Albany, New York. The idea of cutting nails and then heading them, instead of the slow process of hammering them one by one complete from the end of a nail rod, is sometimes credited to her, though also claimed by the Shakers of New Lebanon.

The domiciliary rules for the government of the society, which are much the same in all Shaker Communities, theoretically leave little latitude for individual taste or preference; but regulations adapted to a congregation of a hundred or more men and women of various ages necessarily lose somewhat of their rigidity where the number of the brotherhood is so small and the age of the individuals so advanced as in the present Harvard families. The semi-monastic aspect that characterized the early Shaker phalanstery, and which doubtless adheres more or less to the larger ones of the present day, is not at all obvious to the casual visitor at Harvard. The two sexes are brought into company with each other in the exercises of worship, and, though they do not sit at the same table, their meals are served in the same room; nor is there any lack of social freedom visible at other times or places.

The little central village, consisting of the meeting-house, school-house, sundry shops, offices and residences built upon both sides of the highway, has a prim and Sabbath-day air. The buildings are nearly all of wood, in the plainest style of architecture, painted white, and stand but a few feet from the roadway; a narrow flagging of slate forming a pathway from

house to house inside the fencing which makes the line of the public street. The same simplicity and studied neatness pervade the interior of the dwellings, but there is no lack of comfort, no conservatism that hesitates about the adoption of useful novelties. The bath-room boasts all the refinements of modern sanitary plumbing; the kitchen is equally complete in its convenient appointments. The visible garb of both sexes has undergone considerable change in fashion during the century. A rigid simplicity and general uniformity of the dress is prescribed, but variation in color or material is permissible within economic limits. The original costume had no essential connection with the Shaker belief; convenience and domestic manufacture fixed its form, material and colors. Now that factory-made fabrics only can be had, convenience and economy prevent any rigid adherence to old-time materials and styles.

In the early days of the society ornament was everywhere eschewed, and no beauty but that of usefulness was recognized. But at Harvard the usefulness of beauty is now acknowledged — certainly by the adornment of walls with pictures and the brightening of windows with flowers, if not in other ways. Contact with the world's people is not sought save as it is needful for the dealings of the business managers; but the Shakers are hospitable to worthy guests, and frank in their communications with them. Books, though selected with more care, are as numerous as in other intelligent families, and magazines and newspapers of miscellaneous character are taken. The use of "yea" and "nay" is the only peculiarity that marks the Shaker speech.

The vegetarian transcendentalists of Fruitlands, their neighbors in 1843, made a sympathetic study of the Shakers, and felt constrained from their own exalted standpoint to criticize them as not ascetic enough, and "lacking true simplicity in every particular;" as more involved in money-making and mercantile transactions, more indulgent in the use of flesh food, milk, tea and coffee, more dependent upon intercourse with the world, than is compatible with a serene life. On the other hand modern Epicureans and Sybarites, after visits to them, have recorded quite different impressions of

their austere and self-denying mode of existence. The more commonplace judgment respecting them is, that they are in danger of mistaking harmless quietude for virtuous living.

Patriotism other than the passive sentiment can hardly be said to exist, in theory at least, in the Shaker commune. Politics, and even town affairs not touching their financial interest, are commonly ignored. There are apparent exceptions to this statement. Elder John Whiteley, the present head of the bishopric, is a man of broad sympathies, as well as wide experience. Elijah Myrick rendered efficient service in Harvard as a member of the school board. He was a man so much respected for his integrity and sound judgment that the town elected him to office during ten years. When he died, February 9, 1890, his loss was felt throughout a very much wider community than that over which he was in some sense a ruler. His abilities were of an unusual order. He invented and patented sundry useful articles, among which the best known were "Myrick's Chimney Caps" and a portable wagon top. He had at his decease been elder for seven, and one of the trustees for over forty years.

The Harvard and Shirley societies together form a bishopric, over which the presiding officials are two elders and two elderesses. These receive their nomination from the church ministry, and the selection, if it obtains the consent of the covenant members of the society, ends in formal appointment and consecration by the laying on of hands. The order of succession has been as follows: Elder Eleazar Rand came from New Lebanon, New York, to gather the society, February 19, 1791. He was called Father, and April 15, 1791, Mother Hannah Kendall was appointed "to stand with Father Eleazar over the two churches." In December of the same year, Eunice Wilds was appointed as second in the church with Mother Hannah. January 15, 1792, Daniel Tiffany, from Hancock, Massachusetts, was appointed second elder with Father Eleazar. September 15, 1793, Elder Daniel deceased, and the vacancy was filled in the autumn of 1794 by the appointment of John Warner. Eunice Wilds being released from office in the summer of 1794 was succeeded by Mehitable Keep, generally called Sister Rachel. November 8, 1808,

Father Eleazar died. August 18, 1816, Mother Hannah Kendall died, and Hannah Bridges was appointed. November 9, 1818, Grove Babbitt Blanchard became elder. March 15, 1822, Elderess Rachel deceased and Caroline King succeeded her. August 10, 1825, Caroline King was released and Betty Babbitt appointed. June 27, 1828, Elder John Warner was released and Lorenzo Nash succeeded as second elder. June 6, 1830, Elder Lorenzo was released and Joseph Hammond was appointed. In June, 1834, Elder Joseph was released and Augustus Grosvenor was appointed, but served only six months, being succeeded in the following May by John Osment, a Quaker from Salem. October 10, 1838, Hannah Bridges was released and Sally Loomis appointed. July 31, 1847, Elderess Betty was released and Roxilana Grosvenor succeeded her. John Osment having removed, John Cloutman, also from Salem, was appointed. October 25, 1848, Elder Cloutman was removed and Samuel Myrick was appointed. October 4, 1851, Eldress Roxilana was released and Olive Hatch succeeded her. February, 1852, Elder Samuel died, and on May 31, 1852, Thomas Holden was appointed. Sally Loomis was released July 26, 1854, and Nancy Osment was made first elderess. April, 1859, Elder Thomas Holden and Elderess Olive Hatch were released and Mary Babbitt was appointed. November, 1859, William Leonard was made second elder, and was released in July, 1861. September 25, 1862, Elderess Mary Babbitt died and Eliza Babbitt was appointed. Grove Babbitt Blanchard, after serving as elder for fifty-three years, and head elder for more than fifty, was released on account of failing strength, and John Whiteley was appointed November 27, 1871. He continues in office, no second elder having been appointed to stand with him. September 18, 1872, Nancy Osment was released and Mary O. Elston succeeded as second elderess. She was released September 22, 1878, and Maria Foster succeeded to that position which she now holds.

The doctrinal tenets of the Shakers are, briefly: that the second coming of Christ was consummated in the person of Mother Ann; that consequently a new dispensation has begun, under which the curse has been taken from labor, and all men

may eventually be redeemed. The earth, which to the Puritan was "the scaffold of divine vengeance," is to the believer in Christ's Second Coming, the heaven in which there is neither marriage, nor death, nor resurrection. They claim that Christ was the first Shaker, and that the first Shaker church was established at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost, as described in the second chapter of Acts.

Many of the Shakers are earnest Spiritualists, but not all, nor is the belief an article of church faith. Some claim to have more constant communion with angels and the spirits of those who have passed out of sight save to the purified eyes of the saints, than they do with the living. They are continually jostled by ghosts. Some of the church hymns and chants, which form a very prominent feature in the Sabbath services, were communicated to believers by disembodied spirits. These lyrics in many cases certainly afford evidence that the spiritual syntax, prosody and poetic afflatus never rise above the habitude and genius of the grosser medium.

The Shaker community, eliminating as it does all but the fraternal affections, and evading many social obligations and sympathies, can hardly be called a seminary of good citizenship, even if individual souls within its rule be made white as though purified by fire. Weakening coarse appetites through ascetic denial, removing temptations by semi-monastic seclusion, and maintaining a high standard of spiritual life, the society is a model of order, industry, sobriety and rectitude; but unlike the Moravian Brethren, to whose communities it bears in many respects so close a resemblance, it exerts little salutary influence beyond its own narrow limits, is not a leavening power in the world at large, and lacks most elements of progress and self-perpetuation.

III. FRUITLANDS.

If the success of Shadrach Ireland and Mother Ann Lee in winning and retaining converts to their dogmas might seem to authorize the assumption that Harvard soil has some occult properties genial to the culture of religious and socialistic eccentricity, there may be adduced in rejoinder the signal

failure in later days of a high priest of new doctrines to found here a home for mystic asceticism.

During the epidemic of transcendentalism in New England this town became the chosen domicile of a singular social experiment; one which unlike former adventures of the type was not so stimulated by proselyting zeal as to create local disturbance in church and domestic circles, or to stir the village routine from its accustomed ruts; one which won no serious converts, and speedily died a natural death, intestate. This scheme, in the conception of which Amos Bronson Alcott was the foremost, and the most romantic, figure, was no less than an attempt, under modern conditions and on a rugged New England hillside, to reproduce the life of Adam in Paradise. Its constitution is best set forth in the prospectus of the enthusiasts who founded this "Concordium" or "Primitive Home," as it appeared in the *Dial*.

FRUITLANDS, June 10, 1843.

.....We have made an arrangement with the proprietor of an estate of about a hundred acres, which liberates this tract from human ownership. For picturesque beauty, both in the near and the distant landscape, the spot has few rivals. A semicircle of undulating hills stretches from south to west, among which the Wachusett and Monadnoc are conspicuous. The vale, through which flows a tributary to the Nashua, is esteemed for its fertility and ease of cultivation, is adorned with groves of nut-trees, maples, and pines, and watered by small streams. Distant not thirty miles from the metropolis of New England, this reserve lies in a serene and sequestered dell. No public thoroughfare invades it, but it is entered by a private road. The nearest hamlet is that of Stillriver, a field's walk of twenty minutes, and the village of Harvard is reached by circuitous and hilly roads of nearly three miles.

Here we prosecute our effort to initiate a Family in harmony with the primitive instincts in man. The present buildings being ill placed and unsightly, as well as inconvenient, are to be temporarily used, until suitable and tasteful buildings in harmony with the natural scene can be completed. An excellent site opens itself on the skirts of the nearest wood, affording a view of the lands of the estate, nearly all of which are capable of spade culture. It is intended to adorn the pastures with orchards, and to supersede ultimately the labor of the plough and cattle, by the spade and the pruning knife.

Our planting and other works, both without and within doors, are already in active progress. The present family numbers ten individuals, five being children of the founders. Ordinary secular farming is not our object. Fruit, grain, pulse, garden plants, and herbs, flax, and other veg-

etable products for food, raiment, and domestic uses, receiving assiduous attention, afford at once ample manual occupation, and chaste supplies for the bodily needs. Consecrated to human freedom the land awaits the sober culture of devout men.

Beginning with small pecuniary means, the enterprise must be rooted in a reliance on the succors of an ever bounteous Providence, whose vital affinities being secured by this union with uncorrupted fields and unworldly persons, the cares and injuries of a life of gain are avoided.

The inner nature of every member of the Family is at no time neglected. A constant leaning on the loving spirit within the soul should consecrate every talent to holy uses, cherishing the widest charities. The choice Library is accessible to all who are desirous of perusing these records of piety and wisdom. Our plan contemplates all such disciplines, cultures, and habits, as evidently conduce to the purifying and edifying of the inmates. Pledged to the Spirit alone, the founders can anticipate no hasty or numerous accession to their numbers. The Kingdom of peace is entered only through the gates of self denial, and abandonment; and felicity is the test and the reward of obedience to the unswerving law of Love.

Miss Louisa M. Alcott in her satirical but not greatly exaggerated account of the "Consociate Family," published under the title of Transcendental Wild-oats, tells us that the

.....prospective Eden consisted of an old red farm-house, a dilapidated barn, many acres of meadow-land, and a grove. Ten ancient apple-trees were all the "chaste supply" which the place afforded; but in the firm belief that plenteous orchards were soon to be evoked from their inner consciousness, these sanguine founders had christened their domain Fruitlands.

If there were few apples in the orchard, there was an abundance of forbidden fruit in the by-laws of this Eden. The family were enjoined to use for food or raiment "nothing which has caused death to man or beast." The redundancy of farm products, it was alleged, would afford the means for getting by barter the very few essential articles they could not at first make or raise from the soil. But the ground was not to be defiled by animal fertilizers, being trusted to yield copious harvests unforced. Money as the root of all evil was to be ignored so far as possible.

Under the rules for the body's garb, linen was logically the only material permissible. Mr. Alcott's daughters, whose fame is now world-wide, are remembered in Harvard as sad-

faced little girls, whose appearance in the village streets at first attracted the wondering gaze of all by reason of their brown-linen, bloomer costumes. But individuals joined the family who were, in respect of dress as well as conduct, a law unto themselves. One exalted Pythagorean is said to have spent his days in the seclusion of his room, entirely without clothing, that his spiritual growth might be hindered by no incumbrances; while by night he was wont to refresh his soul and body by wide wanderings through the fields and lanes in unconstrained communion with nature, clad in a single white robe which he put on not from choice, but in deference to the wishes of less advanced lunatics. In these divagations he occasionally frightened belated wayfarers out of their wits by his ghost-like semblance, and was one or twice interviewed by a committee of inquisitive youth not wholly sympathetic with his transcendental aspirations.

Not only fish and flesh, but milk, butter, cheese and eggs were excluded from the consociate bill of fare, as well as spices, salt, tea, coffee, and in fact all beverages but water. Maple sugar and syrup were expected to take the place of slave-made sweets, and bayberry tallow — kerosene had not been invented — was to suffice for candles, when any artificial light was required. The "inner light" was considered ample illumination under ordinary circumstances. Such vagaries and restrictions in diet and dress were proclaimed with magisterial diction to be all potent in purification of the soul, and essential factors for the reformation of the world. The toil wasted upon clothing and food was pronounced the fatal obstruction to spiritual life, and perfection — physical, intellectual and moral — was declared attainable in a community strictly governed by Nature's law.

The original members of the fraternity, besides Mr. Alcott and family, were Charles Lane and his son William, Henry G. Wright, Samuel Larned and Abram Wood — a brotherhood "with nothing apiece," agreeing to share their all in common. Mr. Lane had for many years been manager of the *London Mercantile Price Current.* He was a man of scholarly tastes and refinement, and author of articles upon moral and social topics in various magazines. He became a constant contrib-

utor to the *Dial*. Mr. Wright was a teacher in the Alcott Home, a school at Ham, Surrey, England. The transcendentalism of the individual last in the list seems to have shown itself chiefly in the reversal of his own name to "Wood Abram." Joseph Palmer soon joined the family. He was always known among his untranscendental neighbors of later days as the "old Jew," because when it was the fashion for every man to be clean shaven, he wore his luxuriant beard unabbreviated. Christopher Greene, Anna Page and Charles Bowers were also temporarily of the household.

Lane and Wright were Englishmen, who had become enthusiastic disciples of Alcott while he was paying a visit to London as the guest of certain theoretical educators who had formed, by reading Miss Elizabeth P. Peabody's Record of Mr. Alcott's Boston School, an exalted idea of his originality and power as an instructor of youth. Ralph Waldo Emerson warned them "that they might safely trust his [Alcott's] theories, but that they should put no trust in his statement of facts;" Lane and Wright, however, with simple-minded faith in Alcott's appraisal of himself, accompanied him upon his return to America, and the former became not only his confidential partner in this fantastic dream of an Utopia on the Nashua, but bore all the financial burden of the enterprise—in his unselfish zeal, putting every cent he had into it. Samuel J. May, Mrs. Alcott's brother, acting as Lane's agent, purchased the land and buildings from Maverick Wyman for eighteen hundred dollars, payment of a portion of the purchase money being secured by bond and mortgage.

In a letter to Thoreau a few days after their arrival in Harvard, Charles Lane wrote:—

....One afternoon in the latter part of May, Providence sent to us the legal owner of a slice of the planet in this township, with whom we have been enabled to conclude for the concession of his rights. It is very remotely placed, nearly three miles beyond the village, without a road, surrounded by a beautiful green landscape of fields and woods, with the distance filled up by some of the loftiest mountains in the State. The views are, indeed most poetic and inspiring. You have no doubt seen the neighborhood; but from these very fields, where you may at once be at home and out, there is enough to love and revel in for sympathetic souls like yours. On the estate are about fourteen acres of wood, part of it extremely

pleasant as a retreat, a very sylvan realization, which only wants a Thoreau's mind to elevate it to classic beauty.

.....We have only two associates in addition to our own families; our house accommodations are poor and scanty; but the greatest want is of good female aid. Far too much labor devolves upon Mrs. Alcott..... For though to me our mode of life is luxurious in the highest degree, yet generally it seems to be thought that the setting aside of all impure diet, dirty habits, idle thoughts, and selfish feelings, is a course of self denial scarcely to be encountered or even thought of in such an alluring world as this in which we dwell.

Besides the busy occupations of each succeeding day, we form, in this ample theatre of hope, many forthcoming scenes. The nearer little copse is designed as the site of the cottages. Fountains can be made to descend from their granite sources on the hill-slope to every apartment if required. Gardens are to displace the warm grazing glades on the south, and numerous human beings, instead of cattle, shall here enjoy existence. The farther wood offers to the naturalist and the poet an exhaustless haunt; and a short cleaning of the brook would connect our boat with the Nashua. Such are the designs which Mr. Alcott and I have just sketched, as, resting from planting, we walked round this reserve.....

Alcott's plans for the Consociate Family were expressed by him in a letter to a friend before the purchase of Fruitlands, thus :—

.....Our purposes, as far as we know them at present are briefly these:

First, to obtain the free use of a spot of land adequate by our own labor to our support; including of course a convenient plain house, and offices, wood lot, garden, and orchard.

Secondly, to live independently of foreign aids by being sufficiently elevated to procure all articles for subsistence in the productions of the spot, under a regimen of healthful labor and recreation; with benignity towards all creatures, human and inferior; with beauty and refinement in all economies; and the purest charity throughout our demeanor.

Should this kind of life attract parties towards us — individuals of like aims and issues — that state of being itself determines the law of association; and the particular mode may be spoken of more definitely as individual cases may arise; but in no case, could inferior ends compromise the principles laid down.

Doubtless such a household, with our library, our services and manner of life, may attract young men and women, possibly also families with children, desirous of access to the channels and fountain of wisdom and purity; and we are not without hope that Providence will use us progressively for beneficial effects in the great work of human regeneration, and the restoration of the highest life on earth.....

From all contemporary evidence we are assured that Mr. Alcott carried out his theories so far as "with benignity towards all creatures human and inferior," to take upon himself the functions of "the fountain of wisdom and purity," while Mrs. Alcott was kept under "a regimen of healthful labor." Throughout his career he was always "sufficiently elevated to live independently of foreign aid," after the "free use" of all the comforts of life, "including, of course, a convenient plain house, and offices, wood lot, garden and orchard" had been given him by friends or relatives. But we are told that Alcott was ever utterly unconscious of his own charlatanry. Emerson once said of him: "His ideal is beheld with such unrivaled distinctness that he is not only justified but necessitated to condemn and to seek to upheave the vast actual, and cleanse the world." His benevolence ended as it began, in theories. His riotous imagination was rarely hampered by economic laws. He was a prophet in whose messages were many elements of noble truths, but his lack of humor and practical common-sense deprived these messages of power to enlarge the limits of spiritual freedom.

Emerson should in poetic justice have been a stockholder in Fruitlands, for his teachings furnished the scheme inspiration. During the summer he was at least once welcomed as a guest there, and has recorded, with expression of sympathy for the lofty aspirations, the heroism of faith, and the hatred of civilization's falsehoods which begot the phalanstery, a prophetic doubt as to its time and weather-proof construction. As Thomas Carlyle has said, the philanthropists greatly craved his leadership, but Emerson "could not be induced on any conditions to applaud their sordid peace or preach the panacea of cold water."

Henry D. Thoreau was a less critical and a more congenial visitor, as might be expected of one so bitterly at odds with all conventionalism and so versed in ascetic experience. Isaac Thomas Hecker, the baker at Brook Farm, seeking a more self-denying life, came to Fruitlands and for a time thought his aspirations attained; but a fortnight's residence there in July convinced him that the Harvard experiment was little more than a burlesque of that at West Roxbury,

and that his romantic first impressions of its founder's genius must be revised. Hecker was, however, already far on the road to Rome and in a state of mental unrest not to be satisfied with any but a monastic life. He died in 1888, Superior of the Paulist Community.

Tramps of high and low degree strayed into the mystic circle now and then; such as Hawthorne described from some of his own experiences:....."the strangest companions imaginable; men with long beards, and dressed in linen blouses, and other such new-fangled and ill-fitting garments; reformers, temperance lecturers, and all manner of cross-looking philanthropists; community-men and come-outers..... who acknowledged no law, and ate no solid food, but lived on the scent of other people's cookery and turned up their noses at the fare." They were led to Fruitlands chiefly by curiosity, but their inquisitiveness was soon sated. "Vital affinities" they found there, but the æsthetic conditions were not of the kind to appease their special longings.

Neophytes from time to time deliberately joined this commune of "plain living and high thinking;" but as each was left free to choose for himself such occupation as best accorded with his mental and physical capacity and taste, much time was wasted in developing personal adaptations; the drones outnumbered the honey gatherers, and often the labor given was so misdirected as to add nothing to the harvest.

As at a summer's-day picnic make-shifts and inconveniences do not detract from the zest of the common enjoyment, so the "Newness," in spite of miscalculations, mischances, and perpetual self-denial, for a time pleased the enthusiasts; and yearnings, dreams and aspirations survived awhile the insufficient bill of fare. But the gnawing of natural appetites, and hands blistered with spading a garden of insignificant area led to sober reflection, and also to secret indulgence, by some of the disciples, in savory food at the village or neighboring farmer's kitchen; and to other concessions which the chief philosophers denounced as soul-corrupting Epicureanism. The Alcott children for a time attended the village school, and surviving playmates relate that the scant noon lunch of the little girls always consisted

of an apple and a piece of unbuttered graham-bread for each; to which, moved by pity, their companions regularly contributed more toothsome food from their generously-filled dinner pails.

It was found necessary to admit cattle to assist in ploughing—temporarily, "till the workers should become better fitted for noble toil by a summer of the new life." This "letting themselves down easy" was highly approved by the Yankee philosopher who took the lead in all agricultural matters. He is charged with having basely seized the opportunity to introduce a milch cow as one of the yoke beasts, and thereafter daily to have fortified his dinner of herbs by surreptitious draughts at the barn.

The inspired "apostles of the Newness" dreamed away summer and autumn in egotistic negligence of the ties of society and the duties of citizenship, and in practical denial of the authority of common-sense and human experience; prating to each other with grave air of Platonic profundity, rhetorical phrases about the eternal verities, and leading a life of virtuous paganism. Had their natural powers been such that they could have carried their imitation of the woodchuck's habits one step further, or had their environment been that of a tropical island with bananas, breadfruit and custard—apples within easy grasp, their dream might have been longer. But the frosts of winter came, and the crazy old farm-house opened all its pores to the icy blasts that swept down from the northern mountains across those "poetic and inspiring views;" the wood-pile vanished, the granary was soon empty, the cupboard bare, and the "sylvan realization" at length developed into a straggling procession of the sadder and wiser to retreats less lonely—and therefore less paradisiacal—but blessed with a sunnier aspect, and a provision store around the corner.

The farm finally came into possession of Joseph Palmer. Charles Lane, his small capital devoured in the experiment, sought temporary refuge with the Shakers, and the next year with his son William and Mr. Wright returned to England.

Mr. Alcott, impoverished, stunned, and for a time utterly downcast by the rude awakening from his vision of a world

regenerated, lingered a year at a Still River home and then returned to Concord; continuing to live buoyantly upon faith, and to merit the title given him by Thoreau, "the great expecter." His faithful wife, who never shared in his visionary hopes, seems to have been the chief burden-bearer while at Fruitlands — an over-worked bond-slave where all others were at least free to be slothful.

Four years after the ignominious flight of the transcendentalists from their poetic retreat, a railway was opened through the heart of Fruitlands, sundering by its prosaic roadbed the shabby barn and house from the meadows and grove. The traveler upon the cars when about half way between the Still River and Harvard stations may yet see towards the west the landscape that was so inspiring to Charles Lane, and on the rocky hillside near by, at the eastward, the old brown farm house that served as the phalanstery where Alcott began the reformation of mankind through the soul-exalting influences of a diet of apples and bran bread. Three tall mulberry trees darken the front windows and shadow the roof of the house, the only surviving relics of the transcendental gardening.

VI.

MILITARY ANNALS—1745-1763.

I. KING GEORGE'S WAR.

THE yeomen of New England from the earliest days were by necessity soldiers, and in many a bloody conflict showed themselves inheritors of those martial qualities which gave the victory to Cromwell's Roundheads in their contest with the gallant Cavaliers of England; but before 1745 their experience had been almost exclusively that of defensive or partisan warfare. In that year they won historic renown by the siege and capture of Louisbourg, which had long afforded a safe refuge to the French privateers that menaced the existence of the New England fisheries. This was one of the strongest fortifications in the world, all the resources of military art having been lavished upon it, and it was considered the key of the French possessions in America. Its reduction, wholly the achievement of the skill and daring of the New England yeomanry, taught them their own strength as a military people, and gave them competent leaders and self confidence thirty years later, when they began the long fight for a flag of their own.

Of the five infantry regiments from Massachusetts that shared in the glory of the conquest of Louisbourg, the Fourth was commanded by Colonel Samuel Willard. Born at Still River in 1690, he was in 1745 a resident of Lancaster, and had for many years been the ranking military officer of the district. He received orders from Governor William Shirley on the nineteenth of February to raise a regiment, and in

thirty days recruited and organized his command of five hundred men, and sailed from Boston with General William Pepperell, March 24, 1745. Such alacrity is ample proof of the colonel's great energy and popularity; although the people of Massachusetts were fired with such zeal to assail the enemy for whom they felt both racial and religious hatred, that the bold enterprise put on all the features of a Protestant crusade. The little army of less than four thousand men reached the vicinity of the reputed impregnable fortress about the middle of April, and on the seventeenth of June, Louisbourg, with all its batteries, garrison and stores, was surrendered to these audacious farmers and mechanics, who had never seen siege operations before. Their victory was esteemed of so vital importance, not only to the American colonies, but to Great Britain, that the news of it was received with extravagant demonstrations of joy upon both sides of the Atlantic.

The muster-rolls of Colonel Willard's regiment are not known to exist, a roster of the officers only being found. Seth Pomeroy was major of the regiment, and of the ten companies two were officered by Lancaster men. In these two companies were the volunteers from Harvard, but how many or who they were cannot be told. The first company's officers were: Captain Joshua Pierce, Lieutenant Abijah Willard and Ensign Levi Willard; those of the fourth company were: Captain John Warner, Lieutenant Joseph Whitcomb and Ensign William Hutchins. Both Pierce and Warner laid down their lives in the service. The latter was a grandson of that John Warner who built his home upon Bare Hill about 1690. Abijah and Levi were sons of Colonel Samuel Willard, born at the Still River farm. William Hutchins was also a Harvard soldier.

Deeply chagrined at the downfall of Louisbourg, the French organized a formidable naval expedition to wreak retaliatory devastation upon Massachusetts. At news of its coming, the militia of the state were called out to man the coast defences and garrison Boston. For weeks the people were in painful suspense, awaiting the attack from the French armada commanded by the Duke d'Anville. The blow never

fell, for a furious tempest fought for New England, scattering the fleet and compelling the abandonment of its purpose. But the savage raids from Canada, inspired by the French Jesuits, continued a constant menace to the Massachusetts frontier, filling the land with terror. Bands of Indians were periodically equipped and sent to the border settlements of the hated Puritans, to burn, plunder and scalp; and into the murder-stained hands of the successful warriors, upon their return with the spoils and half-dead captives, their ruthless employers paid the promised blood-money.

Harvard was no longer a border-town, but from her hill-tops the debatable land was within sight, and, as in the days of Lovewell's war, her young men were continually called from their labors on the farm to shoulder their muskets and scour the woodlands at the west and north, in search of the swift-footed marauders known to be prowling about the cabins of the advance settlers. The following is the muster-roll of a scouting party sent out from Harvard by Colonel Samuel Willard for a week's tour in the woods during July, 1748:—

Jonathan Whitney, *capt*:	Hezekiah Willard	Phineas Pratt
Thomas Ball, *lieut*:	Stephen Haskal	Joseph Wetherby
Ephraim Gates, *sergn*:	John Davis	Elisha Gates
John Randal, *sergn*:	Amos Stone	Josiah Gates
Ebenezer Davis, *clerk*:	Benj^{a}. Sampson	Josiah Davis
Justinian Holden, *corpl*:	Abnah Holt	Daniel Farr
Gabriell Preist, *corpl*:	Samuel Bruce	Joseph Wetherby
Thomas Wheler Jun., *cent^{ll}*:	John Sterns	William Skinner
William Farmer	Benj^{a}. Baley	David Jewett
John Warner	Benj^{a}. Marbel	Silas Wetherby
Ebenezer Worcester	Abijah Pratt	Daniel Bruce
William Harper	John Houghton	Jonas Wilder
Sam^{ll}: Harper	Daniel Whitney	Abraham Houghton

II. THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—1754–1763.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed October 7, 1748, gave back to the French everything that the valor of New England had wrested from them. Their cruisers again had the safe harbor of Louisbourg whence to threaten the coast and the commerce of New England. The pretended peace was but a breathing spell

masking the preparations for a more desperate struggle between the Puritan and Jesuit civilizations for the possession of North America. Hostilities began by border collisions long before the formality of a declaration of war between the mother countries. Massachusetts stationed a force of observation and defence during the spring of 1754 upon the eastern frontier under Colonel John Winslow, and one upon the western frontier under Colonel Israel Williams. With the former there served from Harvard: Gordon Hutchins, Benjamin Hutchins, Richard Holden and Jacob Willard; with the latter, Elias Haskell and Solomon Stone. Gordon Hutchins, who appears in subsequent rolls as a private, became a soldier of some distinction in the Revolution. When about forty years of age he removed from Harvard, where he had been a prosperous farmer and a manufacturer of potash in the Still River neighborhood, to Concord, New Hampshire, and there entered upon a mercantile life. At the Lexington Alarm he became active in raising a company for the patriot army, and was commissioned captain. He served in the regiment of Colonel John Stark for six months, and was wounded in the battle of Bunker Hill. Promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel he fought at White Plains in 1776 with Colonel Nahum Baldwin's New Hampshire regiment. In 1777 he was chosen representative to the Provisional Congress at Exeter. He died at Concord December 8, 1815, aged eighty-two years.

In the spring of 1755, four great military expeditions entered upon their dread work under English generalship, directed against Acadia, Crown Point, Fort Niagara and Fort Duquesne. In the two first named Harvard men were enlisted. For the investment of Crown Point the combined British and colonial forces were assembled under Major-general William Johnson, at the head of Lake George early in September. With them were two regiments from Worcester county, commanded by Colonel Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick and Colonel Samuel Willard of Lancaster. The latter was the eldest son of Colonel Samuel Willard of Louisbourg fame, and a native of Still River, born November 12, 1718. He was authorized to raise a regiment of eight hun-

dred men for the expedition, and John Whitcomb of Bolton was commissioned lieutenant-colonel under him. He was attacked by a fever and died at Lake George, October 26, when Colonel Whitcomb succeeded to command of the battalion. In his command were these soldiers from Harvard, serving from August to December:—

Judah Clark, *lieutenant*
Benjamin Hutchins, *sergeant*
Isaac Stone, *corporal*
Uriah Holt, *corporal*
Samuel Hibbard, *corporal*
Samuel Corey
Isaac Gates
Joseph Houghton
Elkanah Keyes
Samuel Meed
Phineas Pratt
John Sawyer
Josiah Whitney

In Colonel Ruggles's command were Corporal Jabez Keep, Caleb Wright and William Brabrook. These men, or most of them, fought in the bloody battle of Lake George, September 8, 1755, when the gallant Dieskau, leading a large force of French and Indians, was signally defeated by the undisciplined valor of the New England yeomanry led by General Phineas Lyman.

The regimental rolls unfortunately give us no account of casualties, but original petitions tell of two wounded men, and give a glimpse of the economy of the period, and the hardships endured by the disabled soldiers.

THE PROVINCE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

to his Honnor Spencer Phips Esqr. Commander in Cheiff to the Honnorable his Majestys Councel and house of Representives now Setting at Boston In sd Province May 1756.

the Humble Petition of Judah Clark of Harvard In the County of Worcester Humbly Sheweth that your Poore Petitioner Charfully In Gaged In the Intended Expedition against Crown Point the last year and went in the Capassity of a Leut. In the Company of Capt. William Peirce and In Co^{ll}. Whitcomb's Ridgement and was In the Ingagment on the Eighth of September Last where he Rec^{d}. a wound in his Left arm by a Ball from the Enemy which has occationed him Grate Paine Loss of time and Rendred his arm all most usless and is Licke to be so for which this Honnorable Courte In their Grate Wisdom and Goodness has been Pleased to macke me a Grant of four Pounds besides the Expence of my Geting home &c which am Hartly thankfull for but am under an necsessity to ask your Honnor and Honnors further Consideration for my

Sufferings as you in your Grate Wisdom shall see meet as In Duty Shall Ever Pray. JUDAH CLARK.

In the House of Reps. June 11, 1756. Read and Ordered, That there be allowed and paid out of the public Treasury to the Petitioner the sum of Four pounds in Consideration of his Sufferings for the present year.

Sent up for Concurrence. T HUBBARD *Spkr*

In Council June 11, 1756. Read and Concurred. J WILLARD *Secy*

Consented. S PHIPS

[Massachusetts Archives. LXXV, 574.]

To his Excellency William Shirley Esq.....

Thomas Wright of Harvard in the County of Worcester Yeoman humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner has a Son named Caleb Wright a Minor, who was a soldier in Capt. Asa Whitcomb's Company in Col^o. Ruggles's Rigement in the late Expedition against Crown Point in which service he continued, till by the accidental discharge of a Gun at Fort Edward he was wounded with a Ball & two Buckshotts, the Bullet lodg^d near his Shoulder Joint which occasioned him great Pain & Sickness, so that when your Pet^r went with a Horse to bring him home he could not be moved, but lay confin'd & tarried till the Camp was discharged by means of which, great charge has accrued to your Pet^r. vizt twenty shillings expended on the Road in going after his Son, besides the Hire of the Horse & his own Time & Labour & eighteen shillings more expended by his Son in getting home, & besides all this the Loss of his Sons Arm in a great measure, the Bullet Continuing so near the Joint as to make it painful to him to Work; all which your Pet^r. humbly submits to your Consideration & prays you would grant him som Relief, And your Pet^r. shall ever pray THOMAS WRIGHT

.....*£2 allowed by the Committee.*

[Massachusetts Archives. LXXV, 657.)

Re-enforcements were hurried to the aid of General Johnson as soon as news of the battle reached the Massachusetts authorities. A regiment of infantry was enlisted to serve under Colonel Josiah Brown of Sudbury, and in this command twenty Harvard men were enrolled:—

Zadock Davis, *ensign*	Joshua Blanchard	Gerdon Hutchins
Justinian Holden, *sergeant*	Simon Blanchard	Oliver Tenney
Micah Davis, *corporal*	Nathaniel Cobleigh	Caleb Whitney
Daniel Houghton, *corporal*	Josiah Davis	Jonathan Whitney
Jeremiah Laughton, "	Benjamin Hale	Moses Whitney
Robert Whitcomb, "	Abraham Houghton	Phineas Willard Jr.
Benjamin Bridge, *drummer*	William Houghton	

Late in the autumn the colonial forces were dismissed to their homes. Many soldiers, enfeebled by camp diseases, died in the ill-appointed hospitals, or were brought home by short stages on horseback through the wilderness of Western Massachusetts. The costly campaign was barren of profit, save that the New England men had gained experience and self-reliance. The fortress of Crown Point had not been assailed even, but the dismal defeat of the royal troops with General Braddock, in the public estimation elevated the repulse of Dieskau by the provincials into a glorious victory.

Though Colonel Brown's campaigning in 1755 was brief and bloodless, the petitions of two Harvard soldiers show that it was not unattended with suffering and danger. Extracts from these are given to show some of the changes in human intercourse which a century and a half have wrought in Massachusetts:—

.....The Humble petition of Daniel Houghton Jun^{r}. who was in the Service of the Government the last year in the Crownpoint Expedition in the Regement whereof Josiah Brown Esqr. was Colonal and in Captain Daniel Fleacher's Company, now may it please your Excellency and Honours I was taken Very Sick at the Lake with the Camp fever and I was brought Down in a Wagon from the Lake to Albany and when I had got to Albany I being so poor that I was oblidge to tarry some days upon my own Expence and I travelled from there to Canterhook and there I being so poor that I was oblidge to sell my Gun for five shillings and four pence which I could have had one pound twelve shillings for it Before I went from home, also I was oblidge to sell a new wollen check shirt for two shillings and four pence, and a new pair of stockings for one shilling and two pence, and a Good pair of Shoes for one shilling and three pence which I was oblidge to sell for my Necessity and Besides that aforementioned I was oblidge to spend eighteen shillings for my Necessity a coming home, and I travelled from Canterhook as well as I could to Springfield and there I sent home for a man and horse to fetch me home, and I travelled as well as I could from there to Brookfield and there a man and horse came for me and it took the man three days a going there and bringing me home and six shillings sixpence for a horse hired to fetch me home..... DANIEL HOUGHTON, JUNR.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXV, 322.]

.....The Humble petition of Abraham Houghton who was.....in the Regiment Whereof Josiah Brown Esq^{r} was Colonal and in Captain Daniel Fleacher's Company.....as I was Returning home from the Camps the Last fall I was takeu Ill at Kanterhook and I travelled as well

as I could from there to Westfield and there I sent home for a man and horse to fetch me home and I travelled from there to Springfield and there I was ten days sick at the house of one Joseph Taylor under the Care of Doctor Ashly of Westfield and there a man and horse came for me and it took the man and horse twelve days a going there and bringing me home and the Expence I was at a comeing home was eighteen shillings which I was oblidge to spend for my necessity Besides the time of the man and horse which Cost me one pound and one shilling and I was comeing home from the 29 day of November to the 22 day of December from the Lake home and I was six weeks not able to do any sort of work..... ABRAHAM HOUGHTON.

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXV. 324.]

The expedition for the expulsion of the French from their recently fortified positions on the Bay of Fundy, which ended in the ravaging and depopulation of Acadia, set out from Boston under command of Lieutenant-colonel Robert Monckton, May 20, 1755. With it, belonging to the second battalion — Lieutenant-colonel John Scott's — was a company officered by, and largely composed of, Lancaster men. Its captain, Abijah Willard, was the brother of Colonel Samuel, and like him, a native of Still River, born July 8, 1720. A younger brother, Joshua, and Moses Haskell were his lieutenants, and Caleb Willard his ensign. The Harvard men in his command were eight in number:—

Benjamin Atherton,	aged 20, laborer.	Daniel Harper,	aged 21, laborer.
Jonathan Creasy,	" 25, "	Elias Haskell,	" 19, cooper.
Isaac Day,	" 24, cooper.	Joseph Metcalf,	" 21, "
John Farnsworth,	" 30, laborer.	Silas Willard,	" 19, laborer.

The enlistment was for a year. Captain Willard was a very efficient officer, inheriting from his father and great-grandfather much of their energy and judgment in the management of men. He was a strict disciplinarian, but studiously careful of the health and well-being of those under his authority. The company had little experience of battle, for, after some skirmishing and a four days' investment of Fort Beausejour, the French military forces abandoned the country; but there devolved upon it much hardship and a service repulsive to brave men. Captain Willard was sent to Bay Verte, where upon opening his sealed instructions he found his orders were to desolate the whole district to the Basin of

Minas, and march the inhabitants to Fort Cumberland. This cruel mandate of Monckton was faithfully carried out. The broken-hearted peasantry were driven on board transports and carried to be dispersed among the American colonies, where these exiles, known as French Neutrals, sighed their lives away in wretched poverty, never ceasing to lament for their lost Acadia. Captain Willard left a brief journal of his Acadian experiences, from which we learn that one day in his march along the shore of the Basin of Minas, where precipitous cliffs bordered the sands, the expedition barely missed a more tragic ending. The warning of a Frenchman and a retreat at headlong speed to a point where the bank could be scaled, just saved it from being ingulfed by the in-rush of the eighty-foot tide, and many of the soldiers had to wade to escape. Willard records his experience at one of the chief settlements in his round of devastation thus:—

> .....I told them they might cary their familys with them if they thought best; and upon that they askt me for to have Liberty to go with their familys to the Island of St John's but soon answered them itt did not lie in my power to do itt, and they askt me Liberty for two hours to Consult wether they thought best to cary their familys. I Granted them the Liberty and after they had Consulted with each other they sent for me and they made this Reply that they had chose to Leave their familys, which I Readily Granted for I did not want the Trouble of the women and children.....this afternoon I ordered the whole to be Drawed up in a Bodey and bid the french men march of, and sott fire to their Buildings and Left the women and children to Tack Care of themselves with grate Lamentation, which I must Confess itt seemed to be sumthing shoking.

The long and dreary winter was spent in barracks at Fort Cumberland, and it was not until April, 1756, that the Harvard soldiers of the Acadian campaign saw Massachusetts again. Of the French Neutrals, whom they assisted in driving from their pleasant homes, more than a thousand had been distributed throughout Massachusetts the preceding February, and Theal Forre [Forrait], his wife Abigail, and their children, Mary, Abigail and Margaret, were assigned to Harvard.

Early in the spring of 1756 the provincial forces were organized and began to assemble at Albany for a renewal of

the campaign against Crown Point. It was June before General Joseph Abercrombie appeared to assume command, and he awaited the coming of the royally-commissioned general-in-chief, Earl Loudoun, who finally arrived late in July. The dallying of these British officers had made useless the costly preparations of New England; the expedition did not move from the base of supplies. Harvard was represented in the army of the province by at least ten men; seven were enlisted in the company of Captain Thomas Hartwell of Littleton for the regiment of Colonel Jonathan Bagley, serving from April to December:—

Benjamin Bridge, *lieutenant.*	Abijah Coles	Gershom Hale
Justinian Holden, *clerk.*	Isaac Day	Uriah Holt
		Benjamin Hutchins

[Massachusetts Archives. XCV. 50.]

John Burt and Jonathan Peirce also served during the campaign, and Jeremiah Dickenson enlisted but died in March. A memorial by Uriah Holt may throw some light upon the means used to keep watchers wakeful in 1756:—

The Petition of Vriah Hoult a Poor Soulger who was oute In the Expedition against Crown Point In the year 1756 under the Command of Capte Thomas Hartwell In the Regement of Coll Bagley, and so it was may Plese your Honours that as I was Returning home from said Expedition I was Taken Sik at the Hafe Moon & Lay there four Days and then mov[d]. Homewards as fast as my strength would admitt and with what it Cost me for Hiring Horses from Place to Place and for what I payed for Nesecareys In my Sik & weke Condition over and above what the Province allowed for my Billiting Eighteen Shillings and after I got Home I was Confined to my Bead with the Camp fevour four wekes and had watchers a grate part of the time and it Cost me for Rum Wine Brandey & Plumes Ten Shillings & Eight pence & for Nursing four wekes it Cost me twelve shillings.... July 7, 1757. URIAH HOLT.

[Massachusetts Archives. LXXVIII. 561.]

The year 1757 was passed in "masterly inactivity" on the part of the general-in-chief, and the loss of Fort William Henry disheartened the provinces. Colonel Joseph Frye, on August 2, marched with his Massachusetts regiment from Fort Edward on the Hudson to the relief of Colonel Munro at Fort William Henry, fifteen miles westward, at the head of Lake George. The next day the Marquis Montcalm sur-

rounded the fortress with a force of nine thousand French and Indians, and after six days' brave resistance the garrison was surrendered, upon promise from the French general that the troops with their arms and private property should be safely escorted to the Hudson. The savages broke through all restraint, plundered the baggage of the retreating column, and began a massacre for the spoils to be torn from the bodies of their victims. Colonel Frye and most of his command escaped with the loss of almost everything but life. In his regiment were two companies under captains from towns adjoining Harvard, but no muster-rolls of these have been found. The men of Harvard known to have enlisted during 1757 are: Daniel Allen, Samuel Corey, Isaac Day, Josiah Haskell, David Holden, William Hutchins, David Sanderson, John Taylor. But in the lists of those captured at Fort William Henry, August 9, 1757, preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, Volume I lxxxiv. are the following names of Harvard men: John Burt, Joseph Church, the son of Joshua, John Robbins, Lyn Jock, negro of Nathaniel Whittemore, and probably others.

One of those who survived to tell the story of that fearful day was Josiah, son of Deacon Joseph Haskell, of Still River. He held the rank of ensign, and the bright buttons and other glittering adornments of his coat excited the cupidity of the Indians. As he fled in frantic haste from the scene of turmoil and horror, he found himself nearly overtaken by two stalwart warriors. He contrived to get his coat partly off, and as the savages grasped it he slipped his arms from the sleeves and left them quarreling over its possession. He continued his course for Fort Edward with all the speed he could command, running for nine miles before he was sure that he had evaded his foes. So indelible was the impression made upon his mind by the terrible scenes he had witnessed and that frenzied race for life, that thenceforward in imagination he often heard the savage yells of the red demons, and the despairing outcry of suffering comrades, saw the threatening tomahawks in the hands of swift pursuers, and felt an almost irresistible impulse to flee at utmost speed. It is told of him that in his later years—he died May 19, 1819,

aged eighty-two years — he was often known when at work on some distant part of his farm to suddenly drop whatever implement he held and hurry to the house, fancying he heard the war-whoop of Montcalm's bloodthirsty allies behind him.

The news of the investment of Fort William Henry by Montcalm with an overwhelming force spread dire alarm throughout New England, for it was expected that if victorious he would advance upon Albany and even invade Massachusetts. The bells were rung and messengers were hurried with orders for the captains to march their commands to the frontier without delay. But the Indians with their treacherously acquired plunder dispersed, and the French general, weakened seriously by their defection, wisely secured the valuable fruits of his success and returned to Canada. Before this could be known, one-fourth of the Massachusetts militia were on the road to the Hudson. Two companies under Harvard commanders marched as far as Springfield :—

A Muster Roll of a Foot Company Commanded by Israel Taylor of Harvard, out of Colle. Oliver Wilder's Regt: that March'd on the late Alarm for the Relief of Fort William Henry, as far as Springfield.
[Service August 13 to August 26, 1757.]

Capt: Israel Taylor	Joseph Houghton	William Withington
Lieut: Daniel Whitney	Jon^{a}: Sampson	Amos Ray
Ens^{n}: Phineas Fairbank	John Houghton	Thomas Ozbon
Sergt. Oliver Stone	Amos Fairbank	Elisha Gates Ju^{r}:
Do. Silas Weatherby	Hezek^{h}: Whitney	Phinehas Taylor
Do. David Jewell	Abel Davis	Jeremiah Whitney
Do. Joseph Weatherby	Nath^{ll}: Gates	Sam^{ll}; Farr
Corp^{ll}: Zebulon Peirce	Sam^{ll}; Mead	John Davidson
Do. Isaac Stone	Sam^{ll}: Mead Ju^{r}:	Daniel Rand
Do. Abel Farnsworth	Richard Whitney	Jabez Brown
Do. Will^{m} Sanderson	Josiah Whitney	John Whiteker
Joseph Eveleth	Nathan Warner	Jona: Conant
Elias Stone	Will^{m}: Farmer	Daniel Allen
Abijah Cole	Micah Stone	Jonas Brown
Gordon Hutchins	Abraham Willard	William Jewell
Will^{m}: Burt	John Atherton	Asa Willard
Benj^{a}; Barnard	Deliverance Davis.	

[Massachusetts Archives, xcv, 489.]

A Muster roll of a Company of Troopers commanded by Samuel Haskell of Harvard.....

Capt; Samuel Haskell	Isaac Gates	Charles Willard
Lieut: Samuel Tuttle	Sam[ll]: Finney	Josiah Priest, Ju[r]:
Cornet Samuel Fellows	Moses Whitney	John Sawyer
Quartermaster Jon[a]. Reed	Nath[ll]: Holman	Caleb Sawyer
Corp[ll]: Benja: Hale	Oliver Tenney	Will[m]; Houghton
Do. Jere[h]: Laughton	Phinehas Willard, Ju[r]:	Daniel Houghton
Do. Jona: Wheeler	John Meriam	Robert Whitcomb
Barnabas Davis, Ju[r].	Ezekiel Haskell	Nath[ll]: Houghton
Jonas Peirce	John Cobligh	Peter Fox
Stephen Tuttle	Aaron Davis	Peter Willard
Aaron Rand	Tho[s]: Wright, Ju[r]:	Tho[s]: Houghton
Simon Blanchard	Judah Clerk	James Crosfield

[Massachusetts Archives, xcv, 533.]

The close of the year 1757 saw the American colonies discouraged by their enormous war expenditures, the rapacity of the English civil officials set over them, and the inefficiency of the arrogant martinets sent from the mother country to take command of their military levies. The honors of the contest were thus far wholly with Montcalm. Remembering Louisbourg, the New England captains might well wish they had been left to plan and execute their own campaigns without British interference. England was only saved from deeper shame by the granting of almost dictatorial powers to William Pitt, the sagacity of whose policy was no where more evident than in his conciliatory treatment of the American colonies. Their war claims were honorably discharged, their commissions recognized as giving military rank, redress was promised for official injustice, the lethargic general-in-chief was retired, and twenty thousand men, the flower of the British army, were sent to ensure the conquest of Canada.

Massachusetts entered upon the campaign of 1758 with renewed energy, furnishing seven thousand men for the central column of attack to which was specially assigned the capture of Ticonderoga. The nominal commander of the army was Abercrombie, but its ruling spirit was the chivalric Lord George Augustus Howe, who became a great favorite with the colonial soldiers. Unfortunately Lord Howe was killed in a preliminary skirmish, and the imbecile general-in-chief so mismanaged the attack that Montcalm again bore away

the palm of victory. The Harvard men serving in the summer's campaign with the regiment of Colonel Jonathan Bagley, in the company of Captain Salmon Whitney of Stow, were:—

Judah Clark, *lieutenant.*	Jonas Davis	Jonathan Parkhurst
Abraham Willard, *sergeant.*	Josiah Davis	John Rugg
Jonathan Whitney, *corporal.*	Samuel Fellows	David Sampson
Samuel Mead, *corporal.*	Stephen Gates	David Sanderson
Samuel Atherton	James Haskell	Amos Stone
John Burt	Solomon Haskell	Samuel Wetherby
David Brown	Aretus Houghton	Hezekiah Whitney
John Cole	Joseph Houghton	Asa Willard
John Daby	Asahel Nickerson	

Massachusetts Archives, XCVI. 473.]

In Colonel Timothy Ruggles's regiment, under Captains Joseph Whitcomb of Lancaster and James Reed of Lunenburg, were:—

Jonathan Conant	Phineas Farnsworth	Isaac Stone
John Conn	Israel Hale	John Taylor
Jonathan Creasy	William Jewell	Jonathan White
John Davidson	Ephraim Robbins	Thomas White
Joseph Davis	Samuel Sanderson	Jonathan Whitney

Gordon Hutchins was ensign in Captain Aaron Willard's company of Colonel Oliver Partridge's regiment. Jeremiah Eaton and Jonathan Hutchins served under Colonel Ebenezer Nichols, and Jacob Emerson, Samuel Corey, Joseph Proctor and Isaac Holden took part in this year's campaign at Lake George.

A petition of Phinehas Willard, found in Massachusetts Archives lxxviii. 331, records the death of Sergeant Abraham Willard at Sheffield. Another of Simon Daby, on sheet 537 of the same volume, narrates the particulars of the crippled condition through illness, and the painful journeying home of his son John Daby.

General Jeffry Amherst, shortly after his successful campaign against Louisbourg, marched with his army of four thousand troops through Worcester County on his way to the western frontier, arriving at Albany in September, 1758. Under this general, for the campaign of 1759, the following

soldiers from Harvard enlisted in the company of Captain Aaron Willard of Lancaster:—

John Burt, *sergeant.*	Jacob Emerson	Josiah Procter
Samuel Corey, *corporal.*	Jacob Harris	Ephraim Robbins
John Daby, *corporal.*	Isaac Holden	William Sanderson
Nathaniel Bray	John Houghton	Micah Stone
David Brown	Asahel Nickerson	Samuel Whippy
John Cole	Jonathan Peirce	Jonathan White
John Conn		

[Massachusetts Archives, XCVII, 398.]

Sergeant Burt laid down his life in the service as the following petition discloses:—

Province of the Massachusetts Bay.

to his Honnor Thomas Hutechson Commander in Cheaff in and over said province and to the Honnerable his Majstys Council and house of Representivess seting in Boston June 1760, the petition of William Lawrence of Groton In behalf of John Burt of Harvard in the County of Woster Yeoman shews that John Burte Jun Son of the above s^d^ John Burte did In List himself to Goo in the Expedition formed against Canada in the year 1759 and went in Cap^t^ Aaron Willard's Companey and in Brigedear Rugless Ridgement and did the duty of a Sargent until Maj^r^. Rogers Raised a Company to go and destroy Saint fraintway [St. Francis] wich he did and upon the s^d^ John Burte Jun Return hom aboute three days before he Got into No four dyed he allso Lost a Good Gun which he Carrid with him and so it tis that the said John Burt Jun is made up in s^d^ Capt. Willards Rool moor than one month short in his Wages as may be made to appear theirfore your petitioner in behalf of the first named John Burt prays that your Honnor and Honnors will give order for such a sum to be drawed oute of the province Tresurer as you in your Grate wisdom shall think to be Just and your petitioner. In behalf of the s^d^. Burt shall Ever pray WILLIAM LAWRENCE

[Massachusetts Archives, LXXIX, 176.]

Two pounds, eleven shillings and fourpence were allowed by the General Court. Colonel Abijah Willard commanded a regiment during this campaign, in which Dr. John Taylor of Harvard was surgeon and John Preston surgeon's mate; and in the company of Captain Benjamin Hastings of Bolton were:—

Jonathan Gates	Ambrose Hale	David Taylor
Elias Haskell	Gordon Hutchins	

[Massachusetts Archives, XCVII, 389.]

With other captains in 1759 were: Jonas Davis, Amos Stone and Abraham Whitney. Amherst made his preparations with so cautious deliberation that the advance upon the French forts was not begun until late in July. Ticonderoga and Crown Point fell into his hands with small pretence of contest, but before he was again ready to push northward upon Lake Champlain, Wolfe had immortalized himself at Quebec and the frosts had set in. As usual the Colonial forces were dismissed for the winter months, and the Harvard soldiers related their thrilling frontier adventures by their home firesides, awaiting the renewal of the conflict upon the opening of spring.

Moses Wentworth, who after the war came to Harvard to reside and died May 29, 1773, was a sergeant at the battle of Quebec, and was fond of telling his recollection of Wolfe as he saw him on the Heights of Abraham with long locks curling about his shoulders, seemingly as calm as though he was directing a holiday parade, instead of the contest for a continent between rival nations.

The final advance of 1760 from Crown Point did not begin until the tenth of August. The troops proceeded in batteaux down Lake Champlain, drove the enemy with artillery from their defensive works upon the St. John's river, and pursued them to the vicinity of Montreal. The column was in charge of Colonel William Haviland, a martinet much disliked by the Provincial troops, who were kept upon fatigue duty when not on the march, and after the conclusion of the campaign and the return to Crown Point, where they expected speedy discharge, were detained for two months building barracks and fortifications. The men of Harvard in this year's service were under Colonels Abijah Willard and Timothy Ruggles, attached to several companies.

John Taylor, *surgeon.*	Silas Farnsworth	Jonathan Russell
David Taylor, *surgeon's mate.*	Stephen Gates	Coleman Sanderson
John Preston, " "	Samuel Hancock	John Sanderson
Isaac Stone, *second lieutenant.*	Solomon Haskell	Peter Snow (*died*)
William Burt, *ensign.*	Uriah Holt	Ephraim Stone
Caleb Wright, *sergeant.*	Maximilian Jewett	Solomon Turner
John Conn, "	Jabez Keep	Ephraim Warner
Timothy Bowers	Asahel Nickerson	Samuel Whippy

James Burt
John Burt
Silas Corey
David Dickenson
Lemuel Farnsworth
Phineas Farnsworth
Seth Oak
David Pierce
Timothy Powers
James Reed
Jonathan Reed
Ebenezer Rice
Jonathan White
Benjamin Whittemore (*died*).
Nathaniel Willard
Sawyer Wright

[Massachusetts Archives, XCIX.]

The six years' conflict had ended in the complete conquest of Canada, and New England had nothing further to dread from French and Indian raids; but for two years more, until the Treaty of Paris was signed, the forts at Crown Point and Halifax were garrisoned by New England men. At the former were stationed under Captain Thomas Farrington of Groton these soldiers of Harvard in 1762:—

James Burt
Silas Corey
Thomas Daby
Abel Farnsworth
Samuel Fellows
Jacob Harris
Uriah Holt
Benjamin Priest
Timothy Powers
James Reed
Ephraim Stone
Paul Willard
Abijah Worster
Samuel Worster
Thomas Wright

At Halifax there were under Captain James Reed of Lunenburg in 1761:—

Abijah Cole
Stephen Gates
Stephen Gates, Jr.
John Harper
Paul Willard
Dole Johnson
Simeon Johnson

[Massachusetts Archives, XCIX, 223, &c.]

In the militia organization of the state at the close of the war, Harvard had two companies, attached to the Second Worcester Regiment. Peter Atherton, Esq., was lieutenant-colonel of the regiment and captain of the first company. The other officers were:—

First Company.	*Second Company.*
Joseph Fairbank, Jr., *captain lieut.*	Phineas Fairbank, *captain.*
Benjamin Stow, *lieutenant.*	Jeremiah Laughton, *lieutenant.*
Peter Atherton, Jr., *ensign.*	Jason Russell, *ensign.*

The officers were frequently changed, but the organization remained practically the same, Harvard always having two infantry companies until within the memory of men now living.

VII.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR — 1763-1783.

I. TOWN MEETING AND COUNTY CONVENTION.

TEN years of plenteous harvests and industry in the arts of peace had covered from sight the scars received in the long and bloody war that finally expelled the Bourbons from America. The extraordinary military expenditures by which Massachusetts impoverished herself had been re-imbursed from the royal treasury. Relieved from all fear of savage incursions and French domination, New England was prosperous, but not forgetful of past grievances and animosities, nor content with the political outlook. The British ministry not only persisted in a restrictive commercial policy oppressive to colonial commerce, but in contempt of patriotic remonstrance and petition were perpetually nagging the colonies by petty tyrannies and encroachments upon what they deemed their constitutional rights as English subjects. Parliament having enforced the imposition of external taxation through the Navigation Laws of 1763, attempted the collection of internal taxes through the Stamp Act of 1765, regardless of all signs of ripening revolt. Then the Sons of Liberty organized for protest and resistance. Riotous disturbances prevented the execution of the obnoxious law, and it was repealed in 1766, only to be succeeded two years later by taxation equally unconstitutional, and by the sending of ships of war to Boston to intimidate the people.

A nervous jealousy of all authority not originated by popular will or defined in written charter found voice in church, newspaper and town-meeting. The singing of liberty-songs

in the streets, and the raising of liberty-poles in every rural village, were ominous of the coming struggle between loyalty and the growing spirit of democracy. Committees of Correspondence secured unity and harmony of action throughout the state. The veterans of Louisbourg and the Crown Point expeditions in every township were fighting their battles over by many a fireside, teaching the younger generations their own rankling resentment of the insolence received from the red-coated martinets set over them by Parliament, and inspiring them with their own hatred for the supercilious royal officials whose incompetence, sloth and greed had cost Massachusetts so much blood and treasure.

March 5, 1770, a chance street affray between a few British soldiers and the populace in Boston ended in bloodshed, and was dignified by the popular sentiment of the day into a massacre of patriots. In 1772 an act of Parliament for the protection of dock yards and military stores arbitrarily invaded the right of trial by jury. In the same year the governor and judges were made independent of the Provincial assembly—an innovation which aroused general apprehension of graver tyranny. In 1773 a bill passed by Parliament in favor of the East India Company led to the riotous destruction of the tea in Boston harbor. In a spirit of retaliation the Boston Port Bill was passed in 1774, practically closing that harbor to commerce. This was met by non-importation and non-exportation agreements throughout the Colonies. At every advance in aggression the spirit of patriotic resistance grew more enthusiastic and determined. The growth of this spirit in Harvard will be shown by extracts from the records of the town. At a town-meeting December 21, 1767:—

Unanimously Voted for a Concurrance with the vote of the Town of Boston at their Meeting Legally Assembled at Faneuil Hall on Wednesday the 28th. of Octobr. 1767: Voted that the Town will take all prudent and Legal Measures to incourage the Produce and Manufactures of this Province and to lessen the use of superfluities.....

Sept. 20th 1768....the Votes and Proceedings of the Town of Boston at their late meeting at Faneuil Hall on the 12th. and 13th. of Sept. instant, as attested by the Town Clerk of said Boston, as likewise the letter from the gentl Selectmen of Boston, Dated the 14th. instant, to the Select-

men of Harvard, was Read, and after Deliberate Consideration the following Votes passed, Viz: Voted to send one man as a Committeeman to join the intended committee in Convention at Faneuil hall in Boston on the Twenty-second Day of Sep^{r}. instant at Ten of the clock a forenoon. Then Proceeded and Chose Israel Taylor Esq^{r}. to be a Committeeman as above said for Harvard. Proceeded and Voted the following Resolve, viz: That the Freeholders and other inhabitants of the Town of Harvard, will at the utmost peril of their lives, and fortunes, take all legal and Constitutional Measures to Defend and Maintain the Person, Family, Crown, and Dignity of our Sovereign Lord George the third; and all and singular the Rights, Liberties, Privileges and immunities granted in our Royal Charter: as well as those which are Declared to be Belonging to us as British Subjects by Birthrite as all others therein specially mentioned.

In the warning of a town-meeting called on the 18th of February, 1773, the second article was:—

To see whether the Town will chuse and appoint a Committee of Correspondance to consider and state the Rights of the Colonists and of this Province in Particular, as men, as Christians and as Subjects; and to lay their Resolves before the Town at their annual meeting in March next—for their approbation, that the sense of the Town may be taken and made publick by the Communication thereof to the Town of Boston or any other Towns within this Province. .....

At the meeting, Reverend Joseph Wheeler being moderator, a committee of seven was chosen, and their report was read and adopted on March 1, and recorded by the town clerk, Phinehas Fairbank, as follows:—

That any Disputes with our Parent Country is what we take no pleasure in, and would be glad might be avoided if possible consistant with fidelity to ourselves and mankind in general. We would not therefore be for violent measures if they can be avoided, but would support our Rights by force of Reason and not by force of arms; but yet we earnestly wish that nothing may intimidate us into a compliance with measures repugnant to the Liberties we have a right to clame.

That as a union between Great Brittain and the Colonies established upon the principles of Equity, must tend to promote the Glory, Strength, and Security of the whole, so this is what we earnestly wish might be continued till Time shall be no more.

That the great end of government and of men's entring into Civil Society is the preservation and security of their just Rights, Liberties and Properties against unjust force and violence, and when this is disregarded by those who govern they Counteract the very Design for which

Government was Instituted, and that the governed have a right to judge of what is for the benefit of the Society as well as the Governour.

That every man has a right by Nature, which is likewise secured to him by the British constitution, to have a voice either personally or by Representatives in the making those Laws and Levying such Taxes as he is to conform to. And that the contrary to this must be a state of actual Slavery.

That the powers assumed by the parlament of Great Brittain over the Colonies for Taxation are not supportable in our opinion, neither by the Law of Nature, the principles of the Brittish Constitution nor by the manifest intention of their Charters: as they were understood by the Royal authority granting them and the People emigrating into this American Wilderness as well as the Concurring Conduct of Parlament in divers instances.

That these measures unconstitutionally taken cannot be supposed to be founded upon good policy as they have a natural tendancy to alienate the affections of the Colonies from Great Brittain and to destroy that Union which is the glory and exelency of the whole.

We acknowledge that government ought to be supported and the Brittish Empire defended, and that it is the duty of the various parts of the empire to contribute their equitable proportion for the defence of the whole, whether the operations of the enemy are against that part or not, and we are perswaded that government has been honorably supported here; and that this government has done at least her equal proportion for the defence of the whole, in the time of war, and we think it unreasonable to suppose that [the people will] do otherways so long as they may enjoy the free exercise of their just rights. Why then should this important Trust be wrested out of our hands accompanyed with so many marks of Infamy? Why should we be denied the pleasing satisfaction of contributing something that we may call our own to the Support of Government and the Defence of His Majesty's Dominions?

That our Forefathers' coming into this Wilderness, in leaving His Majesty's Dominions and Encreasing the Commerce of Great Brittain has tended more to the Emolument of the Mother Country than if they had remained in their native land; and that the profit which Great Brittain annually receives from us in the way of Trade is more than we receive from them. It must therefore be esteamed ungenerous and base as well as Iniquitous to reward the Posterity of those worthy adventurers who have done so much for the good of the Nation with Servitude and Slavery.

The new officers appointed from Home to superintend the revenue unconstitutionally raised upon us; the unconstitutional powers vested in them; the taking Castle William out of our hands where are deposited our principle Stores for defence, and puting [it] into the hands of troops, over whome it seems, the governour has no controal; the fleats and armies sent among us to Compell us into a Compliance with measures unconstitutionally taken, and perverting the revenue thats raised upon us to

purposes injurious to our Liberties, and to the inriching of our oppressors, are grevances which cannot be thought on but with indignation by every-one who wishes the prosperity of his Country.

The enormous extension of the power of the Court of Vice-admiralty, whereby we are in a great measure deprived of the right to trials by jurours; The danger we are in of being harried from our houses across the Atlantick to the remotest parts of England for Trials agreeable to a late act of parliament, upon the supposition of crimes we may be wholly innocent of, are grievances of an alarming nature.

The making the governer, together with other principle officers in the Province totally independant on the people for their support, and yet paid with money unconstitutionally extorted from them, is making an alteration in the Constitution very unfriendly to the Liberties of a free People.

And lastly the making the Judges of the Superior Court wholly dependant upon the Crown for their Support on whom not only the decision of property but the power of life and death in a great measure depends, and who, according to the Constitution of Great Brittain founded upon the principles of right reason are to be as independant as possible, is a measure which we think we have abundant cause to be alarmed at, for altho we are well satisfyed with the integrity of the present Judges of the Superior Court; yet the time may come when persons of a very different carracter will be advanced to that important trust. Our minds are filled with horror, at the apprehention that at some future period, a Jeffereys accompanyed with a Kyrk, [Colonel Kirke] may take their progress through the Province, men void of honour, glorying in their cruelty and wantonly taking away the lives of innocent People, or obliging them to purchase their lives at the expense of their estates.

We think that no attempt like this has been made upon our Constitution since the day that our Fathers came out of England, to this present day, and that our own interest, the interest of the publick, as well as the interest of unborn millions demands it of us, that we think of it, take advice and speak our minds.

Therefore we recommend that a committee be chosen by the Town to correspond with the Town of Boston Committee, and the Committees of the Towns in the Province, in order to consider of the most wise and prudent, and salutary measures which can be taken for the Recovering, Maintaining, and Defending our Constitutional Rights and privileges;

JOSEPH WHEELER,
SIMON DABY,
LEMUEL WILLARD,
PHINEAS FAIRBANK,
JOSEPH FAIRBANK,
ABRAHAM WHITNEY,
RICHARD HARRIS,
} *Committee.*

After Deliberate Reading whereof, it was Tryed by a Vote of the Town for acceptance, and passed in the affirmative. *Nem. Con.*

And then the folowing votes were unanimously passed. 1st. That the Representative be instructed to use his Influence in the General Assembly, in all Constitutional ways, for the maintaining and defending those privileges, and the Removal of those Grevances Refered to in the above paper. 2ly. Voted that Messrs. Joseph Wheeler, Phinehas Fairbank and Oliver Whitney, be a Committee for Correspondance with the Committee of Boston and other Committees as Occation may serve. 3ly. Voted that the Committee be Directed with these Proceedings to Render the Thanks of the Town to the Town of Boston for the wise, prudent and sesonable efforts which they have used for the preservation of our invaluable privileges. 4ly. Voted that the Report of the Committee together with the other proceedings of the Town hereupon be put upon Record.

Entred PHINEHAS FAIRBANK *Town Clerk.*
JOSEPH WHEELER *Moderator.*

To the Committee of Communication & Correspondance at Boston.

Gentlemen. Our being somewhat late in Delivering our Sentiments upon affairs so deeply interesting to the inhabitants of this Province as well as to the American Colonies in general must not be attributed to an unconcernedness in us about the Incroachments made and still making upon our Constitutional Rights: But we waited in expectation of receiving the proceedings of the Town of Boston directed to us which have by some means failed.

Nevertheless we thought it our Duty to Contribute our Endeavours (tho but small) to promote so Important a Cause as that which has engaged the attention of the Metropolis of this Province, which we believe to be the Cause of Truth and Equity, and pray that in the Defence thereof we may have that wisdom from above which is profitable to Direct.

According as we are Directed we give you the sincere and harty thanks of the Town for all the wise prudent and seasonable Efforts which you have used in the Defence of the Common Cause of Liberty. May you have the hapyness to see your Endeavours Crowned with lasting Success.

We trust that your names will be recorded with distinguished honour in the annals of futurity. That the generations to come when in the pleasing exercise of these privileges will call you Blessed.

We wish every desirable Felicity to the Town of Boston, the City of our Solemnityes. May she ever be a Quiet Habitation, a Tabernacle not taken down; may none of her libertyes be removed from her, but may the Glorious Lord, be her Law giver, her Judge, and her Saviour.

Gentlemen with Due Respect we Remain your Friends, and fellow servants in the Comon cause.

JOSEPH WHEELER,
PHINEHAS FAIRBANK, } *Committee.*
OLIVER WHITNEY.

HARVARD, March 4th, 1773.

December 20th. 1773.....

The Committee of Correspondance for Harvard having laid before the Town at their legal meeting this day the proceedings of the Town of Boston together with many of the inhabitants of the adjacent Towns, directed to us by the Committee of Correspondance for Boston, relative to the East India Company's sending their Teas to America, subject to a Duty hear, and their desire to have our Sentiments upon the affair, and finding it to be a matter of as interesting and important a nature when viewed in all its Consequences not only to this Town and Province, but to America in general, and that for ages and generations to come, as ever came under the deliberation of this Town, and therefore demands our most serious and attentive Consideration, and after Due Consideration the following Resolves were passed viz :

Resolve 1st. That submiting to laws made and imposed upon us without our Consent; and being subjected to Taxes where we are not Represented is a grievance so directly subversive of the rights of Nature, and the principles of the English Constitution that Fidelity to him that made us free, Fidelity to ourselves and to posterity whose Representatives in this case we are, forbids our consenting to them.

2ly. That the reception of the East India Company's Tea while subjected to an American duty, would be a practicle acknowledgement of the rights of Taxation as Expressed above, and therefore cannot be consented to.

3ly. That the Consideration of the manner in which the intended Revenue is to be appropriated is an additional agrevation of our grevIance it being for the Support of Officers over whome we can have no controle and for the support of peuonee [puisne] and place men whom [in] all probility when their scheem is once established will be as mercyless in their disposition as the Egiption Taskmasters and will be likely to silence the murmers of the people by increasing their burdens.

4ly. Tumultuous Assemblies we would Discountenance but when the Rights of the people are invaded, their valuable privileges trampled in the dust, their petitions and remonstrances either not heard or Rejected with Scorn and themselves surrounded with all the gloomy horrours of abject slavery attended with all the marks of infamy is it the Duty of such a people to remain quiet and tamly to submit to the yoak of oppression; are they not rather to assume that power which originally belongs to the people and if possible free themselves from the impending evil; has the Ruler any more right to invade the privileges of the people than the people the authority of the Ruler; do not the same laws which secure the authority of the one, protect the privileges of the other?

5ly. That the late meeting of the inhabitants of Boston and many others from the adjacent Towns to consult measures to prevent the Reception of the East India Company's Tea and to Endeavour that it might be sent back again was both lawdable and just and merits the aprobation of every one who feels [for] the prosperity of his Country, and as they are strugling for those rights which were so dearly purchased by our

memorable ancestors and which ought to be esteamed by us dear as life itself, we think it our Duty as well as can declare it to be our Cordial Disposition to assist them in so honorable a cause not in word and tongue only but in deed and in truth.

6^{ly}. That we will as far as in us lies discountenance the buying seling or any way useing the article of Tea among ourselves and others so long as it is subject to an American Duty.

7^{ly}. That the thanks of the Town should be returned to Boston for all that wise prudent and unwearied pains which they have taken for the support of American liberty.

8^{ly}. Voted that two members should be added to the Committee of Correspondence for this Town. and that Dea. Lemuel Willard and Lieut. Isaac Gates be the persons.

A true Copy Attest. PHINEHAS FAIRBANK, *Town Clerk.*

HARVARD December 20. 1773.

Gent. we herewith transmit to you the proceedings of the Town of Harvard at their legal meeting this day relative to our publick affairs. a deep concern for the good of this country possesses the minds of almost every one and a noble resolution prevails to do everything in their power for the support of our hapy Constitution, and we hartily congratulate you, gentlemen, upon that remarkable unanimity which prevails not only in this province but thro the Continant of America in general. Ought we not to consider this as the Lord's Doing who has the harts of all men in his hands and that he will yet visit this vine and the vinyard which his right hand hath planted which he will make strong for himself. that he will defeat the devices of our enemies and turn their counsels into foolishness.

We are heartily sorry for the misguided policy of our mother country the place of our forefathers' sepulchers. we earnestly wish her welfare and that she might yet be so wise as to consider the things which belong to her peace. we glory in being called her children tho' our inheritance is of our own earnings and wish to continue our relation to her so long as we may enjoy the privileges of sons.

We are sorry we should have any among ourselves so sold to wickedness as to betray the liberties of their country that country too which had lavished upon them all the Honours and Dignitys which she was capable of bestoing. and trust that in the end they will render that recompence which is meet; and hope that those will be advanced to rule over us who like Mordica will be accepted of the multitude of their bretheren seaking the welth of their people and speaking peace to all their seed.

Gentlemen, we sincerely thank you for the abundant pains you have taken in the common cause and be assured that upon our side we shall be ready to advertise you of anything which may arise within the reach of our knowledge which may have a tendancy to promote the general good, and beg leave to subscribe ourselves your sincear friends and humble servants. By order of the Committee of Harvard

JOSEPH WHEELER, *Clerk,*

The Town being met..... June 13th, 1774, on Article 1st. Voted and chose Mr Joseph Wheeler Moderator for said meeting.

Article 2d. After reading and hearing a number of prints from the Committee. of Correspondence at Boston, and others relating to an act that has been passed by the British parliament for blocking up the Harbour of Boston with a Fleet of ships of war and preventing the Entrance in or Exporting of all sorts of Marchandise &c. After Deliberate Consideration and Debate came into the following Resolves: Viz. 1st. Voted We highly resent the indignity; and are sensible that there is a system established and establishing, to reduce us to a state of the basest slavery by mear dint of power, in direct violation of the Sacred Laws of Nature as well as of the Established Constitution, and which we imagine is accompanyed with the foulest ingratitude considering the part which America and this province in particular has born, in raising Grait Brittan to that destinguished Emenance among the nations which she now possesses. We are determined to do everything in our power to evade the impending evil, and as a means for the accomplishment of which we ernestly recommend a firm and steady persevearing uninimity among ourselves. Faction has been the destruction of many powerfull states and Kingdoms, while on the other hand firmness and uninimity has often proved the Salvation of many otherways feable ones. We think it of the greatest importance and consequence that a general Congress should be held as soon as it can prudently be brought about, and wish to see the non-importation agreement promoted for which we are determined to contribute our endeavours to the utmost. Gentlemen with deep concearn and ardent desire for your enlargement we subscribe your sincear friends and humble servants.

Then 2dly Voted that the Committee of Correspondence for Harvard are directed to transmit to the Committee at Boston, the votes on this article.....

September 19th. 1774..... Voted and Chose Mr Joseph Wheeler to Represent the Town in a Provential Congress purposed to be held at Concord on the Second Tuesday of October next, to consult measures salutary to the promoting and maintaining Unity in the comon cause of this province, in defending our Constitutional Rights and priveledges; and to reccommend the same to their constituants.

Then voted that the military officers respectively resign their Commitions, and no longer hold any power or athority by virtue of their said Commitions. Then voted that the Devisions of the Companyes be as heretofore and that they meet at the meeting house in Harvard on the last monday in September current Eight o.Clock forenoon in order to chose officers to lead them till an Establishment shall be made either by the Congress of the Colonies, or some other constitutional way; and that the officers so chosen shall be obeyed according to the Rules of Military Discipline.

Then voted to indemnify the Constables for neglecting to return a list

of men's names qualifyed to serve as Juriours under the new constitution, Then voted that the Law be put in Execution to prevent pedlers hawkers &c. from carrying about and Exposing to sale their wares in this Town, more espetially English and Eastindia goods. Then voted a compliance with the Resolves passed by the Committees of Correspondence at Worcester relating to Justices of the peace, coroners, sheriffs and so forth, officiateing in their respective offices.

Article 3. Voted that the Town stock of Amunition be 500 weight of powder with bullets and flints answerable. Then voted and granted the sum of twenty pounds to be assessed and appropriated to purchase said powder, lead and flints.

Article 4th. Voted that Harvard Committee of Correspondence attend the meetings of Correspondence in other Towns within this County as occation may require acting therein Discressionary.....

Sept 26eh 1774.....

Voted and chose the Selectmen of the Town of Harvard to be a Committee to Receive the Charitable Donations of any of the inhabitants of said Town brought by them to said Committee on or before the 25th of December next to be conveyed to the overseers of the poor of the Town of Boston for their support.

.....Voted that the Town well approves of the votes which have been passed in our Military Companyes this Day namely the Choice of officers and to train four times in a year. Then voted that the names of the officers in their appartments be entred in this Volom, and are as follows: Viz:

THE OLDEST COMPANY.

Officers.	*Sergeants.*	*Corporals.*
Capt. Asa Houghton	John Daby	Joseph Atherton Jr.
Lieut. Isaac Gates	Simeon Willard	John Houghton
Lieut. Josiah Haskell	Samuel Hill	David Sampson
Ens. Amos Fairbank	Lemuel Hafkell	Richard Harris, Jr.
Phinehas Sawyer, *clerk.*		

THE YOUNGEST COMPANY.

Officers.	*Sergeants.*	*Corporals.*
Capt. Josiah Whitney	Caleb Sawyer	James Whitcomb
Lieut. James Burt	Hezekiah Whitney	Silas Rand
Lieut. Phinehas Farnworth	Ephraim Davis	Jotham Barnard
Ens. Jacob Robins	Joel Stone	Simon Cooper
Charles Taylor, *clerk.*		

HARVARD December 19th. 1774.....The Continental Resolves being read before the Town the following vote passed namely—that the Town of Harvard highly approves of and adhears to the same and likewise will indeavour to govern themselves according to the true spirit thereof.

.....

Having read before the Town the Resolves of the Provential Congress bearing date Decbr. 5th. 1774, in Conformity thereunto, Voted and Chose a

Committee of three men to Draught a Covenant for the inhabitants of this Town to sign: namely: Missuers Joseph Wheeler Joseph Fairbank Oliver Whitney Committee.

The above Committee made Report and Recommended the following Covenant to be signed by the inhabitants of this Town namely:

Whereas the Parliament of Great Brittan have for several years past, been attempting to alter the Constitution of these American Colonies, and to establish on oppressive arbitrary and tyrannical system over us; which if carried into effect will not only reduce us to a state of basest slavery: But indanger the Distruction of the whole Brettish Empire; For which Reason we cannot but think our selves bound in duty by every method in our power to Defeat so Detestible a plan. And whereas the Association Recommended by the Contenential Congress in their Sessions at Phelidelphia the Fifth of September last for Defeating the Designs of our Enemies and for the Recovering maintaining, and Defending our Constitutional Rights & priveleges appears to us to be wise and judicious which ought and undoubtedly will be Religiously Regarded by every friend to his Country, therefore as a part of the whole this Town Resolves:

1st. To pay the most Religious Strict and Solemn adhearance thereto.

2ly. That the plan proposed by the Provential Congress for carrying the same into execution appears to us to be a reasonable one; We therefore Covenant and Engage with each other to adhear to the same.

3ly We recommend that the committee of inspection (Chosen this Day) offer this Covenant to the several inhabitants of this Town to be signed by them and make Return of their Doings hereon at the anual March Meeting or sooner if occation Requir that those who Refuse to do it may be Publickly Known and treated according to the nature of their offence.

4ly. Whereas we have credible information that there is a Covenant sent out by our Enemies in order to Defeat the plan proposed by the Continental Congress, and as much as in them lies to sow the seeds of Discord and Contention among us, and as there is Danger that some may be Beguiled into the measure before they are aware of the pernitious Consequences thereof, we therefore think it our Duty to Caution all the inhabitants of this Town against any such Engagement, as they would avoid the Displeasure not only of this Town and Province, but of the whole Continent, and should any be so void of Reson and so Destitute of Affection to their Country as to do it, We Recommend the withdrawing all commertial Connections from them, and shall consider them as unfit to hold any Posts of Honnour or profit hereafter in the Town. And we Recommend that the Committee be carefull in their inquiries and give the earliest notice if any such measure should be attempted in this place.

Dated at Harvard Decembr. 19th. 1774.

JOSEPH WHEELER,
JOSEPH FAIRBANK, } *Committee.*
OLIVER WHITNEY,

After acceptance of this the town chose a committee of ten to inspect breaches of the covenant—Samuel Meads, Josiah Whitney, Joseph Atherton, Josiah Haskell, Abraham Whitney, Benj[a] Barnard, William Hudson, Charles Taylor, John Farwell, Phinehas Farnsworth.

The action of the towns was forwarded by that of county conventions. On Tuesday, August 9, 1774, the Committees of Correspondence from the towns in Worcester County held their first convention at the inn of Mrs. Mary Sternes in Worcester. Harvard was ably represented therein and at successive adjournments by Reverend Joseph Wheeler. Consequent upon the discussions at the assemblage of the delegates came the significant demonstration by the people on September 6, when six thousand men under their chosen captains, armed and equipped to defend themselves against any force the royal governor might send, held a mass convention on Worcester green and forced a humiliating recantation from those citizens and court officials who had publicly declared their loyalist sentiments. The convention of September 20 was important for its radical re-organization of the county militia. It enjoined the resignation of all military commissions, and the immediate election of new line officers. The company officers thus chosen selected their own field officers.

Of the seven regiments established for the county, the Third or Lancaster regiment included the towns of Lancaster, Harvard, Bolton, Leominster, Lunenburg, Fitchburg, Ashburnham and Westminster. The regiment nominally consisted of ten companies or "training bands" of one hundred men each, and included all males between the ages of sixteen and fifty years, save the very few exempted because of profession or political position. But the temper of the times was such that the whole male population of adult age grasped such arms as were obtainable and began training for the contest. The Alarm List included all the able-bodied male citizens between sixteen and sixty-five years of age. The Minute Men were picked soldiers, especially skilled in arms, and bound to hold themselves in readiness for service at a minute's notice. They numbered about one-third of the whole Alarm List and formed a regiment by themselves. In

the days of actual conflict some of these distinctions disappeared.

Each soldier wore his every-day clothing and found his own arms and accoutrements, or, if unable to do so, was supplied by the town. Training band and regiment were therefore a mob in motley, so far as appearance went; and the more so that in that age of home-spun, with a dye-tub in most households, reds, blues and browns of various positive shades were the fashion for coats and waistcoats. The officers were frequently undistinguishable from the men by any outward symbol. The company officers sometimes carried guns, and their swords were often the handiwork of the village smith. One of Washington's early orders at Cambridge required the wearing of cockades in their hats by all holding commissions, field officers being distinguished by red, captains by yellow, and subalterns by green.

The colonel-elect of the Lancaster regiment of Minute Men was John Whitcomb of Bolton. None of the staff were from Harvard. The colonel-elect of the Lancaster militia regiment was Asa Whitcomb of Lancaster, brother of John. His staff officers were: Lieutenant-colonel Josiah Whitney of Harvard, Major Josiah Carter of Leominster, Major John Rand of Westminster, Adjutant Eliakim Atherton of Bolton, and Quartermaster Jeremiah Laughton of Harvard.

March 7. 1775.....Tryed by a vote to see if the Town will build a Powder-house and it passed in the Negative. Then Voted to leave it to the selectmen to Provide a place to Keep the Town's Stock of Arms and Ammunition in.....Heard the Report of Capt. Jonathan Davis, Capt. Isaac Gates and Capt. James Burt, that there was the number of about seven or eight, in the Town, who in their Judgement were not able to furnish themselves with arms.....The Town then voted to Provide Twelve Fire Arms, with a Bayonet to each of them.....Then Voted and Granted the sum of Thirty pounds to be Assessed for that use.....After some debate, the Town Voted and Chose a Committee to Draw up purposals for the Town's acceptance, which might be thought an Honorable Gratuity to bestow upon the Minute Company, as a Reward for their pains, and to incorage them in their industry to lern military Exercise, namely Messures Joseph Wheeler, Joseph Fairbank, Simon Whitney, Jonathan Davis, Elisha Fullam. Said Committee having made Report to the Town the Town voted an acceptance thereof. Nevertheless Capt. Jonathan Davis, leder of said Minute Company, having imbodyed his noble sol-

diers, they Returned their Thanks to the Selectmen, for the Town's Generosity to them, but Declared that as they had inlisted Volentears so they do & will Remain Volentears, nither accepting nor Dispising what the Town has Voted for them..... Voted a bounty to be paid on Cloth made in this Town, namely: one peney half peney pr. yard for alwool cloth men's wair, fulled and Marchantable in the Judgment of the Selectmen and being over and above what is intended for the use of the Familyes where it is made, and is Exposed for Sale—likewise one penney pr. yard for woman's all wool for sale as above said,—and for linnen, and tow, half penney pr yard.—Then the Town chose and impowered the Selectmen to be a Committee for that purpose.

May 22. 1775..... Voted and Chose Mr Joseph Wheeler to Represent them in a Provincial Congress to be convened and held at Watertown meeting house, on the thirty-first of may instant, and on their adjournments.....

June 7. 1775..... Voted that the method Proposed by the Commission officers of this Town to alaram is satisfactory to said Town; namely that it be done by firing guns and to begin at Capt. Joseph Fairbank's. And that the soldiers Repair Imediately to the House of Mr James Whitcomb for further orders. Then tryed by a vote to see whether the Town will inlist a Company of men and Horses to be in the Utmost Rediness upon an Alarum to Re-inforce the Troops [before Boston] and it passed in the Negative.

August 10, 1775, the town considered the request of Col. Asa Whitcomb and his regiment for the release from pastoral duties of Rev. Daniel Johnson whom they had elected chaplain of the regiment, but the town declined to spare him from their service.

December 11. 1775.

To the Great and General Court assembled at Watertown for the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay. The Petition of the Town of Harvard humbly sheweth:

That from an Ardent Concern for the good of our Country, in every prudent and necessary way, we are ready to Consecrate our all in such an important cause as we all are Imbarqued in by reason of the intolerable Calamities Occasioned by British Invasions under which America now Groans; Which is sufficient to alarm us to an exertion of our last might, to defend our precious Liberties; and to evade abject slavery; which depends much on the Unanimity of America; and it is with Pain that we behold any thing to the contrary thereto. Therefore we beg leave to mention our dissatisfaction with large stipends granted to officers and some others except soldiers, in the American service which Stipends at the lowest were so high that the Knowledge thereof much

chill'd the Spirits of the Comonality, much more when large additions were made thereto, which has been a bar against the Army's filling up. We acknowledge that a generous Reward is their due, this (in our Judgment) they would have had if their wages had been far less. That the distresses of America should prove a Harvest to some and Famine to others this we deprecate. Therefore we humbly pray that this Honorable court would exert their Power, and use their Influence with the great and general Continental Congress; that such large Stipends may be abridged. This we conceive a necessary means to support unanimity in America which otherwise we fear will soon be interrupted. We therefore beg a candid attention to this our Petition, and as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Simon Daby was sent to Watertown to present this petition, and was perhaps the author of it.

II. LEXINGTON ALARM.

On the morning of the nineteenth of April, 1775, a mounted courier galloped through Bolton and Lancaster shouting to every one he saw that the "red coats" were on the march from Boston. Messengers on fleet horses were hurried off to carry the dread but not unexpected news to adjoining towns; musket shots and drums and Lancaster's little four-pounders spread the alarm; the captains hurriedly assembled their companies, and soon down the Bay Road poured a torrent of patriots to aid in sweeping the invaders back to the sea.

The Harvard men who sprang to arms at the Lexington Alarm and marched to Cambridge were as follows:—

The Troopers.

With the Lancaster Troop, commanded by Captain Thomas Gates of Lancaster, rode:—

Joseph Blood	Joel Phinney	Jeremiah Willard
Shadrach Hapgood	Jonathan Puffer	

The Lancaster Troop was a noted organization for many years after the Revolution, appearing at the annual militia musters until 1825, when half a dozen of the veterans who fifty years before had aided in chasing the British soldiers into Boston were yet living—among them Joseph Blood and Shadrach Hapgood:—

The Minute Men.

Capt. Jon^a. Davis's Muster Roll in Coll. John Whitcomb's Regiment of Minute Men Marched on the Alaram April y^e 19 1775 from Harvard Thirty Miles to Cambridge

Capt. Jon^a. Davis	Fifer Jacob Davis	George Gleason
Lieut. Elisha Fullum	Priv. Jacob Fullum	Eben^r. Davis
2^d Lieut. Jon^a. Pollard	Ruben Garfield	Charles Warner
Ensign James Haskell	Thaddeus Pollard	John Wood
Serj^t. Jabez Keep	Thomas Pratt	David Whitney
" John Mead	Solomon Haskell	John Farnsworth
" Isaac Holden	Joshua Bowers	Ezekiel Cox (*deserted*)
" Abraham Munroe	Benj. Robbins	Abijah Warner
Corp^l. Benj^a. Larrance	James Robbins	Nath^ll Farnsworth
" Josiah Whitney	Jacob Whitney	Philemon Priest
" Prince Turner	Jacob Priest	Oliver Mead
" Josiah Gates	Josiah Davis	Daniel Furbush
Drum^r. Cyras Fairbanks	Manassah Stow	Thomas White
" Jon^a. Davis	John Knight	Isaiah Whitney (*deserted*)
Fifer Abijah Worster	Francis Farr	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XII, 36, 41, 48.]

Cyrus Fairbank, the drummer of this company, outlived all his comrades. He was a son of Captain Joseph Fairbank, born May 17, 1752, and died at Ashburnham, June 18, 1852. George Gleason is yet remembered by elderly citizens as a disreputable old person, with just energy enough to tramp from his home near the Ayer line in Shabikin to the squire's for his pension, and to the tavern daily to have his jug replenished with Medford rum.

The Militia.

Provincial Regt. of Footmen of the Militia Comm^d. by Col^o. Asa Whetcomb, 4^th Comp'y whereof Isaac Gates is Capt. who march'd to Cambridge on y^e Nineteenth April last in Consequence of an Alarm, who return'd again not inlisted into the American Service.

Capt. Isaac Gates	Benj^a. Barnard	Elijah Willard
Lt. Josiah Haskell	Lem^l. Farnsworth	Edw^d Cheney
Lt. Amos Fairbank	Asa Farnsworth	Joseph Atherton
Ens'n John Daby	Barzillai Willard	Zaccheus Stevens
Sergt. Sim: Willard	Molbory Kingman	Josiah Willard
" Sam^l. Hill	Joseph Knight	Jere^h. Bridge
" John Houghton	Sam^l. Farnsworth	Eph^m. Barnard
" John Derby	Joseph Wood	Jon^a Sawyer
Corp^l. Gibson Willard	Phineas Fairbank	Levi Fairbank

Corp. Israel Whitney	Nicholas Patterson	Asa Haven
Drum^{r}. Lem^{l}. Willard	John Atherton	Benj^{a}. Stow
Priv. John Sawyer	Lem^{l}. Haskell	Jon^{a}. Symonds

The Names of those who Inlist^{d}. into y^{e} American Army Viz:—

Eben^{r}. Warner	Thos. Chamberlin	W^{m}. Safford
Sam^{l}. Worster	Joel Finney	W^{m}. Harris
Sam^{l}. Finney	W^{m}. Haskell	Aaron Priest
W^{m}. Bennett	Benj^{a} Willard	Sam^{l}. Furbush

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XII, 99.]

Captain Gates was of a family noted for physical and mental energy. He was peremptory of speech, high spirited and autocratic, with stately figure and soldierly mien. His patriotism was so ardent that he devoted a large share of his property, and he was one of the wealthiest men in the town, to the cause of liberty. He lived on the east side of Bare Hill, his home being quite a distance from the highway opposite the house owned by the late Deacon Jonathan Fairbank. Captain Gates died insane in 1796, at the age of sixty-eight years.

Capt. James Burt's Muster Roll in Colo. Asa Whitcomb's Regt. who marched from Harvard on the Alarm April 19, 1775.

Capt. James Burt	Simon Whitney	Abel Farnsworth
Lt. Phinehas Farnsworth	George Conn	David Sterns
Lt. Jacob Robins	Colman Sanderson	Lemuel Stone
Ens. Caleb Sawyer	Aaron Whitney	Jon^{a}. Crouch, Jr.
Sergt. Hezek. Whitney	Silas Whitney	Willis Secomb
" Ephraim Davis	Sam^{l}. Brown	Aaron Warner
" Joel Stone	Dan. Houghton	John Sawtell Farwell
" Charles Taylor	Moses Hale	Joseph Wetherbee
Corp. James Whitcom	Tim^{o}. Phelps	Joseph Park
" Silas Rand	Tim^{o}. Crouch	Joseph Blanchard
" Simon Cooper	Abijah Reed	Jabez Keep, Jun^{r}.
" Abel Whitcom	W^{m}. Park	Jerem. Willard
Jotham Barnard	David Farwell	James Willis

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XI, 196.]

THE ALARM MEN.

Provincial Regiment of Foot of Alarm men under the Command of Colo. Asa Whitcomb, whereof Joseph Fairbank is Capt. who marched to Cambridge on y^{e} 19th of April last in Consequence of an Alarm is as followeth:

Capt. Jos. Fairbank	Israel Taylor, Esq.	Oliver Whitney
Lt. W^{m}. Burt	Jo^{s}. Wheeler, Esq.	Phineas Fairbank

Lt. Phineas Willard [Jr.]	Lem^{l}. Willard	Jer^{h}. Priest
Ens'n Jos. Willard	Jer^{h}. Laughton	Elijah Houghton
Sgt. Jon^{a} Reed	W^{m}. Sanderson	Joseph Blanchard
" Jon^{a}. Clark	Jo^{s}. Atherton	Eben^{r}. Burges
" Benj^{a}. Cutler	Jo^{s}. Houghton	Stephen Randall
" Rich^{d}. Whitney	Abr^{m}. Willard	Manasseh Sawyer
Corp^{l}. John Priest	Jon^{a}. Adams	Isaac Haile
" Isaiah Whitney	Ward Safford	James Perry
" Sam^{l}. Meeds	Oliver Whetcomb	Oliver Wetherbe
" Tim^{o} Wiliard	Aaron Davis	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XII, 74.]

By the courtesy of Samuel F. Whitney, Esquire, the author has had access to the papers of Captain Joseph Fairbank, found among the effects of the late Daniel Hartwell Fairbank. One of these is a list of the "Alarm Men" of Harvard, and records that they met at the old meeting-house on March 13 and organized themselves into a military company by choosing officers. At that time there were nearly one hundred men in the "Alarm List," embracing all not classed in the company of Minute Men and the two Militia companies. To this organization belonged the three ministers—Reverends Joseph Wheeler, Daniel Johnson and Isaiah Parker—and Doctor John Cleverly.

John Whitcomb had been made a general by the Provincial Congress, February 15, 1775, and acting in that capacity was present and took part in directing the pursuit of the British troops on their hurried retreat from Concord. It is not supposed, however, that any organized body of his regiment reached the scene of conflict, nor is it known that any of the Harvard men were engaged in that running fight. The whole number of those who marched to Cambridge was one hundred and seventy-one, which was more than one from every house in the town. Some of these returned to their homes within three days, but the majority were credited with from five to eight days' service.

III. SIEGE OF BOSTON.

April 25, the Provincial Congress, convened at Watertown, determined upon the enlistment of an army of thirteen thousand men for the siege of Boston, expecting the other

Colonies to come to their assistance with twenty thousand more. Ten companies were to constitute a regiment as heretofore, but the complement was fixed at fifty-nine privates, two musicians, five corporals, four sergeants, one ensign, a lieutenant and captain. The term of enlistment was for eight months.

Colonel Asa Whitcomb of Lancaster was authorized to raise a regiment, and was one of the first to report his command complete. May 25, he announced his staff as Lieutenant-colonel Josiah Whitney of Harvard, Major Ephraim Sawyer of Lancaster, Adjutant Jeremiah Gager of Westminster, Quartermaster Jeremiah Laughton of Harvard, Surgeon William Dunsmoor of Lancaster, Surgeon's Mate Moses Barnard of Harvard. He then had eleven companies, containing five hundred and sixty volunteers. It was the largest of the twenty-six Massachusetts regiments before Boston.

There were two companies in Colonel Whitcomb's regiment largely composed of Harvard men, and their rosters are preserved in the Massachusetts Archives, Coat Rolls, lvi. 143 and 150:—

A Return of Capt. James Burt's Company in Col. Asa Whetcomb's Regiment, the towns they belong to and the Casualties Happened,

Capt. James Burt, Harvard.
Lt. Ebenezer Wood, Fitchburg.
Sec^{d}. Lt. Jabez Keep, Harvard.
Adjutant Isaac Holden, Harvard.
Sgt. major Thos. Hovey, Lunenburg.
Sergt. Thomas Hill, Fitchburg.
" Samuel Finney, Harvard.
Corp^{ll}. William Haskell, "
" Benjamin Willard, "
" William Safford, "
" Ruben Dodge, "
Thomas Harris, Fitchburg.
Uriah Holt, Ashburnham.
Jonathan Clark, Harvard.
John Adam Rupp, Boston.
Jeremiah Willard, Harvard.
Jonathan Atherton, Lancaster.
John Sawtle Farewell, Harvard.
Joel Finney, "
Solomon Burgis, Harvard.
James Farmer, "
James Willis, "
Daniel Burt, "
Jesse Slack, "
Aberther Houghton, Leominster.
Moses Brewer, Lancaster.
Abraham Hager, Shrewsbury.
Joseph Simonds, Fitchburg.
John Bowers, Leominster.
William Slack, "
John Woods, Fitchburg.
Thomas Harris, Ju., Boston.
Edom Lonnon, Fitchburg.
Joseph Woods, "
Jabez Keep, Ju., Harvard.
Abijah Eveonden, Stoughton
Joseph Fry, Harvard.
Jonathan Stone, Mason.

William Harris, " David Goodell, Fitchburg.
Joseph Weatherbe, " Jonathan Comming, "
Joseph Park, " John Thustings, "
William Bennett, Westborough. Thomas Chamberlain, Harvard.

Jeremiah Laughton, Qur. Mst[r]. Died August 11, 1775, Harvard.
Israel Williard Sgt. Died Septemb[r]. 13. Lancaster.
Andrew Park Died July 6, Harvard.
Edward Holowell Deserted May 2, Lynn.
Henry Rimer Dischar[d]. Sept[r]. 23, Boston.
Jacob Davis " October 6, Harvard.
Ebenezer Flagg, Lancaster May 24. In ye Train.
Simeon Hemenway, Bolton May 24 "
Joseph Blanchard Harvard May 25 "
Nathaniel Tufts, Cambridge May 19 "

The last four enlisted in Captain John Popkins artillery company of Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment, the Provincial Congress having passed an order, May 16, 1775, permitting artillery officers to recruit their commands from any arm of the service, taking no more than four from any company. Edom Lonnon, or London, who fought with this company at Bunker Hill, was a negro slave who had run away from his master. He afterwards was owned by Daniel Goodridge of Winchendon, and became famous as the cause of the "Massachusetts Slave Case" of 1806–7, Winchendon vs. Hatfield.

A Return of Capt. Jona. Davis' Compy. In Col[o]: Asa Whetcomb's Regt. October y[e] 6, 1775.

Captain Jona. Davis, Harvard.
Lt. Elisha Fullam, "
" John Meads, "
Sergt. Abraham Munro, "
" Josiah Gates, "
" Mikel Ceary, Boston.
" William Kendall, Townsend.
" Francis Farr, Harvard.
Corp. Charles Warner, "
" Thomas Ethridge, Boston.
" Joshua Bowers, Harvard.
" Samuel Forbush, "
Samuel White, Leominster.
Jacob Fullam, Harvard.
Ebenezer Davis, "
Benjamin Robins, "
Joseph Holder, Barrington.
Soloman Haskell, Harvard.
Thaddeus Pollard, "
Jacob Whitney, "
Aaron Priest, "
John Maccoy. "
Samuel Worster, "
Ebenezer Warner, "
Isaac Sanderson, "
Jona. Adams, "
George Teat, Boston.
Ebenezer Gofe, "
Gilbert Coleworthy, Boston.
Benjamin Dolber, "
Joseph Putney, Ashby.
Anthony Shezzerel, Charlestown.

Gideon Sanderson,	Harvard.	Joseph Rand,	Charlestown.
Manasseh Stow,	"	Josiah Davis,	Harvard.
Thomas Pratt,	"	Francis Dizer,	Charlestown.
James Robines,	"	Jediah Felt,	N. Rutland.
Jacob Priest,	"	Nathan Osgood,	Lancaster.
Reuben Garfield,	"	Ephraim Whitcomb,	"
George [G]leason,	"	Thomas Cogney,	Sandwich.

Corporal Benjamin Lawrence,	Harvard,	died August 26.
Drummer Cyrus Fairbanks,	"	discharged September 11.
Fifer Abijah Worster.	"	deserted August y^e^ 25.
Jobe Priest,	"	discharged September 30.

In Captain Robert Longley's company, of Bolton, Simon Farmer of Harvard served, and in the regiment of Colonel William Prescott were Phineas Whitney, serving with Captain Joseph Moore of Groton, Abel Wetherbee, Caleb Wetherbee and Joseph Swatridge with Captain Samuel Patch of Stow. Harvard was therefore entitled to be credited with sixty-eight enlistments, including field and staff officers, for the eight months' service. Each non-commissioned officer and private, under a resolve of the Provincial Congress, received a coat in addition to his monthly stipend. The soldier might furnish his own coat if he preferred to accept twenty shillings in money; otherwise the town was to provide one for him. The coats were ordered to be made of American material if possible, and a certificate was sewed inside of each, giving the name of the town, the maker of the coat, and the weaver of the cloth. Harvard's quota of coats was fifty-six.

Colonel Whitcomb's regiment was not of those in the detachment that fortified Bunker Hill, but several of its companies were ordered from their encampment at Cambridge to the re-enforcement of Prescott during the battle on June seventeenth. At least five or six, if not all of them, participated in the fight, or reached the scene after the retreat began. By the official returns published, the casualties in the regiment were fifteen; five killed, eight wounded and two missing. The companies of Captain Andrew Haskell of Lancaster, Captain James Burt of Harvard, Captain Benjamin Hastings of Bolton, and Captain Abner Cranson of Marlborough were under fire, as recorded casualties in their ranks testify. Whether Captain Davis's company participated in the fight

is now uncertain. A petition by Elisha Houghton, found in Massachusetts Archives, clxxxi. 73–74, is interesting in this connection:—

Colincy of the Massachusetts Bay.

To the Honnorabel General Coart seting at Watertown the Petion of Elisha Houghton a Solder under Comand of Captan Hastings in Conal Whitcomb's Rigement in the year 1775 and I was in the fight on bunkers Hill So Called in Charlston on the 17 of June in the year 1775 as above sd and on my Return I and others Lited on one Jacob Davis who was wounded who requested our help and in tacking Care of the sd Davis Caused me your Petinor to take Mistick Road to convey the sd Davis to where he thought he could be tacken Care of and in so Doing I came acros by Winter hill to Go to head Quater at Cambridge and in Coming by the Gard of Connal Starks which was set on sd hill they took away my Gun which I and others that Knew sd Gun Judged to be worth teen Dolers. I Endevuered to Recover my Gun again but was Denied the Same which may be made Evident to this Coart by Reading the Paper acompining this Petition. I also Sertify this Coart that I have Never Reseved my Gun since Nor any Consideration for the same. I therefore your Poor Petitioner Humbly Pray that this Coart would be Pleased to take my Case into your Consideration and alow me Pay for my Gun and your Petitioner as in Duty bound Shall Ever Pray. BOLTON Jan. the — 1776 ELISHA HOUGHTON

This may Certify that Elisha Houghton of Col Whitcomb's Regiment in Capt. Hasting's Company was in the Action on Bunker's hill and helping bringing the wounded men off to Cambridge went mistick Road over Winter hill and the Guard that was set on winter hill took away the Guns, and this sd Houghton's Gun was among the Rest. the next Day with [a] number of others sd Houghton went in order to Get his Gun with an officer with him, but could not find it and have Never heard of it since—as I know of. JOSIAH WHITNEY, *Lt. Col. of sd Regt.*

DORCHESTER CAMP Febury 29th. 1776.

In the same company with Jacob Davis, Sergeant Israel Willard was probably fatally wounded at Bunker Hill, as he was awarded recompense from the Province for losses in that action, and died three months after it. Whether Laughton and Park died of wounds, or disease, does not appear in the records.

In December, 1775, and January, 1776, General Washington called upon the New England States for the temporary service of five thousand militia to man the fortifications, replacing troops whose terms of enlistment had expired. Harvard's

quota at each call was twenty-three men, but no record of their names is discovered. The time of service under the first draft ended January 15; that under the second ended April 1, 1776, The whole army during the investment, never exceeding fifteen thousand effectives, was merely a volunteer assemblage of yeomen, ununiformed, undisciplined, poorly armed, short of powder and ball, living in wretched shelters of their own contrivance, and often seriously diminished in numbers by the absentees without leave. But it held Boston in close siege for ten months, finally drove the British forces to the safe shelter of their fleet, and entered the town March 20.

IV. TOWN-MEETING ACTION — 1776–82.

At the annual meetings in March, a Committee of Correspondence and Safety was always chosen, and no man seems to have been expected to serve more than one year. The committees were:—

1776	1777	1778
Joseph Fairbank	Jonathan Davis	Phineas Fairbank
Samuel Cooper	Joseph Willard	Isaiah Whitney
Isaac Gates	Caleb Sawyer	Asa Houghton
Abraham Whitney	Zaccheus Stevens	William Hudson
Jacob Robbins	Joseph Blanchard	John Darby
1779	1780	1781
Oliver Atherton	Samuel Hill	Asa Houghton
Silas Rand	Micah Stone	James Haskell, Jr.
Aaron Whitney	Amos Fairbank	Aaron Whitney
Eleazar Hamlin	Abel Whitcomb	Shadrach Hapgood, Jr.
John Houghton	Jonas Whitney	Oliver Sawyer

Silas Parkhurst was chosen to succeed Captain Jonathan Davis, "removing out of Town," May 14, 1777.

The hoarding of gold and silver and specie payment for imported goods soon left no money in the ordinary channels of trade but the paper currency, State and Continental. This, as the war continued, began to lose its purchasing power, and such commodities as could be monopolized were held by speculators at exorbitant prices. The usual panacea — the fixing of prices by law — was expected to stay the evil. The following was Harvard's "regulating act":—

Febr^{a}. 20th, 1777.

At a meeting of the Selectmen, & Committee of Safety of the Town of Harvard. 1st. Chose Dea. Oliver Whitney Moderator, Phinehas Fairbank Clerk. Then proceeded in observence of the Resolves of the General Court to state the price of the Following articles in Harvard.

Wheat, good marchantable wheat not to exceed 7/ pr. bushel.

Rye, good marchantable Rye not to exceed 4/8 pr. bushel.

Indian, good marchantable indian corn or meal not to exceed 3/4 pr. bushel.

Sheep's wool, good marchantable sheep's wool not to exceed 2/ pr. lb.

Pork, Fresh pork & of a good quality not to exceed 4^{d} pr. lb.

Pork. Salt pork in usual proportion, according to the price of salt.

Beef, good well fatted grass-fed Beef not to exceed 2^{d}–3$^{qr^{s}}$. pr. lb.

Stall fed Beef well fatted at 3^{d}–3$^{qr^{s}}$ pr. lb. & of inferior quality in proportion.

Hides, raw hides at 3^{d} lb. raw calf skins at 6^{d} pr. lb.

Salt, good marchantable imported Salt at 12/ pr. bushel, and Salt manufactured from sea water within this State at 14/ pr. bushel.

Rum, good marchantable Westindia rum at 7^{s}–11^{d}–2$^{qr^{s}}$. pr. gallon by the single gallon, and two shillings by the quart. New England rum good & marchantable at 4^{s}–9^{d}–2$^{qr^{s}}$ by the single gallon, & proportionably for a less Quantity, and by the Barrel at 4^{s}-1^{d}–2$^{qr^{s}}$ a gallon.

Sugar, best muscovado Sugar at 4^{s}-10^{d} for seven pounds, and proportionably for a less Quantity.

Chocolat, at 1^{s}–9^{d} pr. lb.

Cheese, manufactured here & of the best Quality at 6^{d} pr lb. and of an inferior Quality proportionably.

Potatoes, Spanish potatoes 1^{s} per bushel in the fall, and in the spring 1^{s}. 6^{d} per bushel, and other potatoes at a usual proportion.

Stockins, mens best woling stockins at 6^{s} pr pair, & in that proportion for an inferior Quality

Shoos, mens, neet leather Shoos of the best Common sort at 8^{s} pr. pair, womans Calf skin Ditto at 5^{s}–4^{d} pr pair

Cotton wool, at 3^{s}–8^{d}–2$^{qr^{s}}$ by the single lb.

Oats, at 2^{s} per bushel, Flax well dressed 1^{s} pr lb. and those persons who bring Flax into Town for sale it is our opinion that they should have a reasonable allowance for their time and expence.

Coffe, good coffe by the single pound 1^{s}–4^{d}.

Tallor, good tryed Tallor at 7^{d} 2$^{qr^{s}}$. pr lb. & Rough Tallor 5^{d} pr lb.

Towcloath, good towcloath yard wide 2^{s}–3^{d} pr. yard, and other towcloath according to its wedth in proportion, and course linen cloath to be computed after the same rate according to its Quality.

Flanel, good yard wide striped Flanel, at 3^{s}–6^{d} pr. yard, and other Flanel, in proportion to its wedth & Quality.

Good all wool cloath, mens ware well fulled & Dyed at the mill three quarter wide at 8^{s} pr. yrd.

Wood. good Oak wood Delivered at the door at 6^{s} pr. Cord.

Charcoal, best charcoal by the baskett, at 6d pr. baskett.
Tanned hides, at 1s–3d pr. lb. and curried leather in usual proportion.
Homespun Cotton & linen cloath best sort yard wide 3s. 0d. pr. yd. and other cotton & linen cloath in like proportion.
Mutton, lamb, & Veal at 3d 2qrs pr. lb.
Flower, manufactered in the Town at 1£ 4s pr. Hundred.
Hors Keeping one night or Twenty-four Hours at 1s–4d. pr. hors
Ox Keeping one night or Twenty-four hours on good hay 1s–8d pr. yoak.
Teeming work at 1s–6d pr. mile every Ton weight.
Fowls at 5d pr. lb. Milk at 1d. 2qrs pr Quart.
Iron, good refined iron at 2£ 10s pr. Hundred, and bloomery iron at 1£ 10s at the place where it was manufactered and the same allowance for Transporting as for other articles.
Hay good English hay at 2s 8d pr. Hundred.
Farming labour by the Day in the summer season shall not exceed 3s. and be found as usual, & in proportion at other seasons of the year.

And the labour of merchandise, & Tradesmen, and all other labour besides what is herein perticularly enumerated in like proportion thereunto & according to the Usages and Customs which have heretofore been adopted and practiced in this Town when compared with Farming labour:

And 'tis expected that every person who is of a Friendly Disposition to his Country will govern themselves in Traiding in every other article according to the price of those above enumerated as near as may be according to the Former Usage and Custom in this Town.

The equalization of the burdens of patriotic duty, and of the payments for patriotic service, often engaged the attention of the New England town-meetings, giving rise to lengthy and heated discussion, and usually ending in no practical solution of the exasperating problem. In Harvard, however, a scheme of valuation was determined upon by the voters, by which the soldiers received bounties according to the length and nature of their service. The second article in the warrant for a town-meeting called April 3, 1777, reads thus:—

To see whether said Town will chuse a committee to compute the extraordinary service and cost that perticuler persons have already done towards carrying on the present war, over and above their equal proportion in the publick charges in order to lay a tax on said town so that such persons may have justice done them equally.....

The town voted that twenty pounds' bounty should be paid "each man that Inlists into the Continental army for to make up the Quota for said Town," and chose a committee of seven

to prepare a scale of allowances for past campaigns. This committee reported on April 8, and their recommendations were adopted with slight amendment as follows:—

			£ s.
That those in Cambridge campaign,	1775, eight months,	be allowed,	4..0
Roxbury campaign,	1775, six weeks,	"	0.12
Dorchester campaign,	1776, two months,	"	1..0
Dorchester campaign,	1776, four months,	"	1..0
York campaign,	1776, five months,	"	9..0
Ticonderoga campaign,	1776, five months,	"	15..0
York campaign,	1776, two months,	"	6..0
Nantasket campaign,	1776, eight months,	"	11..0
Jersey campaign,	1776, three months,	"	10..0
Continental service,	1776, twelve months,	"	12..0

Whether the soldiers or the rate payers were dissatisfied is not told, but two days later another town-meeting declared the action of April 8 null and void, and chose a new committee "to set the prices on the several campaigns which are past, and to make report to the Town as soon as may be." April 11, it was voted to pay the soldiers upon the following basis:—

			£ s
Roxbury campaign,	in 1775, six weeks,	to be set at	0 – 18
Dorchester "	1776, two months	do.	1 – 5
Dorchester "	1776, four months in summer	do.	2 – 10
Dorchester "	1776 & 7, four months in winter	do.	0 – 12
Nantasket "	1776, eight months,		5 – 0
York "	1776, five months,		9 – 0
Ticonderoga "	1776, five months,		12 – 0
York "	1776, two months,		5 – 0
Jersey "	1776 & 7, three months,		6 – 0
Continental "	for one year,		18 – 0

Then the Town voted that those Persons that subscribed money in order to raise men to go to Ticonderoga in 1776 be allowed the same sums they disbursed.....

Then voted and Impowered the committee to pay to each man that Inlists into the service [three years Continental] thirty pounds.

October 7, 1776, the town consented at a special town-meeting to release Reverend Daniel Johnson for two months "while he performs the duty of a Chaplain in the army.

May 14, 1777..... Voted and Granted the sum of Ten pounds to be paid such Soldiers as ingage in the Continental Service till the Tenth of

January next to make up our Quota of the seventh part sett on this Town said sum to be paid each soldier at his passing muster.....

December 2, 1777:.....4. Voted to provide for the Families of the Continental Soldiers agreeable to the Resolve of the Great and General Court.....then voted to chuse three as a committee to provide for said families.

December 15, 1777, the committee having in charge the paying of bounties, reported that they had "borrowed and paid the sum of Eleven Hundred and Seventy pounds, lawful money, as a Bounty allowed by said Town towards the hireing thirty-nine men for said service, [three years Continental] at 30£ pr. man." The committee chosen to appraise the bounty due for campaigns not in the former list presented a report which was adopted :—

	£ s
Campaign to Providence, two months four days,	4.. 0
Bennington Alarm, five weeks,	4.. 0
Providence Alarm, two days,	..12
Pelham Alarm, Six days,	1.. 4
Stillwater Campaign, three months,	8.. 0
The last thirty days' Campaign, at Fort Edward,	4.. 0

January 5, 1778.....2. Voted the addition of two pounds to the Jersey campaign.....4. Voted and Directed the committee chosen on the 16th of December last to collect the services Done by the people in the Town of Harvard in the present war, to make up a sum total in order for our assessment, Governing themselves by the present established prices of the several campaigns, and make report to the town.

This committee, January 13, brought in an estimate that 1230£ would be required to pay the bounties to Continental soldiers, and 2538£ 3s 10d for the soldiers serving in the special campaigns.

January 12, 1778.....3. Voted to allow those soldiers who shall go on alarm for the future against our Enemies when called upon six shillings per Day each soldier.

January 13, 1778, a committee which had been appointed "to take into consideration the Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union of the United States of America Concerted on by Congress :—

Report that it is their Humble opinion that said Articles are well Calculated for the Good of the United States, to support our Independency. Wherefore your Committee do Unanimously Recommend it to the Town of Harvard that they give Instructions to their Representitive to use his Influence that the said articles may take place be Ratified and Confirmed.

JOSIAH WHITNEY, *Chairman.*

The above report being read upon an adjournment the the 13th instant in a town meeting in Harvard was accepted, and voted that the Representitive of said town Govern himself accordingly.....

March 23, 1778.....2. Voted that the committee appointed by the Town the 12th of January last to hire Soldiers when called for from this Town in defense of the cause we are contending for with Great Britain be Impowered at any time or times to Draw so much Money out of the Town Treasury by orders from the Selectmen as shall be necessary to make up to each Soldier together with their Bounties and other Wages six pounds per month who Shall hereafter Inlist or be Draughted and Serve as a Soldier in either of the New England States. Likewise Voted to make the same addition to the non commissioned officers wages as is voted to the private soldier, and the sd committee to be accountable to the Selectmen for the sums they shall so draw out of the said Treasury by procuring Certificates from the Soldiers who shall receive said money...

June 25, 1778.....3. Voted that the Committee appointed to hire soldiers for this Town act Discretionary therein, in this and after Draughts, during the Town's pleasure. 4. Voted and Granted the sum of Eight hundred pounds to be collected for the purpose of hiring soldiers.

January 25, 1779.....2. Voted and granted the sum of eight hundred pounds for supporting poor Families of Contenantel Soldiers, and to defray other necessary Charges of Purchasing Cloathing for Soldiers.

The needy families of those in the service, and the widows and orphans of those who laid down their lives for their country, were systematically cared for by the town fathers, and the state refunded the amount expended. Massachusetts demanded of each town a proportionate share of the clothing required by the soldiers, making annual requisition upon it according to its financial ability. These assessments seem not to have been recorded, but in 1780 requisition was made upon Harvard for twenty-eight pairs of shoes, ten shirts and twenty-seven pairs of stockings.

May 21, 1779.....Voted that we will use our Endeavours in the Execution of every salutary measure for appreciating our Contenantal Currency, and lowering the price of the necessary articles or life.

Captain Eleazar Hamlin was sent as a delegate to a convention at Concord which met on the first Wednesday in October "to consider and proceed further on the regulating the price of articles." He also attended the county convention called for the same object in August. The legislated scale of prices based upon irredeemable paper money demanded frequent re-adjustments, and the tinkering of the patriotic financiers could not stay the rapid depreciation of the Continental currency.

SHORT SERVICE ENLISTMENTS—1776-82.

Upon the departure of the Continental army for New York, the Massachusetts militia were summoned to the defence of the coast. Two regiments were formed in April, 1776, for the defence of Boston harbor and stationed at Hull. For these the Continental organization was adopted which fixed the battalion complement at eight companies of ninety men each. Colonel Josiah Whitney of Harvard was placed in command of one of these regiments, but seems to have been followed by only two of his townsmen, Joseph Fry and William Stevens, in Captain William Warner's company. Simon Farmer, Jonathan Simons and Consider Turner served in Colonel Thomas Marshall's battalion and Captain Andrew Haskell's company. A memorial from Colonel Whitney, found in Massachusetts Archives, clxxxi. 293, throws some light upon the service performed by these regiments, and upon the character of Harvard's most noted officer in the Revolution :—

To the honourable the Council and House of Representatives convened at Watertown in the State of Massachusetts Bay.

Your memorialist hereby shows ; That he was appointed the tenth of April last, to take the command of a Battalion of men raised by this State, And tho' the pay of the State was Small, yet my Zeal for the Liberties of my Country was so great, that I chearfully undertook : The men were obtained and we early in the Spring took the Field, while the Enemy were in the Harbour and a Re-inforcement Daily Expected. But since that, other Officers have been appointed; the men ready raised to their hands without their being at any Expence to look them up; placed in the most secure and least laborious quarters, and yet put on Continental Pay; while we who were at vast expence to inlist our men are sta-

tioned in the Key of the State, the most hazardous and fatiguing Post, where everything is difficult to be obtained and of extravigant price; and only the small establishment of this State to support us, which does not much more than clear our Expences. This as to myself is not so grevious, for I am ready to spend, not only my fortune in the Cause; but my Life also if need requires; But my under Officers are very much troubled and think your bounty towards them small as towards some of the other regiments, and tho' they do not pretend to claim Continental pay as absolutely due, yet when they consider the impartiality that ought to govern every legislative body, and which they are perswaided reign in this House they flatter themselves that you will not degrade them below their brethren, but raise them to Continental Pay.

And this I humbly conceive, would put a stop to the great uneasiness in the Camps; and that coldness and indifference that appears between the several Regiments would cease; and all would go on in love and unity in the glorious Cause of Liberty.

Therefore your petitioner humbly prays that you would take the Premises under Consideration and order as in your great wisdom [you] shall think best; and if possible put us on Continental Pay — And as in duty bound shall ever pray.

JOSIAH WHITNEY, *Coll.*

CAMP AT HULL, October ye 29, 1776.

A request from the Continental Congress for five thousand militia to aid the operations of the armies in New York, resulted in a resolve of the General Court, June 25, 1776, offering a bounty of three pounds to each volunteer, with an allowance of eighteen shillings if he furnished his own arms and accoutrements, the term of enlistment ending December first. The quota of Harvard was thirty-six men, and as Captain Jabez Keep marched with eighty-two men on July 22 to join the regiment of Colonel Jonathan Smith, the allotted number probably was furnished. Unfortunately no roll of the company is known to exist. The regiment was attached to the brigade of General John Fellows, at New York, which, in an encounter with the Hessians at Kip's Bay, September 15, was quickly routed and fled in disorder from the field. It participated in later battles of the campaign with more credit. John McCoy of Harvard, doubtless one of Captain Keep's men, was killed September 17, according to the town records.

July 10, 1776, two regiments were raised for eight months' service by drafting every twenty-fifth man of the train band

and alarm lists. One of these battalions was commanded by Colonel Nicholas Dyke and located at Dorchester Heights for most of its term of enlistment. The lieutenant-colonel of the regiment was Henry Haskell, at that time resident at Lancaster. He was a grandson of the first Henry Haskell of Still River. In this command, under Captain Manasseh Sawyer of Lancaster, were these soldiers of Harvard :—

Sergeant Daniel Laughton	Philemon Priest	Salvenias Sanderson
Corporal Reuben Conant	Jonathan Puffer	John Whitney
Joseph Atherton	Benjamin Stow	Josiah Whitney
John Hill	Manasseh Stow	Salmon Whitney
John Laughton		

[Massachusetts Archives. Revolutionary Rolls, III and XXVI, *passim*.]

Samuel Farnsworth and Joseph Farnsworth served with Captain John Hartwell of Littleton, and Benjamin Warner with Captain Bangs.

In a regiment of militia commanded by Colonel James Converse of Brookfield, Captain Samuel Hill and Lieutenant Simon Cooper are found serving at Tarrytown and Dobb's Ferry, but no rolls of their men are extant.

Captain David Nurse of Bolton led a company of sixty-four men to service "in the Jersies," from December 12, 1776, to March 26, 1777. From his papers it is ascertained that twenty-nine of his men were from Harvard; and Lieutenant Davis receipted to the captain for "their Continental Wages, Sauce and Milage and Prize money: Two hundred Forty-four Pounds twelve Shillings and three Pence," April 2, 1777 :—

Lieutenant Ephraim Davis
Sergeant Simeon Willard
Corporal Philemon Priest
" Charles Warner
" Levi Fairbank
Carpenter James Burt
" William Burt
" Phineas Warner
" Oliver Willard
Teamster Jeremiah Bridge
" Joseph Blanchard
" Joseph Fry
" Jabez Keep
Private Samuel Atherton
" Thomas Burges
Private Benjamin Bridges
" Jonathan Farnsworth
" Manasseh Farnsworth
" Solomon Haskell
" John Hill
" Jonathan Hutchins
" Carter Knights
" William Stevens, *died*
" Jonathan Symonds
" Dwelly Turner
" Jotham Whitcomb
" John Whitney
" Simon Whitney
" Stephen Whitney

In all the Colonies there existed a deeply rooted distrust of a standing army. The French and Indian War had been conducted in a series of summer or autumn campaigns, and short terms of enlistment were familiar to the people. The unmilitary custom was continued therefore until the grave dangers incident to the perpetual changes in the rank and file were too obvious and vital to be longer neglected. Success was seen to be altogether hopeless without a permanent force held under rigid discipline; and in the autumn of 1777 Congress set about the organization of a Continental Army enlisted for three years or during the war. Massachusetts was required to furnish fifteen of the eighty-eight battalions of infantry thus established. The quota of each town was determined by dividing the number of males of military age by seven, and a census was ordered to be rendered under oath by the selectmen.

For the encouragement of enlistments the Continental Congress offered to each volunteer a bounty of twenty dollars, one suit of clothes annually, and one hundred acres of the public lands, beside subsistence and the monthly pay of six dollars and sixty-seven cents. The Province added a bounty of twenty dollars, and when the danger of a draft became imminent the towns sometimes offered special bounties. Harvard, as has been before noted, voted thirty pounds to each enlisted man.

Harvard's selectmen reported the number of males in the town above sixteen to be three hundred and forty-one, and they were therefore required to furnish forty-nine three years' men under the first call. Before giving a roster of the soldiers serving in the Continental Army for three years or during the war, the records of short-service enlistments found will be completed.

In December, 1776, the occupation of Rhode Island by Sir Henry Clinton with a corps of six thousand British troops was a serious menace to Massachusetts, and General Joseph Spencer was detailed to hold in check, and if possible capture this force, with an army collected from the New England states. A special brigade of three thousand men, enrolled for three months, was raised from Massachusetts in

May, 1777. In this, under Colonel Abijah Stearns of Lunenburg and in the company of Captain Joseph Sergeant of Princeton, there were from Harvard :—

Q. M. Serg^{t}. Jacob Whitney	Jacob Robbins	Reuben Whitney
James Burt	Jonathan Symonds	Salmon Whitney
Joseph Fry		

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, III. 162.]

In October, half of the militia of the state were drafted to aid in a carefully planned attack upon the enemy, but the campaign came to naught through delays and unpropitious weather.

The following year a more determined attempt was made to wrest Rhode Island from the enemy, an attack by the combined forces of the French and Americans, on land and water, being agreed upon. Again a tempest disarranged well-laid plans by driving the French fleet to sea, and the battle of Quaker's Hill closed with honor an unsuccessful campaign. The Second Worcester regiment of militia, with its commander, Colonel Josiah Whitney, took part in the operations in Rhode Island, and included these men from Harvard, serving with Captain Manasseh Sawyer, in July, August and September, 1778:—

Lieutenant John Daby	Elisha Fullam	Manasseh Stow
Sergeant David Sampson	John Mead	Ebenezer Warner
Oliver Atherton	Jacob Priest	Israel Whitney
Micah Davis	Nehemiah Ramsdell	Richard Whitney
Francis Farr		

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXII, 207.]

In the regiment of Colonel Nathaniel Wade and the company of Captain Nathan Fisher, were:—

Corporal Phineas Warner	William Sanderson, Jr.	Abel Wetherbee
Oliver Edwards	Prince Turner	Jonas Whitney, Jr.
John Hale	Calvin Warner	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls. LV. 56, and XLII, 50.]

In 1779, Harvard furnished seven two-months' men, who served in October and November under Colonel John Jacobs in the company of Captain David Moore of Bolton. These soldiers participated in the re-occupation of Rhode Island, when hastily abandoned by the British forces October 25:—

Sergeant John Hill	Nathan Garfield	David Stone
Thaddeus Brown	Nathaniel Hazeltine	Jonas Whitney
James Furbush		

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, III, 9.]

The rolls of short-service recruits sent to Rhode Island in 1780, during the encampment of the French troops there, are not discovered, but in 1781 the following Harvard soldiers served for three months in the company of Captain David Moore of Bolton and the regiment of Lieutenant-colonel Enoch Hallet :—

Isaac Burbank	Elijah Houghton	Benjamin Robbins
John Dudley	Joseph Houghton	Peter Stickney
David Farwell	William Park	Benjamin Warner
George Gleason	Thomas Peabody	Abel Wetherbee
Israel Hale	Walter Pollard	Abner Whitcomb
Oliver Hale	Elijah Priest	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXI, 61.]

In December, at Butt's Hill, with Captain Joseph Elliott in the regiment of Colonel William Furnas, were :—

Samuel Haskell	Nehemiah Ramsdell	Samuel Russell

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, II, 13.]

In July, 1777, the Massachusetts Council of War, suddenly aware of New England's peril if the victorious progress of Burgoyne was not stayed, hurriedly sent heavy re-enforcements of militia to aid General Benjamin Lincoln, who was then harassing the rear of the invading army. Colonel Josiah Whitney, on July 27, ordered a draft of one-sixth of the training bands and alarm lists in his regiment to march at once to Bennington with six days' rations, and on August 2 ordered one-half of the militia to follow with eight days' rations. The roll of the second Harvard detachment is not found. In the first there were these Harvard men who marched July 30, serving with the regiment of Colonel Job Cushing :—

Captain Hezekiah Whitney	Jonathan Clark	David Whitney
Sergeant James Burt	Samuel Davis	Josiah Whitney
" William Haskell	John Hill	Richard Whitney
Corporal Gabriel Priest	Thaddeus Pollard	Enoch White
Fifer Isaac Crouch	Jonathan Stearns	William Willard
Oliver Atherton	Jonathan Symonds	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXIV, 25 & 36.]

In the companies of Captains John Drury and Ephraim Stearns of Colonel Ezra Wood's regiment, at Ticonderoga, from May to December, 1778, were:—

Sergeant James Burt	Joseph Houghton	Thomas Laughton
Thomas Dodge	Joseph Houghton, Jr.	Joseph Priest
Phineas Fullam	Jacob Hutchins	Jonathan Stearns
Jonathan Houghton		

[Massachusetts Archives. Revolutionary Rolls. XLVI, 89, etc.]

To fill a call for nine-months' men, in 1778, to re-enforce the Continental Army, Harvard's quota of nine men reported at Fishkill, June 17, as follows:—

	Age.	Stature.	Complexion.
Lysaias Blanchard,	29	5 ft. 8 in.	Dark
Jonath Crouch, Jr.,	31	5 " 9 "	Light
Harbour Farnsworth,	21	5 " 6 "	Dark
George Leason [Gleason],	30	5 " 6 "	Light
Europe Hamlin,	20	5 " 10 "	Dark
William Parks,	28	6 "	Light
Aaron Priest,	20	5 " 9 "	Dark
Freedom Ramsdell,	20	4 " 8 "	Light
Abraham Willard,	28	6 "	Dark

[Massachusetts Archives. Revolutionary Rolls, XXVII, 135.]

The Harvard nine-months' men, in 1779, were:—

	Age.	Height.		Age.	Height.
Adam Amsden,	17	5 ft. 7 in.	Aaron Priest,	21	5 ft. 8 in.
Reuben Garfield,	25	5 " 10 "	Samuel Russell.	18	5 " 7 "
America Hamlin.	17	5 " 6 "	John Todd,	28	5 " 9 "
Jonathan Houghton,	18	5 " 6 "	Reuben Willard,	23	6 "

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls. XXIX. 55; XLI, 352; XLII, 42.]

From October 27 to December 11, 1779, there were also in Continental service at Claverack, New York, in the company of Captain Luke Wilder of Lancaster and the regiment of Colonel Samuel Denny:—

Lieutenant John Daby	Benjamin Bridge	Oliver Haskell
Sergeant Wilder Chamberlain	Thomas Davis	Joel Whitney
" Jacob Whitney	William Farr	Amos Wetherbee
Corporal Luther Stevens	David Farwell	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls. XXIV, 173.]

The winter of 1779–80 was long remembered in New England as the "hard winter." From November until April the snow lay deep over the country, and the cold was intense. Walls and fences were mostly covered from sight, and for weeks no roads were broken out in the rural towns. Grain for the family bread had to be drawn to and from the mill upon hand sleds, and no traveling was possible except upon snow shoes. Hardly had winter surrendered to the genial air of spring, than there came, May 19, 1780, the "dark day," which spread consternation throughout Eastern Massachusetts. Daylight faded slowly out a little before noon, and candles had to be lighted for the conduct of ordinary household work. The fowls retired to their roosts, the bats came out, and everything wore the semblance of night.

These phenomenal disturbances in Nature's laws seemed to many the frowns of an offended Deity. They were co-incident with the chilling of fond hopes and the gloom of despair in patriot councils and patriot homes. The French Alliance thus far had brought only disappointments. Disaster followed disaster in the field of military operations, which had been removed from the Northern to the Southern states. The army, greatly reduced in numbers, was ill-fed, half-clad and despondent. Congress had lost its credit and the paper currency was fast losing all purchasing power. Everywhere was distress, privation, dejection. But the military authorities calmly pursued their prescribed routine, the inexorable draft bore its fruit, and the terrible mill of war ground on.

The following is a descriptive list of six-months' men raised for the Continental Army in 1780:—

	Age.	Height.		Age.	Height.
John Oaks,	22	5 ft. 5 in.	Salmon Whitney,	20	5 ft. 7 in
Jonathan Stearns,	17	5 " 7 "	Jonathan Houghton,	19	5 " 8 "
John Atherton,	18	5 " 9 "	John Warner,	18	5 " 7 "
Simeon Conant,	18	5 " 7 "	John Scollay,	17	5 " 7 "
Thaddeus Brown,	18	5 " 6 "	Benjamin Bridges,	20	5 " 9 "
Benjamin Hale,	16	5 " 2 "	Oliver Haskell,	22	5 " 4 "
Jonathan Whitney,	21	5 " 6 "	Abijah Cole,	17	5 " 9 "
David Stone,	18	5 " 7 "	Manasseh Stow,	23	5 " 7 "
America Hamlin,	18	5 " 8 "	Joel Whitney,	17	5 " 10 "
Nathaniel Hazeltine,	16	5 " 6 "			

[Massachusetts Archives. Revolutionary Rolls. XXXV, 195; XXV. 230; IV, 125, etc.]

The following men of Harvard served at West Point from September to November 18, 1781, in the company of Captain Nathaniel Wright and Regiment of Colonel Drury:—

Simeon Conant	America Hamlin	Benjamin Warner
Jacob Fairbank	Samuel Hutchins	Phineas Warner
Israel Hale	David Stone	

Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXIV, 119-120.]

Not only were the militia called upon to go beyond the state line for temporary emergencies, but there were frequent details for guard duty within the state. The following is a copy of one order for such detail in 1778:—

HARVARD, March 21, 1778.

To Capt. David Nurse. Sir. in consequence of orders I Rec^d^ from Gen^ll^ Warner he having Rec^d^ orders from the General Court of this State Baring Dait the 9 of this Instant and I am ordered to Detach 46 men out of my Reg^t^. non-commissioned officers and privit soldiers to Do duty at or near Boston till the 2 day of July next unless Sooner Discarged: your cota is fore men which you are to Detach from your company without Delay, s^d^ men to be Equiped with arms and amonition according to law and to be at head-quarters at Boston on the 2 Day of April next with out fail ther to Rec^e^ further order & it is Resolved that if any noncommissoned officer or privit soldier so drafted as afores^d^ shall Neglect or Refuse to march in consequence heirof he shall hire an able bodyed man in his Rome or pay a fine of Ten pounds within twenty-fore hours, or shall be considered as a soldier in that detachment and y^e^ Capt or commanding officer of the company shall cause others to be drafted in stead of those who pay their fines; or other men to be hired with said fines and you make Return of your doings and the names of the men so Drafted.

You are ordered to view the arms of both Lists and their acotrements & see that they are Compleet acording to Law and at a minits warning and make Return of the number you have on Both Lists of men: and ther arms and ther Equipments: these Returns must be made to me by the 20 Day of this Instant without fail.

Yours to Serve. J. WHITNEY *Coll.*

These men answering a similar requisition from Harvard were serving from September to December 31, 1778, in Colonel Nathan Sparhawk's regiment near Boston, with Captain James Mirick:—

David Baldwin	Daniel Page	Ephraim Whitney
America Hamlin	John Parker	Stephen Whitney
Oliver Haskell	Walter Pollard	

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXI, 125.]

Those detailed for guard duty were frequently boys, old men, or others in some way unfitted for field duties. There were from time to time details of soldiers for guarding prisoners of war at Cambridge and Rutland. At the latter place among the guards in 1779–1780 were:—

Sergt. Joseph Haskell	Jacob Fairbank	David Stone
Sergt. John Atherton	Walter Pollard	Hananiah Whitney
John Blanchard	John Scollay	Daniel Willard

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls. xxv, 120, 123.]

V. CONTINENTAL ARMY.

As has been stated, Harvard's quota under the first call for enlistments in the Continental regiments to serve for three years or during the war, was forty-nine men. The three-years' men were all volunteers or hired substitutes, no soldier being drafted for more than twelve months. A second call was made in the spring of 1780, when Harvard's quota was five; a third for the year 1781, when Harvard furnished sixteen men, and a fourth in March, 1782, Harvard's quota being three. The town in due time filled all these requisitions.

Enormous bounties, as they were then considered, were sometimes paid for substitutes. "Bounty-jumpers" were not unknown, and towns frequently had serious quarrels over their claims to particular recruits, which were usually settled by reference to the General Court. Occasionally prisoners were liberated from jail (perhaps confined for debt or political offence) to serve in the Continental Army. The rapid depreciation in value of the paper currency, both Continental and State, unsettled all contracts. Early in 1780 a silver dollar would buy forty in paper, and before the close of 1780 the whole paper money issued was valueless. "Not worth a continental" became a common description of the utterly worthless. The precious metals were hoarded to so great an extent that commercial transactions were mostly by barter. Such coins as were in circulation were largely foreign and often clipped, so that the merchants kept specie scales to weigh all cash received, as the only safe means of finding its worth.

The debasement of the currency of course destroyed the value of the bounties to, and contracts entered into with, the soldiers. The following agreement, made with one of Harvard's citizens for his service as a soldier, will show the usual method of avoiding the uncertainty of values expressed in paper money:—

We the subscribers belonging to Bolton in the County of Worcester do promise to pay unto John Whitney of Harvard in said County or order in consideration of his Engageing into the Continental Service for three years for us, Eighteen Calves, Ten whereof are to be Heifers and Eight Steers to be Delivered to him within six weeks after his Discharge from the Continental Service (provided it be within three years) viz: if he be Discharged in one year after Date he is to Receive Said Stock at one year and Six weeks old and so for a longer or Shorter time according to the Same Rule. N. B. said Stock is to be Six weeks older when he Receives them than the time he is in the Service provided it be no longer than three years. Said Stock is to be of the midling Size, in witness whereof we have hereunto Sett our hands and Seals this Tenth Day of April A. D. 1781.

A true Coppy of the Obligation Signed by Nathaniel Holman John Whitney and Simon Houghton to me on account of my Engageing into the Continental Service for three years for a Class in Bolton to which they belong.

[Captain David Nourse's Papers.]

No better illustration of the condition of the currency can be given than the enormous figures of the town appropriations at this date:—

1780, March 6.....Granted the sum of six thousand pounds to hire preaching the ensuing year; likewise voted to allow for Highway work; to a man 12ˢ. pr. hour, for oxen 8ˢ pr. hour and cart 4ˢ. pr hour.

As the salary of the minister was one hundred and twenty pounds in specie, the purchasing power of silver was then called fifty times that of the paper currency.

July 1, 1780.....Voted and Granted the sum of Twenty thousand pounds to Defray the charges of the war; also voted that the sd. Grant be immediately assessed.. .....

October 11. Voted eighty thousand pounds to defray the charges of the war.

December 27, 1780: Voted to allow seventy Dollars pr Bushel for Rie which may be delivered to pay off Soldiers. Then voted that the sd Rie may be delivered any time by the 20th. day of January next, and also voted that the Town treasurer receive the sd. Rie and give orders on the Constables and Collectors to Discount Rates for the same.....Voted thirty thousand pounds to buy beef for the army.

This purchase of commissary stores was in pursuance of a requisition from the state. The purveyors of the Continental Army finding it impossible to procure sufficient food with debased promises to pay, each state was called upon for a share of the needed supplies.

The uncertain and ever lessening value of the paper money was made worse by the prevalence of counterfeits, often as well executed as the genuine bills. Much of this forged paper was manufactured within the British lines. The collectors every year applied to the town to make up to them losses sustained by their innocent taking of bad bills for taxes. The depreciation was especially severe in the hardship it brought upon those dependent upon fixed salaries or wages for their living.

The roster of the soldiers serving for Harvard, or residents of the town, during the years 1777–1780, are given in the order of regiments, with such facts of record as appear in their pay certificates. No Harvard men appear in the Massachusetts regiments not named. The fifteen battalions were consolidated into ten during 1780, and their pay certificates are not found. Nearly all these regiments took part in the battles that resulted in the surrender of Burgoyne, and for the rest of their terms of service were generally stationed along the Hudson.

CONTINENTAL THREE-YEARS SOLDIERS.

Second Regiment, Colonel John Bailey.

John Oaks, in 8th company, March 1, 1777, to December 31, 1779.
Aaron Samson (Abner in rolls), February 12, 1777, to December 31, 1779.

Third Regiment, Colonel John Greaton.

Jabez Beaman, with Captain Charles Colton, February 4, 1777, to December 31, 1779; also served for Springfield, 1780, as fifer.

Elias Warner (Nathaniel in rolls), under Captain Job Sumner, January 20, 1777, to December 31, 1779.
James Willis, corporal, with Captain Job Sumner, January 20, 1777, to November 18, 1779.

Fifth Regiment, Colonel Rufus Putnam.

Jacob Davis, corporal, with Captain Job Whipple, enlisted March 10, 1777, died October 23, 1779.

Sixth Regiment, Colonel Thomas Nixon.

Jeremiah Bridge, in Captain Adam Wheeler's company, February 12, 1777, to October 30, 1777; transferred to Invalid corps.

Eighth Regiment, Colonel Michael Jackson.

In Captain Benjamin Brown's Company:

Sergeant Jabez Keep, April 1, 1777, to December 31, 1780.
Corporal Phineas Whitney, February 5, 1777, to January 28, 1780.
Samuel Atherton, April 1, 1777, to January 28, 1780.
Simon Blanchard, August 17, 1777, to April 10, 1780.
Thomas Burges, April 1, 1777, to March 23, 1780.
Daniel Burt, April 1, 1777, to May 1, 1780.
Ezekiel Cox, April 1, 1777, to January 28, 1780.
Jonathan Farnsworth, April 1, 1777, to March 23, 1780.
Israel Hale, April 1, 1777, to March 23, 1780.
William Harris, April 1, 1777, to April 1, 1780.
Joseph Frye, July 15, 1777, died February 1, 1778.
Jonathan Hutchins, April 1, 1777, to March 23, 1780.
Jabez Keep, Jr., April 1, 1777, to April 1, 1780.
Abraham Munroe, April 1, 1777, died March 11, 1778.
Jonathan Stearns, March 1, 1777, to March 23, 1780.
William Stone, April 1, 1777, killed July 17, 1779, at King's Ferry.
Luther Topliff, drummer, May 13, 1777, to December, 1779.

Tenth Regiment, Colonel Thomas Marshall.

In Captain Samuel King's Company:

Reuben Dodge, sergeant, January 1, 1777; promoted ensign November 1, 1777.
Reuben Conant, sergeant, September 5, 1777, to September 5, 1780.
Samuel Finney, corporal, January 1, 1777, to December 31, 1780.
Thomas Chamberlain, January 1, 1777, to December 31, 1779.
Isaac Sanderson, August 5, 1777, to December 31, 1780.

TWELFTH REGIMENT, LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EBENEZER SPROAT.

Francis Saussure, with Captain John Pray; credited to Bolton. 1777–79, and to Harvard for 1780–.

FIFTEENTH REGIMENT, COLONEL TIMOTHY BIGELOW.

In Captain Joshua Brown's Company:

Samuel Barret, March 11, 1777, to May 1, 1780.
John Burnham, May 1, 1777, to May 1, 1780.
Zadock Burnham, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
Titus Coburn, April 14, 1777, died March 15, 1778.
Elnathan Daby, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
Jonas Davis, April 14, 1767, to April 14, 1780.
Levi Farnsworth, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
Manasseh Farnsworth, April 14, 1777, to April 14,1780.
Samuel Farnsworth, April 14, 1777, died April 15, 1778.
Elisha Houghton, sergeant, May 1, 1777, to May 1, 1780.
Jesse Lund, March 16, 1777, to May 1, 1780.
Eleazar Parker, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
William Proctor, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
Consider Turner, corporal, April 14, 1777, to April 14, 1780.
Benjamin Willard, sergeant, March 10, 1777, died December 31, 1779.
Samuel Worcester, May 1, 1777, to March 11, 1779.
John Whitney, July 10, 1777, to July 10, 1780.

In Captain Sylvanus Smith's Company;

Thomas Burnham, corporal, December 26, 1777, to December 11, 1780.
John Haskell, drummer, April 10, 1777, died December 3, 1777.
Joseph Jones, Jr., November 10, 1777, to November 10, 1780.
Joseph Longley, corporal, May 19, 1777–.

In Captain Edmund Monroe's Company:

David Parker, sergeant, November 10, 1777, to November 8, 1780.

SIXTEENTH REGIMENT, COLONEL HENRY JACKSON.

Elias Willard, "Hospital Mate, and 2d Surgeon," May 15, 1777, to December 31, 1779.

COLONEL JOHN CRANES'S ARTILLERY.

Joseph Swaughtridge, drummer, served with Captain Benjamin Frothingham. March 10, 1777, to October, 1780; deserted. Claimed also by Dedham and Boston.

Reverend Daniel Johnson, chaplain in the Continental Army, died September 23, 1777.

December 2, 1780, the demand was made upon Harvard for sixteen soldiers for the Continental Army to serve for three years:—

January 1, 1781. Voted a Committee of five to raise the sixteen. Then voted if any of the late soldiers who served three years in the army do Inlist.....the Town will make up to them the Bounties and Gratuities Reducted from their Depreciation notes provided the General Court does not make up the same.

February 2, 1781.....Voted that the Committee be instructed to endeavour to see those persons who are Candidates for going into the Army as soon as may be and find out the lowest terms they will inlist upon, and make report to the town.

The recruiting went on but slowly, and it was soon determined to divide the town into squadrons, or "classes," as they were commonly called, a plan then generally used for the more speedy and certain procuring of men to satisfy the demands of the Continental service. The number of classes corresponded with the number of the town's quota, the division being made according to tax valuation, each class hiring a soldier and giving him satisfactory security for the bounty agreed upon. The town was responsible to the class for all needful expenditure. If any member of a class failed or refused to pay his proportion, he was liable to be fined double the amount, and all assessments were legally collectable in the same manner as tax rates. If a class could not buy the three-years' service required, lots were cast among the members, and the man upon whom the lot fell was obliged to serve for that year or procure a substitute for that period. The sixteen three-years' men under the call of December 2, 1780, were duly obtained, and each signed a receipt similar to the following:—

HARVARD —— 1781.

Received of the Committee for Class No 4 in sd. Town nine hard Dollars and ½ of a Dollar and Twenty-five hundred paper Dollars and an obligation for eighteen head of three year old Horned Cattle as encouragement for Inlisting and serving three years in the Continental Army. SAMUEL ATHERTON.

The selectmen reported to the General Court that they had paid the sixteen men "Three hundred and ninety-eight Silver Dollars, forty-one thousand and fifty Dollars of the old paper currency, and obligations for two hundred and sixty-seven horned cattle to be three years old."

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF RECRUITS FOR THREE YEARS SERVICE, 1781

	Ages.	Height.	Complexion.	Occupation.	Date Enlisted.
Phineas Whitney,	23 yrs.	5 ft. 11 in.	dark.	farmer.	March 7.
John Scollay,	18	5 " 7 "	light.	"	April 16.
Daniel Knight,	21	5 " 5 "	"	cordwinder.	March 27.
Joel Atherton,	16	5 " 4 "	"	farmer.	April 3.
Asa Mead,	20	5 " 6 "	"	"	March 6.
Edman Wintworth,	21	5 " 6 "	"	"	" 4.
Benj[a]. Hale,	17	5 " 3 "	dark.	"	" 9.
Jason Mead,	17	5 " 2 "	light.	"	" 7.
Nath[ll]. Hellaston,	17	5 " 7 "	"	"	" 3.
John Dudley,	19	5 " 2 "	"	"	" 10.
Elias Warner,	16	5 " 2 "	dark.	"	" 14.
Titus Tuttel,	16	5 " 2 "	"	"	" 31.
Jabez Keep,	21	5 " 4 "	"	bloomer.	" 8.
Sam[ll]. Atherton,	21	5 " 4 "	"	farmer.	" 6.
Jonas Davis,	21	5 " 7 "	light.	"	" 7.
John Atherton,	19	5 " 9 "	"	"	" 6.

[Massachusetts Archives, Revolutionary Rolls, XXXIII, 332-6.]

The three men enlisted in 1782 were: William Campbell, Benjamin Warner and John Pratt, each receiving sixty pounds bounty from the town.

Of the prowess of these men of Harvard who offered their lives for their country's freedom we know little. But few of them fell in battle, and the record of wounds never appears upon the rolls. Of the very few hired to fill the town's quota some deserted, as hireling soldiers in all wars are prone to do. The children of the soil did not disgrace their lineage. The rolls give the names of but twelve who died in the service; there were probably several more, unrecorded.

The military career of Surgeon Elias Willard had a romantic ending. Elias was the son of Deacon Lemuel and

Hannah (Haskell) Willard, and inherited from his mother a goodly share of the personal dignity and comelines for which the Haskell family was noted. In his official uniform he was a man to delight a woman's eye, and so thought Katherine Livingston, daughter and heiress of one of the great patroon families of New York, when she saw him pass in the street of a garrison town where she was visiting. Turning to her companion she flippantly expressed her admiration for the handsome surgeon, and announced her determination to captivate and marry him. It was easy for her to gain his acquaintance, and her attractions of person and estate speedily effected the conquest she planned. They were married in due time and lived at Albany with all the luxury wealth can bring.

The citizen of Harvard who held the highest military rank during the Revolution was Colonel Josiah Whitney. He was born in Stow, September 11, 1731, the youngest son of Richard and Hannah (Whitcomb) Whitney, his mother being a relative of the veteran military leaders, Colonel Asa and General John Whitcomb. His home was at the cross-roads on the present town farm in Harvard. This he sold to Seth Babbitt in 1791, removing to Ashby, where he died January 24, 1806. Colonel Whitney, at the time of the battle of Bunker Hill, was stationed in Cambridge, and although several companies from the regiment of which he was lieutenant-colonel were engaged, there is no evidence that he personally participated in the fight. Subsequently during the war he was several times called into the service for short periods as commander of a regiment of state forces. He was a delegate to the convention of 1779–80, which framed the State constitution, and to that of 1788 called to ratify the United States constitution. At the close of hostilities he was commissioned a brigadier-general of militia and justice of the peace. He enjoyed great local popularity, was the favorite moderator at town-meetings, was five times chosen selectman, and represented the town in the lower branch of the legislature for five years. During the growth of agrarian discontent which culminated in the insurrection organized by the misguided Daniel Shays, Colonel Whitney seems to have been

outspoken in his sympathy with the disaffected, and to his dominant influence it was doubtless in some measure due that Harvard's majority showed a disloyal spirit when the government finally resolved upon a vigorous repression of the rioters. Probably some imprudence of speech gave his political foes their opportunity to denounce him as a public enemy. It was even reported that the command of a body of insurgents was offered him. He was arrested upon the charge of treason, and thrown into the common jail, whence he sent the following petition to the governor:—

THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

To His Excellency James Bowdoin Esqr., Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: and the Honble. Councel.

The petition of Josiah Whitney Humble sheweth that he has been arrested and committed to Goal, by vertue of a state worrant and do moast earnestly pray for the previladge that he may be admitted to Bail for the Following Reasons.

1, he has Left at home a Destrest family, a wife and seven children, and the eldest not twelve years of age

2, the season is Advancing in which it is most necessary for me as well as others to attend to farming beasness.

3, he does promise to Demean himself as a peaceable quiet and good subject of this Commonwealth; and to use his best endavers for the suppression of any that shall be in opposition of the Goverment of this state.

4, he will procure Good and sufficient bondsmen for his appearance at Court to answer to the charges that may be stated against him when ever the time of his trial shall be.

5, your petitioner humbly Conceives that if the prayer of his petition is granted that the merits of his trial will not in the Least be enjured.

If your Excellency and honors for these and other considerations which might be urged, will of clemency and goodness be pleased to Grant a permission that he may be liberated upon sufficient Bonds; shall think himself highly Favored, and as in duty bound shall ever pray

JOSIAH WHITNEY

Dated WORCESTER GOAL March ye 29, 1787.

[Massachusetts Archives, vol. 189, p. 231.]

Joseph Wheeler, Esq., Colonel Henry Bromfield and Honorable John Sprague of Lancaster advised the governor that the petition might safely be granted, and Brigadier-general Whitney, after sixteen days' imprisonment, was released upon giving bonds in the sum of two hundred pounds with two

sureties. When the case came before the grand jury, no witnesses appearing to testify against him, he was discharged. The town continued to elect him their representative, but his several petitions to be recompensed for the cost and disgrace of his imprisonment failed to win the favor of the legislature.

There is no hint in the town records that any citizen of Harvard was classed among active Tories. The few who were inclined to the loyalist side were prudent enough to conciliate the Committee of Safety. The itinerant English exhorters, called Shakers, because of their denunciations of war were suspected of being British emissaries, and sometimes suffered harsh treatment from over-zealous patriots. It is traditionary that Richard Goldsmith, who lived near the summit of Oak Hill, had close affiliations with certain officers in Gage's army, and that he designated to them the leading Whigs in Harvard with a view to their being deprived of their fire-arms. The wife of Hezekiah Whitney, an ardent republican, is said to have satisfied her sense of patriotic duty by visiting the pragmatical Richard and completely disarming him. Joshua Atherton, one of Harvard's most famous sons, was for a time proscribed as a loyalist, although he seems never to have been aggressive in his political opinions. He, however, had removed to New Hampshire seven years before the struggle for independence began. There is a tradition that Deacon Phineas Fairbank, a prominent Whig, had a son in Harvard College who abandoned degree and kindred to join his country's foes. Of this youth it is told that he feared to meet his father, but one Sunday before fleeing to Gage's camp in Boston, he paid a secret visit home —knowing the family would be at church service—and wandered over the house, taking a last sad farewell of all that had been dear to him in boyhood.

During 1776, sundry British officers, who by various fortunes of war fell into the power of the patriots, were distributed among the smaller inland towns upon their paroles, being restrained within the township bounds. Two of these were quartered in the Still River village at Harvard, and probably in the old Atherton house which stood opposite where James Humphrey Atherton now lives. They were

Captain Edward Barron of the 4th or King's Own Regiment, and Surgeon Walter Cullen of the 72d Foot, Royal Fencibles. These gentlemen seems to have dwelt quietly "in harmony with the town's people" for several months. Captain Barron had been so disabled by wounds that he could only take exercise on horseback, and unfortunately for their comfort, the officers finally extended their rides beyond Harvard highways. The prisoners were absent from their quarters two or three nights, were seen outside their prescribed limits, and remanded to Worcester jail, the indecently crowded and uncleanly condition of which they describe in a petition to the council for return to their pleasant rural retreat. The report of the town's Committee of Safety and Correspondence to the council in the matter is a curiosity worth preserving, and gives evidence that the committee were selected for their burning patriotism rather than for their flamboyant penmanship or scholarly attainments:—

HARVARD Aprill y^e^ 28^th^. 1777.

The Comettee of Safty of the Town of Harvard on Suspetion that the prisnors of war Destined [detained] in Harvard had Broak thair Paroll Called in the Esistance of the Comettee of Safty of the Town of Lanchester and of Bolton in order for thair advice and then Proseded to Chus a Chairman and a Clark in order to make a strict Enquirey and it apeared to the full satisfaction of the whol Comettee then Convened Both By Circumstance and Evidence that Capt. Edward Barron of the 4 Regiment of the Britch trups and Doct Wolter Collens Sirgn have Broak thair Paroll By Going out of Town three Knights and two Days without Leave of the Comettee. Then the Comettee of Safty of the Town of Harvard Cometed Edward Barron Capt of the 4 Regement of the Britsh trups and Wolter Collens Sirgn to the common gold of the County of Worster agreable to order of the Cort of this State on Aprill y^e^ 29. 1777.

By order of the Comettee — JONATHAN DAVIS, CALEB SAWYER, ZACCHEUS STEVENS

A true Coppey a testis.

JONATHAN JONATHAN *Clark.*

The papers in the case fail to tell where the two unfortunate men passed the time during their escapade; but in the neighboring town of Lunenburg there were detained five Highland officers with their gillies, and it is possible that the

bored Britons may have been guests of these Scotchmen, who often relieved the tedium of their retirement by festivities of a decidedly jovial character. The captain and surgeon were soon removed from Worcester to less squalid quarters at Newburyport, where in July they were again remonstrating against alleged hardships, and the council consented to their return to Harvard, after which no further record of their life is found.

In 1840 there were eight Revolutionary pensioners living in Harvard, only two of whom, however, had served for the town :—

Elias Warner,	aet. 76.	Lemuel Stone,	aet. 87.	John Stacy,	aet. 81.
Jonathan Baird,	" 85.	Samuel Dickenson,	" 88.	Moses Tyler.	" 82.
Polly Smith,	" 79.	Levi Hayden;	" 78.		

VIII.

THE REBELLION—1861-1865.

THE irrepressible conflict between free and slave labor in the United States had been waged for nearly three-quarters of a century. Sectional bitterness had grown year by year until blatant extremists on either side declared the Union unworthy longer preservation. Compromise and concession only made the slave oligarchies more insolent and aggressive. The far more rapid growth of the free republican commonwealths had given them preponderance in national councils and it was evident that the day of one-sided compromises was at an end; that republican ideas were to rule under the constitution. The election of Abraham Lincoln furnished an excuse for the ambitious aristocrats and political hacks of the South, who had lost allh ope of controlling the government longer, to intrigue for its destruction. Open rebellion, often threatened and long prepared for by a few, soon became a fact, and found the North unready and ignorantly apathetic. The guns at Charleston were trained upon the national ensign floating over Fort Sumter for the purpose of "firing the Southern heart," but the traitorous act set the Northern temper ablaze. The riotous assault of April 19, 1861, upon the Massachusetts Sixth Regiment when passing through Baltimore for the defence of the capital, awoke the most lethargic patriot to a sense of the nation's danger, and as in 1776, the New England town-meetings gave expression to the popular will and began the organization of republican victory. In Harvard at a legal meeting called:—

April 29, 1861.....2. Resolutions were offered by Rev. Mr. Whitwell, which were slightly amended, and passed by an unanimous vote, as follows:

Whereas, in the present state of affairs, when the government of our country is threatened with anarchy, and the destruction of our glorious republic is menaced, it becomes all good citizens to rally for the defence of the constitution and the laws; therefore,

Resolved, that we the citizens of Harvard, in town-meeting assembled, hereby vote to appropriate the sum of four thousand dollars for the purpose of equipping and paying a bounty to soldiers who may volunteer their services to suppress the present rebellion.

.....The town then voted "to make up the pay of each volunteer, with what he receives from the State, the sum of twenty-two dollars per month while in actual service;" also voted "to pay the volunteers of this town each the sum of five dollars per month while drilling at home, preparatory for service."....

The following resolution was unanimously adopted: Resolved, that it is the duty of all good citizens to frown indignantly upon, and follow with uncompromising hostility every individual among us, if any there be, who shall express sentiments disloyal to the government of the United States, or who shall sympathize with the plotters of treason and bloodshed.

.....Voted that the town provide for the families of those volunteers who join the army, if needed.

The anniversary of national independence in 1861 was celebrated by the ringing of the church bells, and a parade of the "Ancient and Honorables" under Captain Jeremiah Barnard, escorted by the "Harvard Guards" commanded by Captain G. C. Wetherbee. A dinner followed the out-door exercises, for which tickets were sold, the receipts being devoted to the payment for a town-clock, at that time being placed in the steeple of the Unitarian meeting-house.

A company styled the "Fay Light Guard" was already organized in Lancaster, and this these eleven Harvard citizens joined during June: Levi E. Brigham, Galen P. Atherton, Charles H. Burgess, Daniel H. Dickinson, John W. Dickinson, George H. Hardy, Silas H. Holman, William W. Ingerson, James Montgomery, William H. Savage and George W. Willis. Brigham was chosen third lieutenant of the organization. After several weeks drilling the company under its captain-elect, Thomas Sherwin, entered camp in Worcester, adding seventy-eight men to the Fifteenth Regiment, in

which it was incorporated as Company I. Through some unfortunate influence Governor Andrew was induced to commission a stranger to the company as its captain, instead of Sherwin. The rank and file indignantly refused to submit to this injustice, and not having been mustered-in, had to be disbanded. All of the Harvard men save Brigham enlisted again and did honorable service, mostly in the Fifteenth and Twenty-first Regiments.

Wesley Caleb Sawyer was actively instrumental in recruiting a company for the Twenty-third Infantry, of which he was commissioned captain. Under him when the regiment left the state, November 11, 1861, were fifteen soldiers claimed for Harvard. Three others joined the company the next August. No other organization bore upon its rolls the names of so many recruits from this town during the war. The Thirty-sixth Regiment, which went to the front September 2, 1862, came next in number of Harvard soldiers, of whom it had sixteen. The other representatives of the town were scattered through all arms of the service and in numerous commands.

As call after call for volunteers came, the energies of the town's officials were put to the test to fill the quotas, for the work of recruiting devolved upon the selectmen. No record of their labors is found other than in the successful results of their administration. How they were supported by their constituency may be seen in the further action of the town-meetings :—

July 24, 1862.....2. Voted to give as bounty $100 to each volunteer who shall be mustered into service as a Harvard volunteer, or as one of her quota of seventeen. Voted and chose a committee of three to canvass the town for recruits; if not found in Harvard to enlist them from any source where they can be found. C. T. Savage, Captain [Wesley C.] Sawyer, A. G. Hill, committee.

Voted that the committee shall take legal advice with regard to the duty of the town touching the aid of soldiers' families and bounty to soldiers, and be governed accordingly.

At a citizens' meeting July 16, 1862, these resolves were unanimously passed :

First. Resolved, That we have the fullest confidence in the honesty and ability of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States, and that we hold the determined resolution to stand by him to the end of this infernal war.

Second. Resolved, That we at this time promise our support to the utmost of our ability.

Third. Resolved. That we hereby pledge ourselves to offer a bounty additional to the government pay, of one hundred dollars to each recruit who shall enlist and be mustered into the service of the United States upon the quota of Harvard, say seventeen men.

Fourth. That the selectmen be requested forthwith to open subscription lists, and to call a legal town-meeting to make the necessary appropriation to carry out the foregoing.

August 18, 1862, the town —

Voted to pay fifty dollars in addition to the $100, to each of the seventeen volunteers of the first quota of volunteers. Voted to pay the nine months volunteers the sum of one hundred dollars to each man, and to assume the responsibility of the payment of the fifty dollars each subscribed for them.....

March 2, 1863. Voted to abate the taxes of the soldiers in the army and navy last year.

March, 1864, appropriated three hundred dollars for the Soldiers' Aid Society for the benefit of the soldiers.....

At an Informal meeting, June 7, 1864: Voted to raise $2550 by a separate tax to pay a bounty to each of the men Drafted to fill the quotas of Harvard under the late calls of the President of the United States, and also to pay for seven men recently procured, to fill the quota of Harvard under the last call.

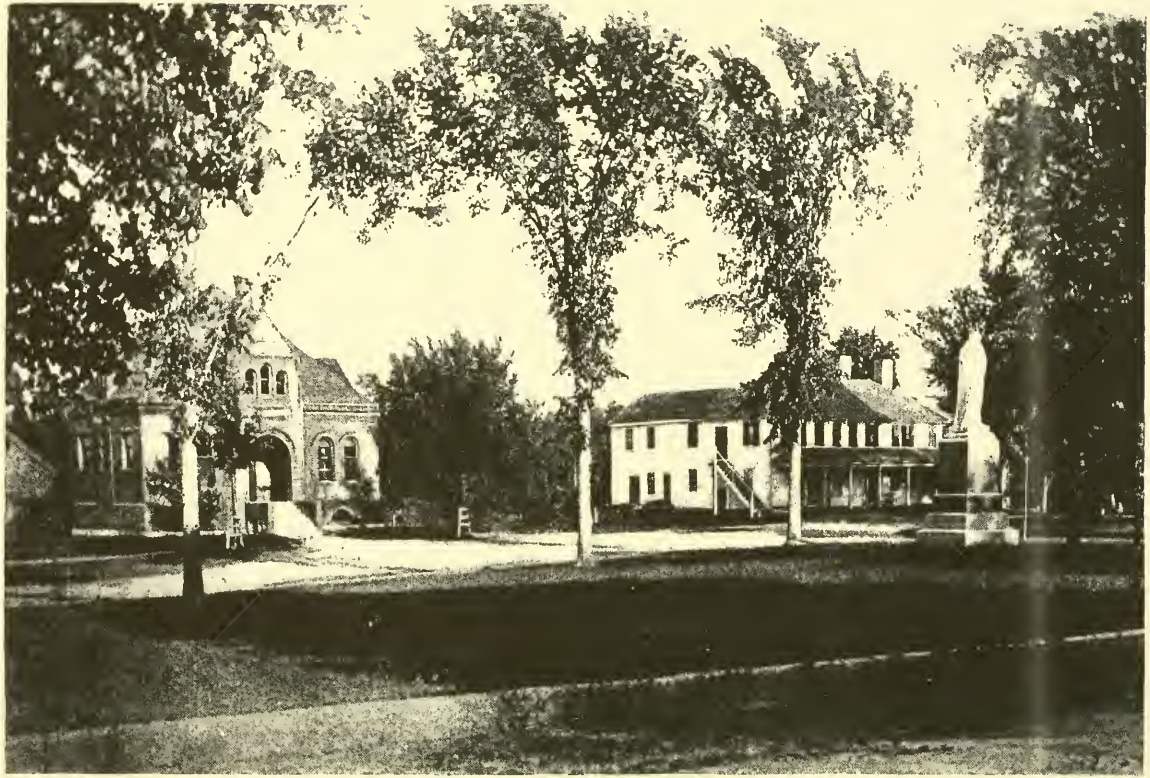
Voted that the Club shall refund the money collected to the individuals who have paid in.....

Voted to raise $300 to erect a Monument to our brave men who have fallen in the service — their names to be inscribed thereon.

June 7, 1864.....3. Voted to pay to each man who volunteers into the United States service as part of the quotas of Harvard the sum of one hundred and twenty-five dollars, while the law will allow it.....

The memorial monument standing in the public square had its origin in the vote of the citizens' meeting June 7, 1864, already quoted. It is composed of a base in two members, of hammered granite, square in section, surmounted by a polished granite pedestal, upon which stands a draped female figure in white marble, representing Memory in the act of strewing flowers upon the names below. Upon the south face of the pedestal is the inscription :—

HARVARD ERECTS THIS MONUMENT IN GRATEFUL
REMEMBRANCE OF HER SOLDIERS WHO
GAVE THEIR LIVES TO THEIR COUNTRY
IN THE WAR FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE UNION.



LIBRARY BUILDING AND SOLDIERS MONUMENT.

Below this crossed swords are chiseled above the dates 1861-1865. On the other three faces are the names of fifteen of the soldiers who died for Harvard in the war:—

ALLEN, EDWARD M.	CO. G, 36TH REG.
BIGELOW, JOSEPH H.	" H, 1ST "
BROGAN, CHARLES H.	" A, 20TH "
CHELLLIS, JOHN T.	" H, 23RD "
DUNN, WILLIAM A.	" G, 36TH "
DEVER, EDWARD.	CO. E, 53D REG.
GIFFORD, ROBERT.	" H, 51ST "
HALL, WILLIAM H.	" G, 36TH "
HASKELL, JOSEPH F.	" G, 36TH "
HARLOW, CHARLES E.	11TH BATTERY.
HOLMAN, EDWIN.	CO. H, 23RD REG.
STACY, EDWARD W.	" G, 36TH "
SAWTELLE, JAMES D.	" H, 23RD "
WILLIS, GEORGE W.	" D, 21ST "
WOOD, CHARLES.	" H, 23RD "

The cost of the monument, including foundations, was $1208.19. It was originally proposed to place it in the burial ground, but in 1888 the town authorized its present location. Among contributions to the fund for the erection of this monument was the sum of $88.60 from the ladies, the proceeds of an art exhibition October 29, 1885. It was dedicated with appropriate ceremonial on Memorial Day, 1888, under the direction of Post 48 of the Grand Army of the Republic.

In the building for the Free Public Library, provision was made for memorial tablets to bear the names of all the soldiers of the town. These tablets, of Tennessee marble, are affixed to the vestibule wall on either side of the entrance to the library, each bearing two columns of names incised and gilt. Above the lists is the legend: "HARVARD TO HER BRAVE SONS WHO FOUGHT FOR THE UNION IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION." Upon the left tablet there are sixty-eight names of soldiers, and upon the right, sixty-four of soldiers and those of two volunteer nurses from Harvard. The omission of some names and the admission of others upon these tablets may be fairly criticised, and there are several errors

in those registered. If official records can be relied on, at least one of the list was a rejected recruit and never saw service. A few others — mostly hired non-residents — can hardly be classed, even by courtesy, with those "who fought for the Union." Two soldiers are twice recorded under slightly different names. Leonard H. Parker appears in the list by some mistake, since he is a native of Lancaster, enlisted in that town, and was counted for her quota. Like statement might perhaps be made respecting one or two others, natives of adjoining towns. But similar faults are frequent in such rosters, however laboriously prepared, when made from imperfect town records long after the men and their individual experiences are forgotten by the town's people.

The following alphabetical and descriptive roster of those who did military service for Harvard, or, being natives or residents of the town, were enlisted for the Union during the Rebellion, has been made up from all known sources of information, and is the result of many revisions. That it is without errors and omissions it would be presumptuous to hope. It is simply the best attainable, since the scant town records and the fading recollections of citizens have failed to aid the compiler in his search for more personal history than is here given. Names are followed by the record of service in the following sequence: the number of regiment, Massachusetts infantry being understood where not otherwise specified; the letter of the company; the age of the soldier when enlisted; town bounty; date of muster; experience of soldier:—

DESCRIPTIVE ROSTER OF HARVARD SOLDIERS,

INCLUDING NATIVES AND RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN, AND THOSE HIRED FOR HER QUOTA.

AGNEW, HENRY, 57th, Co. I; 23 yrs.; $125 bounty; April 6, '64; deserted April 17, '64. A non-resident substitute. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*ALLEN, EDWARD M., 36th, G; 23; Aug. 13, '62; died of typhoid fever at Knoxville, Tenn., Oct. 28, '63.

ANDERSON, JOHN, 57th, I; 19; $125 bounty; April 6, '64; deserted April 17, '64. A non-resident substitute. *Not on memorial tablet.*

ART, JOHN, 1st Lt. Artillery; 20; $125 bounty; Dec. 14, '64; transferred to 9th Lt. Artillery, Feb. 28, '65; mustered out June 6, '65. Non-resident hired.

ATHERTON, CHARLES PHILEMON, corporal, 1st Cavalry, G; 25; Aug. 8, '62; credited to Springfield; mustered out Dec. 25, '63, to re-enlist in Co. F for Harvard's credit; $125 bounty; mustered out June 26, '65. Son of Oliver.

ATHERTON, FRANK A., 6th (100 days), E; 18; July 18, '64; mustered out Oct. 27, '64. Son of Alfred.

ATHERTON, GALEN P., corporal, 21st, D; 23; Aug. 23, '61; discharged for disability Feb. 14, '63. Son of Oliver.

ATHERTON, GEORGE R., 1st Cavalry, G; 24; Aug. 8, '62; credited to Springfield; mustered out Dec. 25, '63, to re-enlist in Co. F to credit of Fitchburg; mustered out June 26, '65. Born in Lancaster; son of Otis R.

ATHERTON, JAMES O., 1st Cavalry, G; 27; Aug. 22, '62; credited to Springfield; discharged for disability Sept. 21, '64. Native of Harvard, son of Otis R. *Not on memorial tablet.*

ATHERTON, ROSWELL, 33d, E; 30; Aug. 5, '62; credited to Groton; discharged for disability Nov. 30, '62. Son of Otis R. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*ATHERTON, WILLIAM H., 1st Cavalry, G; 21; Aug. 8, '62; credited to Springfield; discharged for disability Jan. 13, '63; died April 13, '63, at home. Native of Harvard, son of Oliver.

ATTLETON, JOSEPH C., 23d; H; 25; Sept. 28, '61, to credit of Natick, but appears in town records as a resident of Harvard when enlisted; discharged for disability April 23, '64. *Joseph T. Atherton on tablet.*

BACON, JOSEPH A., 6th, B; 26; as corporal credited to Groton, April 22, '61, to Aug. 2, '61; as 1st sergeant credited to Groton, Aug. 31, '62; promoted to 2d Lieut. Feb. 13, '63; mustered out June 3, '63; as 1st Lieut. credited to Harvard, July 17, '64, to Oct. 27, '64. Died since the war in Albany, N.Y.

BACON, SAMUEL A., 44th (9 mos.), D; 19; Sept. 12, '62; mustered out June 18, '63.

BAKER, HENRY A., 20th, E; 18; $125 bounty; March 30, '64; mustered out July 16, '65. Non-resident substitute. *Not on memorial tablet.*

BARNARD, ABNER, 17th, band; 29; Nov. 4, '61; discharged Aug. 30, '62.

BERRY, JOHN, 19th, K; 21; $125 bounty; Jan. 6, '65; deserted Feb. 21, '65. Non-resident substitute. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*BIGELOW, JOSEPH H., 1st, H; 20; May 23, '61; credited to Chelsea; wounded at Chantilly and died Sept. 22, '62, at Alexandria, Va.

*BLOOD, LYMAN R., 20th, F; 15; March 28, '64; credited to Watertown. Son of Heman L. Blood, born Feb. 18, 1849, in Harvard. Killed before Petersburg, Va., Oct. 18, '64. *Not on tablet or memorial monument.*

BOWDOIN, MICHAEL (*Bowden* in State records), 11th, H; 30; $125 bounty; June 3, '64; mustered out June 19, '65. Non-resident hired.

BOWEN, AMASA W., V.R.C., 27; $125 bounty; July 27, '64; mustered out Nov. 14, '65. Non-resident hired.

Bower, John, 11th, F; 28; Aug. 13, '63; deserted April 15, '64. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

Bowley, Joseph P., 16th, C; 23; July 2, '61, mustered out July 27, '64.

Brannon, John W., corporal, 59th, H; 27; $125 bounty; April 2, '64; transferred June 1, '65, to 57th; mustered out June 13, '65. Non-resident hired.

*Brogan, Charles H., 26th, A; 18; $125 bounty; May 4, '64; died at New Orleans, La., Aug. 11, '64. Non-resident hired.

Brown, Frederick W., corporal, 23d, H; 20; Oct. 1, '61; promoted sergeant Dec. 9, '63; promoted 2d Lieut. 1st U. S. C. T., Jan. 3, '64.

Brown, John, 33d, unassigned; 26; $125 bounty; June 23, '64; July 16, '64, rejected recruit.

Burgess, Charles H., 56th, B; 30; $125 bounty; Dec. 26, '63; mustered out July 12, '65, in Co. K.

Burgess, James L., 56th, B; 25; Dec. 26, '63; discharged for disability May 18, '65.

Burke, Stephen, 33d, F; 22; $125 bounty; June 23, '64, to July 16, '64. *Bink* on tablet. A hired substitute, non-resident.

Burke, William, 15th Lt. Artillery; 30; $125 bounty; Dec. 14, '64; mustered out Aug. 4, '65.

Burnett, George, 12th Lt. Artillery; 20; $125 bounty. Dec. 16, '64; mustered out July 25, '65.

*Chellis, John F., 23d, H; 22; Aug. 7, '62; died at Arlington, Va., June 20, '64, of wounds received in battle at Cold Harbor, Va.

Churham, John (*Curham* in State records), 3d U. S. L.; June 3, '64; $125 bounty. Non-resident hired.

Clark, John, 1st Hy. Artillery, I; 25; $125 bounty; Dec. 15, '64; discharged for disability May 29, '65.

Cody, John, 12th Lt. Artillery; 22; $125 bounty; Dec. 16, '64. No record found; non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

Cora, Charles F., 6th (100 days), E; 21; July 20, '64; Oct. 27, '64.

Coughlin, Patrick, 19th, B; 24; April 2, '62; transferred to V. R. C. March 7, '64. Further record not found. *Not on memorial tablet.*

Crouch, Henry E., 45th (9 months), D; 21; Sept. 26, '62; mustered out July 7, '63.

Dadmun, James Forest, 36th, G; 24; $125 bounty; Dec. 8, '63; transferred June 8, '65, to 56th, D; mustered out July 12, '65. Wounded May 6, '64 in right eye. Died Feb. 7, 1873, in Harvard.

Daily, John, 23d, H; 18; Oct. 2, '61; corporal Nov. 10, '63; mustered out Oct. 13, '64.

Dayton, Morris C., 2d Cavalry; 24; $125 bounty; June 21, '64. Unassigned recruit.

*Dever, Edward, 53d, C; 38; Nov. 6, '62; wounded in shoulder in charge at Port Hudson, La., June 14, '63, and died at Baton Rouge, La., July 7, '63.

Dickinson, Daniel H., 15th, A; 24; July 12, '61; discharged for disability Dec. 23, '62.

DICKINSON, JOHN W., 15th, A; 23; July 12, '61; discharged for disability Feb. 14, '63. Died ——

DINSDALE, GEORGE, 2d, C; 32; $125 bounty; June 29, '64; deserted Aug. 13, '64. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

DOLAN, MICHAEL., or Dalton, Michael, V. R. C.; 43; $125 bounty; June 1, '64; Nov. 18, '65. These two names appear upon the memorial tablet, representing one soldier—a non-resident.

DONAHOE, DANIEL, 15th, E; 21; $125 bounty; March 28, '64; transferred July 27, '64, to 20th, E; mustered out July 16, '65.

DOUGLAS, JAMES, 16th, K; 22; Aug. 17, '63; deserted Oct. 21. '63. Hired non-resident. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*DUNN, WILLIAM A., 36th, G; 18; Aug. 13, '62; killed at Cold Harbor, Va., June 3, '64.

DWINELS, EDWIN, 6th (9 months), E; 20; Aug. 31, 62; June 3, '63.

EDGARTON, WARREN P., 1st Ohio Lt. Artillery, E; 25; Aug. 23, '61; appointed captain Oct. 7, '61; major, March 16, '64; resigned July 9, '64. Enlisted in Cleveland, Ohio; native of Harvard. *Not on memorial tablet.*

EUSTIS, WILLIAM S., V. R. C.; 32; June 27, '64; Nov. 15. '65.

FAIRBANK, CHARLES F., 53d, D; 18; Oct. 17, '62; discharged to re-enlist July 24, '63.

FANE, WILLIAM, 19th, G; 18; May 13, '64; mustered out June 30, '65. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

FARMER, NAHUM H., corporal, 36th, G; 19; Aug. 14, '62; mustered out June 8, '65.

*FARNSWORTH, JEROME, JR., 23d, H; 18; Aug. 7, '62; discharged for disability Oct. 13, '63. Died Sept. 19, '64, at home.

FISHER, HENRY MARTIN, 4th Heavy Artillery, K; 28; $197.33 bounty; Aug. 22, '64; June 17, '65. Credited to Milford; native of Harvard. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*GIFFORD, ROBERT, 61st, K (*51st Regt.* on memorial monument); 20; $125 bounty; Dec. 17, '64; killed at Petersburg, Va., April 7, '65.

GRIFFIN, JOHN, 11th, unassigned recruit; 21; Aug. 13, '63; deserted Aug. 23, '63. *Not on memorial tablet.*

GURNSEY, THOMAS. This man appears in State records as Morris Gavney, 16th, Co. K; 23; Aug. 17, '63; transferred to 11th, Co. F, July 11, '64, wherein he appears as Thomas Gurney; mustered out July 14, '65.

HAGAR, GUSTAVUS D., 1st Heavy Artillery, K; 27; July 5, '61, to credit of Lawrence; mustered out for re-eulistment Nov. 27, '63; deserted Aug. 5, '65, *Gustavus D. Hayes* in State records.

HALL, HENRY M., 36th, G; 44; Dec. 7, '63; transferred to 56th, D, June 8, '64; mustered out July 12, '65.

*HALL, WILLIAM H., 36th, G; 19; son of above; Aug. 13, '62; killed at Spottsylvania, Va., May 12, '64.

HAMILTON, RICHARD, 26th, unassigned; 27; $125 bounty; May 3, '64; transferred to navy May 28, '64.

HAPGOOD, CHARLES W., 6th (100 days), E; 19; July 18, '64–Oct. 27, '64.

HARDY, ALBERT E., 6th (100 days), E; 19; July 18, '64–Oct. 27, '64.

HARDY, CHARLES O., 16th, C; 22; July 2, '61; discharged for disability Feb. 10, '63. Died March 2, 1866, at home.

HARDY, GEORGE H., 21st, D; 21; Aug. 23, '61; mustered out to re-enlist Jan. 1, '64, to the credit of Leominster, in 36th, I; transferred June 8, '65, to 56th, G, corporal; mustered out July 12, '65. Wounded in leg at Roanoke Island, N. C., Feb. 8, '62, and in body at Petersburg, June, 1864. The name *Henry H. Hardy*, found in town register and on memorial tablet, may be an error made in recording the re-enlistment of George H. Hardy. No official record of any Henry H. Hardy is discovered.

*HARLOW, CHARLES E., corporal, 11th Lt. Artillery; 21; $125 bounty; Jan. 1, '64; died March 2, '64, at Washington, D. C., of dysentery and pneumonia.

HARLOW, EDWARD O., 23d, H; 18; Sept. 28, '61; transferred to V. R. C. Feb. 8, '64; discharged from hospital, Beaufort, N. C., Sept. 19, '64.

HART, SAMUEL B., 33d, E; 23; Aug. 5, '62; credited to Groton; transferred to V. R. C., Aug. 1, '63. Further record not found.

HARTWELL, DANIEL GARDNER, 11th Lt. Artillery (9 months); 25; Aug. 25, '62; mustered out May 25, '63.

*HASKELL, JOSEPH F., 36th, G; 20; Aug. 13, '62; died June 10, '64, in hospital at Washington, D. C., of wound in knee, received in Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.

HATHAWAY, JAMES B., V, R. C.; 19; $125 bounty; June 1, '64; Nov. 15, '65.

HAYDEN, ALFRED P., 3d N. H. Infty., F; Aug. 23, '61; corporal July 1, '62; sergeant June 30, '63; wounded severely Aug. 25, '63; mustered out Aug. 23, '64.

HAYDEN, GEORGE A., 23d, H; 18; Sept. 28, '61; discharged for disability Nov. 29, '62.

*HEFFRON, MICHAEL, 59th, I; 18; $125 bounty; April 2, '64; died of wounds July 30, '64. *Hefron* in State records. *Not on memorial monument.*

HENEY, JAMES, 11th, unassigned; 20; Aug. 13, '63; deserted Aug. 23, '63. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

HERSEY, HENRY W., corporal, 1st Cavalry, G; 26; Aug. 5, '62, to credit of Springfield; re-enlisted to credit of Harvard, Dec. 25, '63; mustered out June 26, '65.

HILL, JOHN L., 6th (9 months), E; 31; Aug. 31, '62–June 3, '63.

*HOLMAN, EDWIN, 23d, H; Sept. 28, '61; credited to Fitchburg; died Nov. 10, '62, at New Berne, N. C., in hospital.

HOLMAN, SILAS H., 1st sergeant, 22d, I; 27; Sept. 6, '61; discharged March 18, '63, for disability, and died at home May 1, 1865. Son of Dr. Eliakim A. Holman.

HOSMER, EDWARD B., 44th (9 months), D; 20; Sept. 12, '62; mustered out June 18, '63.

HOSMER, LUCIUS S., 6th (100 days), E; 19; July 18, '64; credited to Acton; mustered out Oct. 27, '64.

HOUGHTON, EPHRAIM W., corporal, 36th, G; 38; Aug. 13, '62; discharged for disability Aug. 8, '64; wounded in leg at Campbell's Station, Tenn., while carrying the State colors, Nov. 16, '63.

HOYT, BRADFORD H., 23d, H; 19; Sept. 28, '61; mustered out Oct. 13, '64.

*HUNT, ISAAC E., *Jesse E. Hunt* in State records, 2d Cavalry, I; 19; corporal; Feb. 10, '63, to credit of Worcester; died Nov. 18, '64, at Savannah, Ga.

INGERSON, DAVID HARVEY, corporal, 27th, K; 18; Oct. 16, '61; re-enlisted Dec. 23, '63; $125 bounty; mustered out June 26, '65.

INGERSON, FREDERICK A., sergeant, 27th, K; 21; Oct. 6, '61; discharged for disability Dec. 9, '62; credited to Springfield. *Not on memorial tablet.*

INGERSON, WILLIAM W., 21st, D; 28; Aug. 23, '61; discharged for disability Sept. 13, '62. *Not on memorial tablet, but "Harvey" is repeated.*

JENKINS, HENRY, 16th, K; 26; Aug. 17, '63; deserted Oct. 21, '63. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

JOHNSON, WILLIAM H., 53d (9 months), C; 22; Nov. 6, '62; deserted Nov. 11, '62; resident of Harvard, credited to Leominster. *Not on memorial tablet.*

KITTREDGE, FLOYER GALEN, Dr., assistant-surgeon, 31st; 42; Dec. 29, '62; resigned Jan. 28, '64. Died June 1, 1878. *Not on memorial tablet.*

LAWRENCE, ALFRED G., 16th, C; 25; July 2, '61; deserted June 30, '62. *Not on memorial tablet.*

LAWRENCE, EDWARD HY, 36th, I; 22; July 21, '62; discharged for disability March 4, '63.

LAWRENCE, FREDERICK J., 53d, C; 23; Lunenburg; Oct. 17, '62–Sept. 2, '63. (?)

LEAVITT, SULLIVAN, 36th, G; 34; Aug. 13, '62; deserted Sept. 12, '62. *Not on memorial tablet.*

LOGAN, JAMES, V. R. C.; 34; June 1, '64; mustered out Aug. 31, '65.

LOVEJOY, CHARLES M. (*Charles W.* on tablet), 6th, B; 20; June 19, '61, credited to Townsend, 3 months' service; Aug. 31, '62, corporal, credited to Groton for 9 months' service; mustered out June 3, '63; 1st Heavy Artillery, M, corporal, Oct. 27, '64, credited to Berlin; mustered out Aug. 16, '65.

LOVERING, JAMES B., 23d, H; 20; Aug. 1, '62; mustered out Oct. 16, '64.

LYNCH, GEORGE R., corporal, 16th, C; 18; July 2, '61; discharged May 10, '64, for disability.

MACE, GEORGE, 6th (100 days), E; 18; July 18, '64; mustered out Oct. 27, '64.

MCGINNIS, JAMES, 11th, F; 23; Aug. 13, '63; deserted Nov. 17, '63. Non-resident hired. *Not on memorial tablet.*

MONTGOMERY, JAMES, 21st, D; 41; Aug. 23, 61; wounded in thigh and side at Roanoke Island, N. C., Feb. 7–8, '62; discharged for disability Nov. 14, '62. Died Jan. 22, 1870, in Lancaster.

MOORE, FREDERICK, 53d, D; 31; Oct. 17, '62; mustered out Sept. 2, '63.

MORAN, THOMAS, 3d U. S. Infty.; June 3, '64. Further record not found.

*MULLIKEN, WILLIAM, 1st sergeant, 1st Cavalry, K; 24; $125 bounty;

Dec. 29, '63; wounded in face and leg at Wilderness, Va., May 5, '64, and died of wounds June 3, '64. *Not on soldiers' monument, but on memorial tablet.*

MULLOY, PATRICK, 2d, D; 26; July 20, '64; $125 bounty. No further record. Non-resident. *This soldier is enrolled upon the memorial tablet under the impossible name of Nocboy.*

NEWTON, AUGUSTUS, 6th, (9 months), E; 25; Aug. 31, '62; credited to Stow; mustered out June 3, '63.

NICHOLS, WILLIAM H. T., 6th (9 months), E; 44; Aug. 3, '62; mustered out June 3, '63.

PARTRIDGE, JAMES H., sergeant, 2d Cavalry; 21; June 20, '63; mustered out July 20, '65.

PATTERSON, JOHN (*Peterson* in State records), 2d, B; 21; $125 bounty; June 23, '64; transferred in August, '64, to 33d, C; deserted Nov. 10, '64. Non-resident hired.

PECKHAM, SAMUEL H., 23d, H; 24; Sept. 28, '61; discharged for disability July 21, '62.

PECKHAM, WILLIAM C., 23d, H; 20; Oct. 2, '61; discharged May 10, '62.

PHELPS, GEORGE T., 36th, G; 20; Aug. 13, '62; promoted Q. M. sergeant Oct. 4, '64; mustered out June 8, '65.

PINKHAM, ANDREW J., V. R. C.; 21; June 24, '64. *Not on memorial tablet.*

PRATT, CHARLES, 2d Cavalry, C; 28; $125 bounty; Sept. 2, '64; mustered out June 19, '65. Credited to Middleborough.

PRIEST, CHARLES W., 36th, G; 25; Aug. 13, '62; mustered out June 8, '65.

PRIEST, JOHN F., 23d, H; 20; Sept. 28, '61; discharged for disability Oct. 26, '62. Died March 19, 1873.

PUFFER, GEORGE G., 6th (100 days), E; 24; July 18, '64; credited to Concord; mustered out Oct. 27, '64.

RAND, JOSEPH A., musician, 16th, C; 19; July 2, '61; mustered out July 30, '63.

RAND, JOSIAH KENDALL, 6th (9 months), E; 24; Aug. 31, '62; mustered out June 3, '63.

ROBINSON, CHARLES A., 1st Cavalry, G; 21; Oct. 5, '61; credited to Farmington, Me.; discharged Feb. 6, '63, for disability; 56th, E; sergeant; Jan. 12, '64, to credit of Boston; mustered out June 29, '65.

RYAN, MARK. Name on tablet, but no record of such a soldier discovered. A hired substitute.

SALUCE, JOSEPH. Name on tablet, but no record of such a soldier discovered. A hired substitute.

SAVAGE, WILLIAM H., sergeant, 15th, A; 29; Aug. 1, '61; discharged for disability May 13, '64; re-enlisted in U. S. Artillery, Co. C., Feb. 27, '65; sergeant; discharged Feb. 27, 1868. Slightly wounded at Gettysburg, July 3, '63.

*SAWTELLE, JAMES D., 23d, H; 20; Oct. 3, '61; transferred to V. R. C., Feb. 8, '64; died of fever Sept. 16, '64.

SAWTELLE, JOHN D. (father of above), 22d, I; 41; Sept. 6, '61; discharged

for disability March 1, '62. Credited to Harvard in State records. *Not on memorial tablet.*

SAWYER, GEORGE LUTHER, sergeant, 6th (9 months), E; 23; Aug. 31, '62, as corporal; mustered out June 3, '63; 6th (100 days), E; July 18, '64–Oct. 27, '64.

SAWYER, WESLEY CALEB, captain, 23d, H; 22; Oct. 8, '61; wounded by cannon ball (left leg shot off) at New Berne, N. C., March 14, '62; discharged for disability Nov. 17, '62. Commandant of Camp Stevens, Groton, during the organization of the 53d Regiment Mass. Infty.

SAWYER, WILBUR FISKE, corporal, 140th Illinois Infty., I; 28; June 1, '64, to Dec. 15, '64.

SHANNEHAN, DENNIS, V. R. C.; 44; June 1, '64; mustered out Nov. 30, '65.

SHORT, FRANK, 57th, H; 24; Jan. 11, '64; credited to Worcester; mustered out July 30, '65.

SMITH, PETER, 16th, G; 24; Aug. 17, '63; transferred to U. S. Navy, May 2, '64. *Not on memorial tablet.*

SMITH, WILLIAM, 23d, H; 22; Sept. 28, '61; discharged March 28, '63, for disability.

SPRAGUE, CHARLES E., 6th (9 months), E; 24; Aug. 31, '62; (100 days) corporal, July 18, '64–Oct. 27, '64.

*STACY, EDWARD WALDO, 36th, G; 20; Aug. 13, '62; killed in Wilderness, Va., May 6, '64.

SWAN, CHARLES F., bugler, 1st Cavalry, A; 18; Jan. 9, '64–June 26, '65. *Sevan* on memorial tablet.

THOMAS, CHARLES W., 57th, I; 26; April 2, '64–July 30, '65; credited to Brookline.

THOMAS, JOSEPH, 5th Cavalry, I; 22; June 23, '64–Oct. 31, '65.

THOMPSON, SAMUEL S., 2d Cavalry, unassigned; 21; $125 bounty; June 26, '64–May 10, '65.

TIBBETTS, HENRY W., 6th (9 months), E; 27; Aug. 31, '62–June 3, '63; also served for Lowell in 15th Lt. Artillery, Dec. 12, '63–Aug. 4, '65.

VANGESEL, JOSEPH R., 6th (9 months), E; 22; Aug. 31, '62–June 3, '63; credited to Kent Co., Del.

WARNER, DANIEL WEBSTER, corporal, 22d, C; 23; Sept. 6, '61; discharged for disability Nov. 3, '63; credited to Berlin.

WARNER, JOHN G., 21st, D; 27; Aug. 23, '61–Aug. 30, '64; wounded in foot.

WATERFORD, JOHN, 2d Cavalry, unassigned; 25; $125 bounty; June 22, '64; transferred to navy May 17, '64.

WETHERBEE, GEORGE C., 23d, H; 21; Oct. 17, '61; promoted 1st lieut. and quartermaster May 2, '63; promoted captain and commissary of subsistence U. S. V., Sept. 1, '63; brevet major.

WHITNEY, CHARLES EDWARD, 40th, B; 21; corporal, Aug. 22, '62; 1st lieut. Feb. 26, '64; twice wounded; mustered out June 16, '65. Son of Benjamin F.; credited to Boston; died in Harvard, Feb. 8, 1872. *Not on memorial tablet.*

*WHITNEY, JOHN MARSHALL, M. D., surgeon in U. S Navy; drowned

while bathing near Jacksonville, Florida, Aug. 16, '64, aged 22 years. Son of Marshall Whitney. *Not on memorial tablet or monument.*

WHITNEY, GEORGE H., 1st Cavalry, C; 22; $125 bounty; Nov. 19, '61; re-enlisted Jan. 1, '64–June 21, '65; captured May 12, '64, near Todd's Tavern, Va., and in prison at Florence, S. C., to Dec. 24, '64.

WHITNEY, GEORGE T., 5th (3 months), G; 23; May 1, '61–July 31, '61. *Not on memorial tablet.*

WHITNEY, HORATIO T., 1st Cavalry, C; 21; Sept. 17, '61–Oct. 3, '64; wounded in neck June 17, '63, at Aldie, Va.

WHITNEY, SALMON, 6th (6 months), B; 28; April 22, '61–Aug. 2, '61; credited to Groton; also in 53d, C, Nov. 6, '62; discharged for disability June 6, '63; credited to Boston; died at Leominster, July 26, '64. Native of Harvard. *Not on memorial tablet.*

WILLARD, JAMES MARSHALL, 23d, H; 35; Nov. 4, '61; wounded at New Berne, N. C., and discharged for disability July 21, '62.

*WILLIS, GEORGE W., 21st, D; 17; Aug. 23, '61; wounded at Chantilly, Va., and died Sept. 12, '62, at Alexandria, Va. Credited to Stow.

WILSON, CHARLES H., 57th, H; 32; March 12, '64; mustered out July 30, '65. Credited to Stoneham.

WINCHESTER, EMORY, 36th, G; 24; Aug. 12, '62; credited to Sterling; mustered out May 25, '65.

*WOOD, CHARLES, 23d, H; 23; Oct. 2, '61; missing in action at Drewry's Bluff, Va., May 16, '64, and no doubt killed or died a prisoner.

WOOD, BENJAMIN L., 36th, G; 37; Aug. 13, '62; mustered out June 8, '65.

WORSTER, GEORGE H., 36th, G; 20; Aug. 13, '62; discharged for disability Jan. 28, '64.

WYER, JAMES L., JR., 44th (9 months), F; 19; Sept. 12, '62; mustered out June 18, '63.

VOLUNTEER NURSES.

The names of Florence H. Burt and Sarah T. Bacon appear upon the memorial tablet as "Volunteer Nurses." Miss Burt became the wife of Joseph E. Haskell, and died October 24, 1870, aged thirty years and five months. Miss Bacon was not a hospital nurse, but as a resident of Albany became connected with the New York Sanitary Commission, and was for a time stationed at Washington in charge of sanitary supplies.

SUMMARY.

The population of Harvard by the census of 1860 was	1507
The valuation of the town in 1860 was	$877,330
The amount expended for war purposes, excepting State aid, was	$17,668
The town's quota, under all calls, rated at three years' service	117
Credited to the town by State authority (surplus 12)	129

The official report of the town officers in 1866, claimed that the town furnished:

Under the call of	May 3, 1861	5	men for three years' service.
" " "	June 17, 1861	24	" " " "
" " "	July 4, 1862	29	" " " "
" " "	August 4, 1862	19	men for nine months.
" " "	October 17, 1863	9	men for three years.
" " "	July 18, 1864	33	men for three years.
		1	man for one year.
Recruited in December, 1864		5	men for three years.
		2	men for one year.

Volunteers for the one hundred days' service, 8 men.

These one hundred and thirty-seven soldiers entitled the town to be credited with one hundred and eleven men for three years' service. The surplus was presumably derived from State recruits assigned to the town.

The State Aid delivered to families of soldiers and refunded by the State was:

For the year ending March, 1862	$523	70
" " " 1863	1,127	36
" " " 1864	1,301	40
" " " 1865	1,603	95
" " " 1866	727	64
	$5,284	05

The names of individuals in the preceding roster number	162
Of these the actual residents or natives of Harvard were about	80
" re-enlisted veterans	4
" commissioned officers	6
" killed in action or died of wounds	13
" died of disease before 1866	9
" wounded other than mortally, so far as ascertained	11

Many natives of Harvard, not to be found in this roster, no doubt served to the credit of other localities where they had found homes; but their military record has not come to the knowledge of the writer.

No Post of the Grand Army of the Republic has been organized in Harvard, but most of the ex-soldier residents are members of Post 48 of Ayer. The town has annually appropriated from twenty-five to fifty dollars for the celebration of Memorial Day, and the money has been expended under the direction of this Post.

IX.

EDUCATION.

I. THE SCHOOLS OF HARVARD.

THE educational opportunities enjoyed by the youth of the Still River and Bare Hill settlements before the incorporation of the town of Harvard have been detailed in the preliminary chapter. The duty of providing for the instruction of their children engaged the attention of the citizens assembled in town-meeting, April 1, 1734. Twenty pounds were then voted for a school, and it was ordered that the town should be divided into four districts. As John Martyn, the town clerk, was the next year allowed fifteen shillings "for a journey for Mr. Pierpont" — it can be safely asserted that this Roxbury scholar, who had been previously employed by Lancaster, was Harvard's first schoolmaster. It was also voted to build four school-houses, each twenty by fifteen feet in plan, and permission was given the rate-payers to select to which district their school tax should be paid. At first the selectmen were instructed to procure the schoolmaster and "place him in which Quarter they pleased," but in November, 1735, it was "voted that each Quarter of the Town be empowered to chuse their own Schoolmaster." There was some friction, unrecorded, for the vote to build a school-house in each quarter was reconsidered October 12, 1737. It was not until January 10, 1738, that the selectmen reported their division of the town into quarters. In the meantime whatever school was kept, was at the centre of the township, probably in the building which had first served as a meeting-house. The districts were outlined as follows:—

1. *Barehill Quarter*, beginning at Joseph Priest's, taking in John Priest, Henry Houghton, John Warner Jun^r, the Widow Warner, Elijah Whitney, Abraham Whitney, John Sampson, and all the Lands and Families within these before mentioned, containing twenty-three rateable Persons and Estates.

2. *Still River Quarter*, beginning at James Atherton's, taking in Ephraim Houghton, James Willard and all Still River Row with what is behind them by the River till it comes to Samuel Rogers, then running to Benj Nurse's, including all the lands and families within the above mentioned, being in the whole twenty-five families and estates.

3. *Old Mill Quarter*, beginning at Ebenezer Sprague's, taking Stephen Gates, from thence to Nathan Brooks, then taking John Davis, Andrew Harper, the Widow Farnsworth, Nathan Daby, John Daby, and all the families and lands in these before mentioned, being in the whole twenty families and estates.

4. *Oakhill Quarter*, beginning at John Wright's and John Atherton's, taking Simon Daby, Nathan Warner, Ebenezer Davis, Eleazar Davis, Jonathan Heald, James Whitcomb, Jonathan Worster, Ebenezer Worster, and John Whitney, with all the families and estates included within these before mentioned, being in the whole twenty-one families and estates.

This report seems to prove that before its sixth birth-day had dawned there were eighty-nine families, or over five hundred souls, in Harvard; showing an annual increase of nearly forty persons—over ten per cent. The town was presented to the grand jury in 1739 for not being provided with a school according to law, and on May 16 of that year voted to have a school at the meeting-house. January 7, 1740, a special town-meeting came to the following settlement of a school system :—

Voted, to have y^e^ School for y^e^ futer in y^e^ quarters.

Voted, that each quarter shall have a quarter of y^e^ money spent in Schooling among themselves, as it shall be granted from time to time.

Voted, that each quarter shall find or build a convenient house to keep y^e^ School in.

Voted.....that y^e^ Selectmen shall have full power to order y^e^ School in each quarter from time to time; it is to be understood that if one quarter has y^e^ school in a good time, then to have it next in time not so good, as it shall be judged by y^e^ Selectmen who are fully Impowred to maneg sd. afair.

Voted, that if any quarter neglects to build or procure a Convenient House to keep y^e^ School in, when it come to their turn y^e^ School shall be kept in y^e^ next quarter whose turn it would be.....

In 1740, John Atherton was the schoolmaster. He was

succeeded by Phineas Brown in 1742. In 1752 the town was presented by the grand jury for neglecting to set up and maintain a grammar school as required by law, although "for the space of five years it had consisted of more than a Hundred familys." In 1754 and thereafter the dwellers in Shabikin were granted leave to apply their rates in the support of a school among themselves, subject to the supervision of the selectmen. This was practically the creation of a fifth district. In 1758, Samuel Tuttle, a Harvard College graduate of 1757, was the town's grammar schoolmaster; in 1760, Phineas Whitney of the Harvard class of 1759 taught; in 1766, the schoolmaster was Ezra Green, a graduate of the previous year; in 1767, Stephen Shattuck, Harvard graduate of 1756, taught; in 1768, Phineas Brown; in 1769, Abraham Haskell; in 1771, Samuel Sheldon Pool, a Harvard graduate of the preceding year, and in 1773, Charles Stearns, graduate of that year, were in charge of Harvard's grammar school. The town records give no clue to the names of the other early teachers, and as the annual statements of the selectmen were wholly of a financial nature, little of interest respecting the schools is found in the town books. After the close of the war for independence, and recovery from the subsequent financial depression, the town grew rapidly and the five school-houses were crowded beyond their capacity. March 15, 1790, a committee was appointed to "redistrict" the town in conformity with the requirements of a general act passed by the legislature in 1789—a measure characterized by Horace Mann as "the most unfortunate law, on the subject of common schools, ever enacted in the state." The result of the committee's labors was duly reported and accepted as follows:—

.....Then voted that there be a district in the middle of the town containing a Circle of one mile on a strait line each way from the School House. Voted that there be a district in Old Mill to begin at Littleton Line and take in Oliver Sanderson and run in a Circle between Simon Coopers and Zaccheus Dudleys leaving out Esq. Whetney and thence by said circle to the Road that leads to the Old Mill from the Meeting House, thence to Groton line so as to take in Charles Taylor and David Pollard. That Shabekin be a district as formerly except John Darby and William Willard Jr. That there be a middle District to extend from Old

Mill and Shabekin Districts so far South as to take in Lemuel and Josiah Willard. That there be a District in Still River to extend to Bolton line and towards Bear hill so far as to take in Abraham Whitney. That there be a District to extend from Still River District so far on Bear hill as to take in John Warner, thence on a strait line to the Cercle so as to take in Nathan Longley. That there be another District containing all the remainder of Bear hill Quarter. That there be a District on Oak hill to extend from the last to the Old Mill District.

By order of the Committee

OLIVER WHITNEY *Chairman*

Eight new school-houses were provided for at an estimated expenditure of about thirty pounds for each. Those for the Oak Hill, Bare Hill and Central districts were ordered located upon the old sites. The positions of the others were designated thus:—

1. Old Mill.....shall stand eighteen rods north of the Stone Bridge above Simon Blanchard's on the west side of the way. 2. Shabikin..... one half on Mr Enoch Huse's land and the other half on Mr George Conn's land agreeable to their consent, on the west side of the way. 3. Middle.....opposite to a great Rock a little above Mr Elisha Fullam's Cyder Mill on the East side of the way. 4. Still River.....corner of Mr David Atherton's land betwixt his House and the Widow Atherton's on the West side of the way.

The Shaker Community, though not mentioned, appears to have been included in the Old Mill district, but the Shakers very probably by this date had a school of their own, for March 5, 1787, the town:—

.....Voted that the Society that attends the Public Worship at Capt. Aaron Jewett's may have liberty to draw their Money which they pay for Schooling, and appropriate it to that use as they shall think proper.

This privilege, though annually contended for, was generally denied them until May 27, 1816, when they appealed to the legislature for redress in these terms:—

To the Honorable Senate & House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled. The undersigned, Joseph Frost and Seth Babbitt of Harvard in the County of Worcester, in behalf of themselves, and the religious society of Protestant Christians, called Shakers to which they belong, in said Harvard, respectfully represent, that the number of children and youth of both sexes, belonging to said society, upwards of four and under twenty-one years of age, is now about sixty and for the last seven years has been from thirty to sixty; that the taxes paid by said society into the town treasury, during

that period, towards the support of schools, have been about thirty-five dollars, annually; that the said society has ever been anxious to educate the youth under their care, in a suitable manner, conformably to the laws, and deem it reasonable that they should have the benefit of their own taxes for that purpose of which they have hitherto been deprived by reason of the great distance of their village from any school-house, and the refusal of the town to allow them to appropriate their proportion of the school-tax for the instruction of their youth, whereby the said society is greatly aggrieved.

Wherefore the said Joseph and Seth in behalf of the said Society most respectfully and earnestly request this Honorable Legislature to declare the said Society to be a School district in said town of Harvard, with the powers and privileges, and liable to the duties of other school districts, or grant such other relief in the premises as in your wisdom shall seem fit and reasonable.

JOSEPH FROST.
SETH BABBITT.

A special committee was appointed by the legislature to make due investigations in the matter, and the town was given notice to present their side of the case; but before any further legislative action was taken a town-meeting instructed the selectmen to compromise with the Shaker agents. From that date the Community has constituted a school district known as Number 8.

The care of the schools, which for sixty years had wholly devolved upon the selectmen, after the inauguration of the district system in 1790 came into the hands of a school board, consisting of one man from each district usually called the "prudential committee." They were chosen at the annual town-meeting, and it seems to have been the tacit understanding that every citizen should take his turn at the unpaid duty. Certainly no man was elected to serve a second year. Each was expected to provide the schoolmaster and inspect the school of his own district. This plan was not only wasteful, but not seldom put large powers into hands ludicrously incompetent. The town, however, it will be seen, clung to it with perverse tenacity, regardless of the re-iterated recommendations of its most experienced educators. The general unfitness of the prudential committee for the supervision of the schools was too obvious to long escape the attention of the intelligent citizen, and the first step was taken in remedy of the evil. April 10, 1811, the town chose a committee to

inspect the schools—Reverend Stephen Bemis, Reverend George Robinson and Benjamin Kimball, Esq.—and voted that :—

.....said Committee, with the committeemen chosen to provide said schools, visit the respective schools so often as they shall think necessary and make enquiry into the situation of said schools, whether they are supplied with suitable instructors and suitable books etc.

This board—a purely advisory one—was increased to five the next year, and was thereafter composed of that number of citizens until 1832, with the exception that two or three times the annual town-meeting voted that "the three settled clergymen" should constitute the committee. In 1818 it was voted that thereafter the citizens of the town :—

.....are authorized to meet in their several districts and when thus met to organize themselves, choose a committee and transact any other matters not repugnant to the laws of the commonwealth.

This was merely an acknowledgment of the act passed by the legislature of 1817, making school districts corporations for certain purposes. The prudential committees chosen by the districts were empowered to draw and expend the money allotted for the support of the several schools. The division of the school money continued to be made in accordance with the taxes paid, and in 1813 the town formally rejected a proposition to allot the appropriation proportionately to the number of school children in the districts.

In March, 1832, the advisory committee presented a code of regulations for schools, which was adopted by the town, and four hundred copies were printed in the United Society for the use of teachers, school committee and families. This little pamphlet of eight pages contained the state laws respecting schools, as passed in 1827, regulations for schools, including a list of text books, and regulations for teachers. In these rules of sixty years ago there is very little that might not well be observed in the schools of today. For instance, the first article in the regulations for instructors is :—

The teachers are required during the hours prescribed for instruction to devote their attention exclusively to the oversight and improvement of their schools; and it is especially enjoined upon them to pursue a systematic course, "having a time for everything, and everything done in its time," and that they be less solicitous to hasten the progress of their pu-

pils through a multitude of studies, than to make them thorough in a few; and that the important branches of spelling, reading, writing and arithmetic receive their first and principal attention.

The committee making this report of 1832 was composed of seven men, among the ablest in Harvard — Reverend Abisha Samson, Reverend George Fisher, Reverend Washington Gilbert, General John P. Whitcomb, Daniel Robbins, Calvin Haskell, Esq., and Augustus Granville Hill. The little unventilated school-rooms of that period were crowded, especially in the winter term, almost to suffocation. Two or three prolific families sometimes sent more pupils to a district school than its total enrollment in 1892. The extent of school privileges in the rural town was a term of twelve weeks in summer and one of from nine to twelve in winter. Under the usual conditions of the period it is not matter for wonder that what was meant for a hive of intellectual industry sometimes degenerated into a pandemonium, and that the anxious prudential committee, in his selection from the candidates who applied to him for the pedagogic chair, often looked more to muscular than mental accomplishments. There was always some pedagogue of athletic mould and large experience in the taming of wild youth, who was called upon when the riotous spirits in a district succeeded in getting control of the school, as they often did. Master Daniel Robbins was one of these heavy-handed worthies, remembered with genuine respect by many surviving pupils. Abel Whitney and Noah Warner, possessing similar physical qualifications, but with intellects broadened by a liberal education, were famous schoolmasters of the same stern sort.

One characteristic specimen of the school-houses of the last century, little altered in external appearance, though long removed from its original site and use, stood until May, 1893, as an annex to the ancient house now occupied by Thomas Atherton Bigelow in South Still River. It was brought thither from the opposite side of the highway a few rods to the north, where it was built in 1790. This low-walled, hip-roofed structure, about twenty feet square, was considered in its day one of the finest buildings for school purposes in town. Fifty or sixty youth of all varieties — from the abecedarian

to the stalwart young men and robust young women "finishing their education"—were closely ranged on the plank benches of that diminutive edifice, winter after winter, thirty-three hours in each week.

In March, 1852, the town voted the appointment of a committee to appraise the property of the school districts, in accordance with the provisions of an act passed in 1850, and "that the town own and build the school-houses hereafter." But the conservatives rallied to the rescue of the moss-grown district system and procured a reconsideration of the vote the next month. April 4, 1864, a committee again recommended the town to assume ownership of the school-houses, most of which were then described as "mean and cheerless apartments, on lots but a little larger than the size of the building," and otherwise grossly unfit for their purpose. The report was adopted, and a board composed of three chairmen of the assessors from Bolton, Stow and Littleton appraised the district property. The town then began the gradual renovation of the school buildings. The Number Six or North Still River school-house had been rebuilt in 1846. In 1860, that of Shabikin—Number Nine—had been rebuilt, a new location being selected "about thirty rods south of the old site," and on another road. In 1866 the Oak Hill—Number Two—school-house was built by the town at a cost, including purchase of additional land, of $2079.93. In 1873 the Old Mill—Number Four—school-house was built at an expense of $2474.07, including $160 for land. In 1879 the East Bare Hill—Number Five—house cost the town $1281.45, including $60 for one-half acre of land. In 1880 the West Bare Hill—Number 7—house cost $1450, including $50 for land. In 1881 the South Still River—Number Three—school-house cost $1709, including $50 for land. In 1883 repairs upon the Centre—Number One—house cost $607.70. In 1888 the North Still River house received an appropriation of $600 for extensive repairs. School-house Number Eight remained the property of the Shaker Community, and is rented to the town. This alone needed neither rebuilding nor repair. The first superintendent, in his report of 1878, speaks of it as "kept in most perfect order," and notes the fact that after

fifty years' use the desks were about as good as new. The Shabikin school has not been opened since 1886, the very few children of that district being transferred to Still River. But at one period Shabikin was so well peopled as to furnish forty pupils to the local school.

Supervising committees from time to time advocated in their reports to the town the joining of districts to secure the advantages of graded schools, and the establishment of one central school wherein pupils qualified could pursue higher branches of study than those usually taught in the common schools. The committee of 1854–5, three scholarly gentlemen, two at least of whom could boast experience as teachers, made an eloquent appeal for the high school. But the brighter youth of Harvard who were desirous of something beyond an elementary education continued to seek it at the Lancaster or Groton Academies, or in some even more distant seminary. District jealousy, aroused by any project that seemed to favor centralization, always packed the town-meeting against it, and far-reaching economies were neglected for some petty present saving. The school of District No. One was, however, divided into an upper and lower grade as early as 1840.

Mrs. Mary Whitney by her will, dated February 24, 1856, left a bequest of one thousand dollars to the selectmen of Harvard in trust :—

> .....to be kept safely invested on interest till a sufficient amount shall be obtained to establish, maintain, and continue under good management, a free High School in said town, for the benefit of the children and youth of said town — Provided it can be appropriated in the actual existence of such school within ten years from the time of my decease.....

The town accepted the trust April 5, 1858, and the fund was duly invested. In 1862 a committee appointed to consider the advisability of establishing the high school reported that it was inexpedient at that troublous time. In 1867, Mrs. Margaret Bromfield Blanchard made a proposition to the town, offering the sum of four thousand dollars and the Bromfield house lot for the purpose of establishing a high school to be known as the Bromfield Seminary, provided the town would raise by taxation or subscription six thousand five hundred dollars for the purpose. It was voted to accept

this proposal, and the selectmen were instructed to confer with Mrs. Bromfield, procure necessary plans, and report to a future town-meeting. February 17, 1868, there was an article in the warrant for a town-meeting inviting action relative to joining with the trustees of the Bromfield Seminary for the erection of a building on the site of the Bromfield house suitable for a town-hall and the seminary. It was voted inexpedient to consider the proposition. A brief attempt to support a high school was made in 1872, when F. E. Sherman, an Amherst graduate, was employed as preceptor, but the experiment was not encouraging. The Mary Whitney fund had previously reverted to her heirs.

The reports of successive school committees show that they were not blind to the many evils inherent in the district system; but the inherited custom was so firmly grounded in the prejudices of the community that arguments were powerless against it. The committee of 1868–9, under leadership of its chairman, Augustus J. Sawyer, made a shrewd and vigorous onslaught upon it, with the result that the next year, for the first time, the supervising committee were given the power of the employment of teachers and the general management of the town's schools. They had exercised this power but a single year before it was wrested from them again. In 1877 the town returned to the method of Colonial days so far as the state law would permit — electing a committee of nine, one from each district, after first obtaining the resignation of the members of the old committee whose terms had not expired. The nine were required, however, to employ a superintendent, "to have the general oversight of all the schools in town, to examine and employ teachers, and recommend such changes as he might deem proper." Reverend Daniel Round was chosen superintendent.

March 4, 1878, the town finally voted to abandon the district system. This was four years only before legislation put an end to the very few — about forty — superannuated district autocracies then surviving in Massachusetts. The unwieldy committee of nine had no further excuse for being, and the school board was soon reduced to its normal number of three.

The appropriation for schools in 1734, the first voted, was

twenty pounds. During the eighteenth century, until the adoption of the state constitution, the votes for appropriations read, "for support of schools and other town charges," which included all municipal expenditure but that for the ministry and the highway tax, the last being always "worked out." In 1740 this appropriation was sixty pounds; in 1750, two hundred and fifty pounds; in 1760, ninety pounds; in 1770, seventy pounds; in 1780, when the currency was near its lowest stage of depreciation, eighteen thousand pounds. The grant for schools in 1790 was one hundred pounds; in 1794, one hundred and twenty pounds; in 1800, five hundred dollars; in 1803, six hundred dollars; in 1805, seven hundred dollars; in 1807, eight hundred dollars, at which amount the annual expenditure remained until 1838, when nine hundred dollars was the sum appropriated. From that year the full statistics printed by the State Board of Education, afford more details.

Reverend George Fisher was a member of the school committee for thirty years, and Reverend Washington Gilbert for seventeen years was one of Mr. Fisher's associates. Their several reports were able papers, and were often quoted from by the secretary of the Board of Education.

The following tables have been compiled from records and official reports. The noticeable decrease in the number of school children between 1850 and 1851 was due to the change in the legal age; after 1850 the enumeration including only those between five and fifteen years of age instead of those between four and sixteen. Among interesting facts to be gleaned from these statistics is the sad one that although the town's population is about two-thirds what it was forty years ago, the children of legal school age do not number three-sevenths as many as then. The standing of the town in county and state, with reference to the amount expended for each child has fallen below the average but three or four times in fifty years, and for several years has been near the head of the county list. On the contrary her rank according to the percentage of valuation appropriated has remained steadily below the average, and for more than twenty-five years has been near the foot of the county list of towns.

Year ending in March.	Appropriation for Schools.	No. of Children of Legal School Age.	Sum Appropriated for each Child.	Rank by amount expended for each Scholar.		Rank by Percentage of Valuation expended.	
				In County.	In State.	County.	State.
1840	900	424	2.12	..	...	..	...
1841	900	430	2.09	39	152	..	...
1842	900	418	2.15	33	151	..	...
1843	900	432	2.08	20	120	..	...
1844	936	400	2.34	20	118	..	...
1845	900	434	2.08	31	157	..	...
1846	900	427	2.11	36	182	..	...
1847	1,136	400	2.84	7	77	..	...
1848	1,100	408	2.70	13	99	..	...
1849	1,436	407	3.528	6	51	..	...
1850	1,236	395	3.129	21	142	..	...
1851	1,236	306	4.039	8	67	..	...
1852	1,236	334	3.701	12	104	26	188
1853	1,236	326	3.791	15	108	30	206
1854	1,236	289	4.623	6	71	26	195
1855	1,272	259	4.911	6	69	36	218
1856	1,400	258	5.426	4	61	30	211
1857	1,711	283	6.046	2	50	24	161
1858	1,836	308	5.961	3	58	20	126
1859	1,940	313	6.20	2	49	16	110
1860	1,940	286	6.785	2	40	20	123
1861	1,800	273	6.604	2	50	27	129
1862	1,800	271	6.642	2	47	24	135
1863	1,500	257	5.837	4	55	38	189
1864	1,500	274	5.474	4	69	39	208
1865	1,500	264	5.682	9	85	50	260
1866	1,875	273	6.868	5	75	39	114
1867	2,000	278	7.194	11	84	44	229
1868	2,000	287	6.969	17	129	50	259
1869	2,375	279	8.513	11	81	44	220
1870	2,375	300	7.917	24	148	48	249
1871	2,400	280	8.57	17	132	46	258
1872	2,400	229	10.48	10	90	42	240
1873	2,400	246	9.756	21	141	54	300
1874	2,400	236	10.169	24	143	53	299
1875	2,400	244	9.836	24	174	48	266
1876	2,400	254	9.45	29	188	57	300
1877	2,400	243	9.876	26	159	46	248
1878	2,400	263	10.126	26	151	49	260
1879	2,200	244	9.016	30	178	51	270
1880	2,000	230	8.696	31	181	56	303
1881	2,000	197	10.152	18	129	50	265
1882	1,800	177	10.17	15	136	55	299
1883	1,800	171	10.526	17	142	57	307
1884	2,400	165	14.565	4	39	52	269
1885	2,250	154	14.61	6	47	55	290
1886	2,500	146	17.123	1	28	49	267
1887	2,500	139	17.985	2	28	54	271
1888	2,500	147	17.007	4	34	54	279
1889	2,500	134	18.657	2	27	54	290
1890	2,500	132	18.939	1	26	55	288
1891	2,550	133	19.169	4	28	55	288
1892	2,600	140	18.571	4	40	52	282
1893	2,850	140	20.357	3	32	50	270

SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

Rev. Stephen Bemis, 1811, '12, '17, '21, '22.
Rev. George Robinson, 1811–12.
Benjamin Kimball, Esq., 1811–12.
Rev. Isaac Bonney, 1812.
Joel Harris, Esq., 1812, '14.
Rev. Warren Fay, 1814, '16, '17.
Rev. Abisha Samson, 1814, '16, '17, '21–32.
Dr. Samuel Young, 1814.
Stevens Hayward, 1814.
The Selectmen and Ministers, 1816.
Ephraim Hinds, Esq., 1821, '26.
Philemon Atherton, 1821.
Dr. Ephraim Stone, 1821.
Rev. George Fisher, 1822 to 1853, except 1837 & 1847; 30 years.
John Warner, 1823.
Erastus Otis, 1823.
Rev. I. H. T. Blanchard, 1823–7.
Daniel Robbins, Jr., 1826, '30, '32.
Calvin Haskell, 1829, '32, '35.
Dr. Eliakim A. Holman, 1829, '31.
Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., 1830–31.
Augustus G. Hill, 1830, '32–5, '47, '53.
Rev. Washington Gilbert, 1831–6, '38 to '46, '48, '51.
Gen. John P. Whitcomb, 1832–6.
Rev. J. E. Lazell, 1833.
Rev. B. H. Hathorne, 1834.
Rev. Moses Curtis, 1836, '38–40.
Eli Hosmer, 1836–7.
Abel Whitney, 1837.
Noah Warner, 1837, '50 1, '4, '5–8, '61–3, and '69–72.
Rev. Jonathan Farr, 1841–3.
Rev. Clark Sibley, 1844–6, '48–50.
Dr. Gideon C. Noble, 1847.
Rev. John B. Willard, 1847, '54–8, '65–7.
Ephraim Abbott, 1749.
Francis A. Howe, 1851–2, '54.
Rev. Charles M. Willard, 1852–3.
Henry B. Bearson, 1855.
Augustus J. Sawyer, 1857–8, '60–75.
Rev. William A. Whitewell, 1859.
Rev. John Dodge, 1856, '62–4.
Rev. Henry H. Barber, 1864–6.
Samuel G. Clarke, Esq., 1867–9.
Rev. George H. Pratt, 1868.
Dr. J. Q. A. McCollester, 1870–2.
Dr. Jacob S. Eaton, 1872.
Charles H. Cummings, 1872.
Rev. Daniel F. Goddard, 1873–6.
Rev. Alfred E. Tracy, 1873.
Mrs. Mary R. Farwell, 1874–6, 1881–4.
Rev. Stephen S. Morrill, 1875–6.
Zophar Taylor, 1877.
Charles M. Hosmer, 1877–80.
James H. Atherton, 1877–80.
Calvin D. Blanchard, 1877–8.
Wilbur F. Sawyer, 1877–8, '83–5.
Abel Willard, 1877–8.
Franklin Lovering, 1877–9.
Elijah Myrick, 1877–82, '85–9.
Zophar Warner, 1877.
Benjamin K. Barnard, 1878–9.
Edwin A. Hildreth, 1878–80.
James L. Whitney, 1879–81.
Ephraim W. Houghton, 1879–81.
Jonathan P. Knight, 1879–81.
Luke Whitney, 1880.
J. G. Dickinson, 1880–2.
Warren H. Fairbank, 1881–1893.
William L. Hooper, 1882–3.
Frederick G. Blanchard, 1884–8.
Arthur H. Turner, 1888–93.
J. E. Maynard, 1889–93.

SUPERINTENDENTS.

Rev. Daniel Round, 1877–9.
Charles M. Hosmer, Sept. 1879–80.
Warren H. Fairbank, 1881.
William L. Hooper, 1882–3.
Edmund P. Barker, 1890–2.
J. A. Pitman, 1892–.

BROMFIELD SCHOOL

STILL RIVER ACADEMY.

About 1834 Miss Minerva A. Todd opened a school for girls at Still River in a building erected for the purpose, and known as the Academy. The enterprise proved far from remunerative and had a very brief existence. The house was occasionally used during several years for private schools. Among those who presided over such schools here were: Lucius Lester Scammel, from Hopkinton, a graduate of Dartmouth, 1837, who recently died a noted physician of St. Louis, Missouri; William F. Basto, from Killingly, Connecticut; Noah Warner and John B. Willard, well known Harvard scholars. The Academy building is that in which the post-office is kept by Mrs. Bateman. The old meeting-house of the Baptist society moved across the highway in 1832 to make room for the new house, was utilized as a boarding-house for the Still River Academy for a time.

THE BROMFIELD SCHOOL.

Upon the death of Mrs. Margaret Bromfield (Pearson) Blanchard, November 29, 1876, it was made known that a generous portion of her estate was devoted to the foundation of a school of high grade, to be located in Harvard upon the homestead of her grandfather, Colonel Henry Bromfield, as a memorial to him. The sections of her will which created the Bromfield school are these :—

.....*Ninth.* Having long desired, in conformity with the wishes of my deceased parents, to establish a school in the town of Harvard, in which the higher branches of education should be taught, upon the site that for nearly half a century was the chosen residence of my grandfather, Henry Bromfield, and to connect with such an institution the memory of his name; of that of his son Henry, late of Cheltinham, England; and of his nephew John, late of Boston in this Commonwealth, through whose bounty I am enabled to accomplish this attempt to confer a public benefit and to do honor to good and venerated relatives, I do ordain and direct as follows: I give and devise the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal and mixed, including therein the homestead of six acres, or thereabouts, in Harvard, formerly occupied by my grandfather aforesaid, which I purchased and have retained for this purpose for the last thirteen years past, unto Henry B. Rogers, my executor, Andrew P.

Peabody, of Cambridge, A. A. Miner, of Boston, H. H. Barber of Somerville, Edmund H. Sears, of Weston, Washington Gilbert, of West Newton, Clergymen, Edward Lawrence of Charlestown, manufacturer, Daniel D. Slade aforesaid, physician, Gardner Wetherbee, of Boston, proprietor, and George [H.] Fletcher of Harvard, merchant, within this Commonwealth. To Have and Hold to them and their survivors, successors and assigns forever, upon the trusts and to and for the uses and purposes following, and no other namely :—

First. In trust, as soon as may be after my decease, to erect on said homestead lot a substantial, well-proportioned and convenient brick school-house which shall be capable of accommodating from sixty to one hundred pupils. And I direct that said school-house shall be simple and harmonious in style, and free from useless or expensive decorations, inside or outside. And it is my wish and hope that its cost, including the necessary furniture and the preparation of the grounds about it, may not exceed the sum of fifteen to twenty thousand dollars; but, having full faith in the fidelity, prudence and good judgment of my trustees in carrying into effect the purpose I have in view, I deem it best not to limit them in this particular, and, therefore leave the cost, as well as the general plan and arrangement of the edifice, and all subsidiary matters in relation to the same, to their best wisdom and discretion. I order however, that the building shall at all times be kept fully insured against loss by fire, and that the words "Bromfield School" shall be cut on a stone tablet to be affixed to the front, and that by this name it shall always be known and designated.

Second. In trust to invest, and keep invested the balance of said rest and residue, which shall remain after the cost of erecting said school-house shall have been paid, in good and productive stocks and securities real or personal, and, from time to time, and at their discretion, to exexchange the same for other good and productive stocks and securities real or personal, to be holden on the same trusts and to and for the same uses.

Third. In trust to apply the interest, income and profits arising from said balance from time to time, and in such amounts and proportions as to them may seem best, as follows: namely: to keeping said building and the grounds adjacent thereto in suitable repair; to the purchase of necessary books and apparatus for the use of said school; to providing instruction for a limited number of pupils of talent and promise, whose parents may be unable to pay for it, and to defraying such other expenses in the conduct of the institution as, in the judgment of the trustees may seem to be necessary or expedient.

Fourth. In trust to superintend, manage and conduct the institution aforesaid, without pecuniary compensation, according to their best judgment and ability, and for the best good of the pupils and the public; prescribing such studies and making such rules and regulations in relation to the same, from time to time, as to them may appear to be necessary or

desirable, for the attainment of a thorough education in some of the higher branches of school learning, and for the proper development and discipline of the religious and moral nature. And whether the said school shall consist of boys and girls, or of the latter only, I also leave to the judgment of said Trustees; but if boys are admitted, I order that their number shall always be one third less than that of the girls.

Fifth. In case the trustees under the will of my deceased brother, Henry, should hereafter be willing to locate the school for which he, in said will, has made provision, upon the spot above selected by me, and which was dear also to him as the residence of his grandfather, and for many years of himself, I authorize my trustees to make any arrangements with them that may be necessary and proper in order to unite the two institutions together and increase the ability and utility of each. Such a union would be agreeable to me, and in strict conformity with plans which we formed together, but which were prevented from being consummated by circumstances beyond our control.

Sixth. I order that said trustees shall hold stated meetings; shall make all proper and necessary rules and regulations for their own government; shall choose a president, secretary and treasurer, who shall retain their offices until others shall have been appointed in their stead; and that each of my trustees shall be held responsible for his own acts and omissions, but not for the acts or omissions of his fellows.

Seventh. I order that the Board of Trustees shall at no time consist of less than seven persons, and if, by death, resignation, incapacity to act, or its own rules, vacancies occur in the body without reducing it to this number, it shall be optional with the Board to fill them or not, as the best interests of the institution may seem to it to require; but if, from any cause, the number of trustees be at any time less than seven, I order that the vacancy or vacancies be filled within six months from the time of their occurrence. And all elections shall be made by written ballots, given at a meeting which has been duly called by notifications sent by the Secretary to each member, and specifying the purpose for which it is called. And no person shall be a trustee in the place of the persons herein named, or hereafter appointed, unless he shall have received seven votes in his favor when the Board consists of ten persons, or six votes, when it consists of any other number.....

This public benefaction, including the real estate, was valued at not much less than one hundred thousand dollars. A spacious and beautiful building, the design of Peabody and Stearns, the Boston architects, was begun in July, 1877, and dedicated September 12, 1878. It stands upon the site of the Seccomb parsonage which was burned August 3, 1855. Its cost, including all accessory expenditure, was about twenty thousand dollars, leaving of the bequest for permanent invest-

ment seventy-one thousand dollars. The school was opened September 17, 1878, with about forty scholars. Charles Wade Stickney, A. B., of Harvard College, 1876, was called from the Arlington High School as principal, with William Leslie Hooper, A. M., of Tuft's College, class of 1877, in charge of the scientific department, and Henrietta N. Stickney instructor in music. Mr. Stickney remained at the head of the institution less than three years, being discharged by the trustees in May, 1880. His strangely sad career deserves, perhaps, brief mention here, because of the circumstances attending his deposition. Within two years from his departure from Harvard, he was put upon trial for his life at Denver, Colorado. He had deliberately killed the alleged seducer of his wife, and in shooting him, had also accidentally slain a young woman who chanced to be near. The jury acquitted him of crime on the ground of insanity.

William L. Hooper became principal of the school in 1880, and held that office for two years. He had as assistants Cornelia D. Smith, A. B., instructor in languages, and Mary Alice Marshall. Mr. Hooper preferring to serve in his original department, Selah Howell, A. M., late the principal of the Watertown High School, a graduate of Union College in the class of 1864, and a teacher of twenty years' standing, was appointed head of the institution in 1882. Lilla N. Frost, who had pursued a partial course at Wellesley College, became instructor in mathematics and French. In 1883 Mr. Hooper accepted the appointment of adjunct professor of physics at Tuft's College, and Clara P. Ames was chosen assistant. Upon the resignation of Mr. Howell in 1890, Miss Frost was made principal. Mr. Howell upon leaving Harvard accepted a position in the Quincy Shaw School, Boston. Besides those named other assistant instructors in the Bromfield School have been: Miss S. E. Mace and Lizzie J. Woodward, in science; Charles H. Pollard, in Music; Elizabeth Sprague, in drawing, etc.; Louisa Bigelow, in elocution.

Of the ten trustees named in Mrs. Blanchard's will, Mr. Sears died before the opening of the school, and William Minot, Jr., of Boston, was elected in his place and made treasurer of the board. He resigned in 1882, when Henry Park-

man, A. M., of Boston, was chosen to succeed him. Reverend Washington Gilbert died in 1879, and Honorable Edward Lawrence, in 1880. Their places were filled by the choice of Reverend George Murillo Bartol, D. D., of Lancaster, and Professor Adams Sherman Hill of Cambridge, as trustees. Gardner Wetherbee resigned his trusteeship in 1880, and was succeeded by Caleb Strong Gerry of Harvard, who died in 1885, when Warren Herbert Fairbank was made a trustee. Henry Bromfield Rogers, A. M., president of the board, dying in 1887, Reverend Alonzo Ames Miner, D. D., was chosen president and Denison Rogers Slade was added to the board. Upon the death of Reverend Andrew Preston Peabody, D.D., in 1893, Henry Bromfield Cabot, A. B., was chosen to succeed him.

The chemical and physical laboratories have been provided with all needful apparatus for individual work as well as instruction. A very complete set of instruments for histological research was presented to the institution by Henry B. Rogers, A. M., in 1879, and a telescope from the work-shop of Alvan Clark and Son was received from the same benefactor in 1880. The equipment for scientific work is valued at fully $4000. The class-rooms and laboratories are ample and convenient. Upon the walls of the assembly-room are hung a few family portraits saved from the conflagration which destroyed the old mansion, upon the site of which the building stands; among them are those of Mrs. Blanchard and Colonel Henry Bromfield.

Despite its generous endowment, its picturesque and healthy location and its abundant facilities for giving systematic intellectual training, the Bromfield School has thus far failed to attract many pupils from beyond its neighborhood, and must therefore be said to have failed to meet the sanguine expectations of its founder and benefactors. The erection of a dormitory upon the grounds is contemplated, to remove one patent cause of past ill success.

II. LIBRARIES AND LYCEUM.

Reverend Peter Whitney, writing of Harvard in the year 1793, says that a library association had recently been formed there which had acquired about one hundred volumes. This was the first social library of the town. It was founded through the exertions of Reverend William Emerson, who served as librarian, keeping the books in his own house. Its history after the departure of Mr. Emerson in 1799, is lost, unless, as is highly probable, the Social Library of Harvard organized in 1808 under the leadership of Edmund Foster, a merchant on the public square, may be considered its direct heir. The first meeting of the promoters of the Social Library was at the centre school-house, and the signers of the call were: Edmund Foster, Joseph Fairbank, Manasseh Sawyer, Amos Fairbank, Elijah Dwinnel, Francis Farr, Alexander Dustin, Joseph Willard, Jr., Richard Whitney, Ephraim Warner. Their organization was effected under the provisions of the act passed March 3, 1798, giving library associations authority to acquire and manage property. Francis Farr was chosen secretary and treasurer, and held that office for many years. Edmund Foster was the first librarian. The annual meetings were thenceforward held on the first Monday of January, at the inns of Jonas Merriam and Ezra Wetherbee.

There seem to have been seventy-eight share certificates issued, proprietorship in the society being attained by the payment of two dollars. The rules and regulations were too voluminous to introduce here, in full. There was no restriction as to the residence of members, but the books were required to be kept within half a mile of the Congregational meeting-house in Harvard. Only one volume could be borrowed at a time by any family, and books could be kept sixty days. If kept over that time a fine of three cents a day was imposed. This gives some indication of the leisurely way of reading in vogue with the book lovers of that day. They read, with a view to digest, a few good books. The social library was not managed to cater for the book taster, the dilettante, or the gluttonous devourer of fiction. In fact the

only works to be found in the early catalogue that can be classed with romance, are: Robinson Crusoe, Pilgrim's Progress, and the Vicar of Wakefield. No transfer of original certificates of membership, or increase of proprietors, was permissible without the vote of a majority of the associates. Additions were made to the collection through annual assessments. For several years the assessment was ten cents per share, though sometimes twenty-five. There were one hundred and fifty volumes at the end of the first year, when the library was removed from Foster's store to Ezra Wetherbee's tavern. The following year Jonas Merriam obtained the office of librarian, and it became one of the attractions of his tavern. The reason of these frequent moves was the custom of setting up the official honor of the custodianship of the library at auction, the lowest bidder winning the prize. In 1811, Joel Harris, the lawyer, offered to give twenty-five cents for the privilege of having the library in his office at the south-east corner of the common, and was chosen librarian; but the innkeeper, Ezra Wetherbee, succeeded him the next year, and retained the office for five years. Other librarians in succession were: Doctor Samuel Young, Captain George Willard, Captain John P. Whitcomb, Miss Sarah A. Stetson, Isaac Whitney, Jonas Bateman, Jonathan Hosmer, Newell Fuller, William F. Bateman, Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., and Benjamin F. Whitney. In 1824 there were two hundred and five volumes, and it was voted to "cover them with good paper." There had been no increase for ten years, more books having been lost or sold than were added by purchases.

There was a growing lack of interest in the library made evident by the non-payment of assessments and fines. Many years no assessment was ordered. The question of selling the library and abandoning the organization was sometimes discussed, and in 1845 a committee was appointed to report upon the causes of the indifference of the members, and suggest a remedy. The shares of the society were then purchasable for fifty cents each, and many had been sold at auction for unpaid dues, as authorized by an article of the constitution. The report made by Doctor Eliakim A. Holman

was an admirable one, and much of it well applies to the library management of today. He said:—

.....The spirit of the times, and the wants of the community demand that new books should annually be added to the library; then and not till then will the Company be benefited as it may and ought to be; then instead of selling their shares at half cost, they will reckon these small outlays among their most profitable investments, and sufficient annual payments to keep the library up where an enlightened and reading community shall demand, will be paid cheerfully and not drawn from the pockets like pulling eye teeth, with grudges, distortion of countenance, and worse distortion of mind.....

He also recommended the purchase of all shares offered at fifty cents per share, and an assessment of twenty-five cents per share was ordered, to procure the necessary funds. The next year a more lengthy and radical report was made by a committee of two, Augustus J. Sawyer and Isaac Gates. It contains the following suggestions relative to the selection of books:—

.....Books that will lead the mind to think, reason and judge correctly, filled with interesting facts and the results of experience, that pertain to the duties and business of life, and such as will give the mind an eager longing to grasp and hold whatever is true, just and holy, and whatever will give a relish for all that is beautiful in nature and art, should be selected for the library. Harvard is an agricultural town, yet there is not a single treatise on husbandry in the library. This is hardly a pardonable deficiency. We have political duties yearly to perform, and of great interest, and we have no lights on legislation and political economy, and only one valuable book that relates to politics, and this treats exclusively of the Federal Constitution, its powers and duties. We have no records to show what has been done by our federal legislature and the principles on which action was had; we have to seek for principles in partizan newspapers that are guided by passion and the self interest of a few whose principles change with the change of circumstances, so that honest people march and countermarch by blind and uncertain dictation. These are evils, and the committee recommend such books as will counteract them,

Under such wise direction the library began a career of greater usefulness. Dead material was sold by auction, shares of the apathetic were purchased, and new books placed upon the shelves by means of larger assessments. In 1849 there were two hundred and seventy-one volumes. Soon, however, the interest began to flag again. After the legislation of

1851, empowering towns to support free public libraries by taxation, many social libraries were given by their proprietors to form the nucleus of town libraries. That of Harvard was among the earliest so bestowed. At a meeting of the corporation in March, 1856, it was voted to offer their books for the founding of a free public library, provided the town would raise one hundred dollars for the purpose. The voters at their April meeting accepted the proposition of the society and appropriated the required sum "for the enlargement and improvement" of the donation. Thereupon the Social Library Association, on May 14, voted to "transfer to the town of Harvard all the rights and interest the proprietors have in the Library." From that date the library has been a town institution free to all citizens, and managed by a committee annually chosen. It was opened with four hundred and twenty-nine volumes upon its shelves.

The earliest free circulating library in town antedated this by six years. The legislature from 1837 to 1845 passed a series of acts which gave the sum of fifteen dollars to each school district that should raise a like amount and would devote it to the purchase of a select collection of books for public use in connection with the district schools. Harvard, like all the towns about her, took the necessary steps to win the state's bounty, and the little common-school libraries, established in each district during 1842, contributed much to the intellectual well-being of the community in their day. Failing to receive replenishment with fresh literature their use in time grew more and more limited. At length the district disappeared, and the books, like other school property, came into the town's possession, or were scattered.

The most prominent among those who labored for the establishment of the town library was Augustus Granville Hill, Esq., a gentleman of the broadest culture and refined taste. He was made chairman of the library committee and so remained until his removal to Boston in 1867. In 1857 the town adopted the rules and regulations submitted by the committee and appropriated one hundred dollars for the purchase of books. The library was opened to the public once a week—on Thursday afternoon and evening. Each family

was privileged to borrow two volumes at a time, and to retain them four weeks; except that a book which had not been in the collection for twelve months could be kept but a fortnight. In 1858 the committee reported five hundred and seventy-two volumes upon the shelves, and a "circulation in homes" of twenty-seven hundred and four. The breaking out of Civil War, and the consequent heavy demands upon the town treasury, deprived the library of any further appropriations until 1866, when the sum of one hundred dollars was granted. Since that date the annual appropriation has never been less than one hundred dollars, and for the last two years has usually been two hundred. The books during the first six years were kept in the building now occupied by the Odd Fellows' hall and Gale and Dickson's store. Alfred R. Willard acted as librarian until 1860, when Charles A. and Everett Hussey assumed the charge. Benjamin F. Whitney became librarian in 1863, and held the office until May, 1869, being succeeded by Mrs. A. M. Harrod, who served the town for twenty years. During this period the library occupied a room of the house in which Mrs. Harrod lived. In 1866 the Harvard Agricultural Society gave its collection of books, which amounted to one hundred and thirteen volumes, to increase the free library.

Augustus Jonathan Sawyer, a prominent citizen, identified with all progressive movements in the town, had avowed his intention of devoting some part of his estate, at his death, to the public library, of which he had for several years been an efficient trustee, but when the inevitable message came to him, December 27, 1881, his plans were not perfected. His widow, Hannah Whitcomb (Coolidge), Sawyer, mindful of her husband's wishes, by her last testament made the public her residuary legatee in the following terms:—

.....All the rest and residue of my property, including all the remainder from the above [bequests] shall be applied to and used by my said Trustees, according to their own best judgment and discretion, towards the support and maintenance of a Harvard Public Library. Said Trustees, if they can make satisfactory arrangements with the Town of Harvard to assist and join in the same, may purchase or join in purchasing a suitable lot of land, and erect or assist in erecting thereon a suitable building for the Public Library; and any portion of the money

in the hands of my Trustees may be used for or towards the support and maintenance of said Library. All the funds of my estate and their investments, and the application of the portion allotted to said Library purposes, shall be fully under the control and management of my said Trustees. Either of the Trustees desiring to resign his trust may nominate his successor. I hereby nominate for my Executors, and also to act as Trustees under this my Will, Edwin A. Hildreth and Andrew Fairbank.....

Mr. Sawyer was born in Harvard, April 14, 1816, the son of Jonathan and Mary (Priest) Sawyer, near the homestead where his later years were spent, on East Bare Hill. After preliminary education in the Harvard schools, he resolved to pursue a course of scientific study. Having been brought up in the Methodist faith, he naturally sought the instruction he desired at the Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Connecticut, where he entered with the class of 1838. There he remained only two years, but acquired a taste for literature and science, which he cherished throughout his varied career. For several years he taught in the public schools, gaining an experience which made him a very valuable member of the school-board in Harvard, upon which he served during eighteen years. In 1850 he accepted the office of clerk to the Lancaster Quilt Company of Clinton; and the following year, on December 17, at Madison, New York, was married to Miss Hannah W. Coolidge, whom he had first met at Harvard while she was visiting friends there. Their union of thirty years was a happy one, though saddened by the loss of their only child, who died an infant. Mrs. Sawyer survived her husband but a few months, dying July 5, 1882. Leaving Clinton in 1856, Mr. Sawyer bought a farm adjoining that of his father, and was soon recognized as a leader in Harvard. Though a farmer by profession, his time was soon largely given to public duties. He was the favorite moderator at town meetings; an active and influential member of the Unitarian Society; often appointed administrator of estates, and chosen to various town offices. In 1873 he represented the Sixth Worcester district in the lower branch of the legislature. He was the founder of the Grange in Harvard, and an honored member of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Crayon portraits

of Mr. and Mrs. Sawyer have prominent place on the walls of the new reading-room.

The trustees of the Sawyer benefaction, upon the settlement of the estate, found in their possession available for the library fund about six thousand dollars, and proceeded, according to the terms of the will, to procure a site and enlist the co-operation of the town. In the March meeting of 1886, an appropriation of thirty-five hundred dollars was voted, and a building committee chosen, the trustees promising a like sum. A portion of the lot made vacant by the burning of the Wetherbee Inn was purchased for four hundred and fifty dollars. Of several plans presented, the committee selected that of William Channing Whitney, an architect of Minneapolis, Minnesota, and a native of Harvard. The design and specifications were a free gift, his filial contribution to the work. When the bids of contractors were sought, it proved that the plan adopted could not be carried out, in the material and finish contemplated, for the sum available from bequest and appropriation. At this juncture Warren Hapgood, a retired merchant of Boston and a native of Harvard, addressed a letter to the building committee offering to contribute twenty-five hundred dollars to ensure the fit completion of the building according to the architect's wishes. This timely gift was accepted at a special town-meeting July 21, with the following action:—

> Voted, That the Town of Harvard gratefully accepts the generous donation of twenty-five hundred dollars offered by Mr. Warren Hapgood to his native town for the purpose of beautifying and improving the finish of the new Library Building, as more fully explained in his letter of July 15, 1886, to the Building Committee of the Harvard Library: and in token of our appreciation, it is ordered that a copy of said letter be entered in full upon the town records, that the thanks of the town be tendered to Mr. Hapgood for his generous gift, and that the town clerk be instructed to forward to him a copy of this vote.

Mr. Hapgood finally added one hundred dollars to his donation. The foundations were begun August 2, 1886, and the edifice was dedicated June 22, 1887. The total cost of the building and land was $10,472.71, as reported by the building committee; the town and the executors of Mrs. Sawyer's

will contributing in nearly equal proportion. The building is very attractive in its exterior, and is conveniently arranged for its purpose. It is forty-four feet square in general plan and thirty-eight feet in height, of faced brick trimmed with Long Meadow brown stone, the underpinning being of cut granite. The basement contains the furnace and lavatory, and the attic serves as a store-room. The first floor consists of a book-room with a capacity of twelve thousand volumes, librarian's office, delivery-room, art-room and waiting-room. Two of these are, however, for the present allotted to the postmaster of Harvard, who acts as janitor of the library. The inside finish is of ash. On the north end wall of the vestibule is a tablet of Tennessee marble, upon which are inscribed the names of the chief donors to the library. On the east wall are two similar tablets dedicated by "Harvard to her brave sons who fought for the Union in the war of the Rebellion, 1861–1865." Upon them are the names in alphabetical order of one hundred and thirty-two soldiers claimed for the town.

Honorable Edward Lawrence of Charlestown, by his will dated May 20, 1880, and proved November 9, 1885, established a fund devoted to the annual increase of the library. The terms of this bequest are:—

> .....I give to the Town of Harvard, Massachusetts, my native place, five thousand dollars, payable to its treasurer for the time being, for a public Library, four thousand of which shall be kept invested, and the income therefrom expended annually in the purchase of books for said Library, and one thousand dollars to be applied without unnecessary delay to the purchasing and furnishing to the said Library such books of reference, so called, as the Trustees of said Library for the time being, with the Rev. A. A. Miner of Boston, joined in case he may be living, and may not be one of such Trustees, shall select, subject to the condition, however, that the said town shall furnish a suitable room for said Library, and keep the same open, properly lighted and warmed at all reasonable times for the use of its inhabitants, and without charge to those using the same, and shall keep the books insured against loss by fire as fully as reasonably can be done, so as to secure their replacement, as near as may be, in case of loss or damage from fire, all without charge to this fund.....

The following sketch of the career and character of Hon-

orable Edward Lawrence has been kindly contributed by his nephew, Solon F. Whitney, librarian of the Watertown Free Public Library:—

Edward Lawrence was the fifth child, and second son, of Stephen Lawrence and Lucy Bigelow his second wife, born in Harvard June 21, 1810. At the age of fifteen he went to Charlestown to work for Jacob Foster and Son, cabinet-makers. He became a partner in the firm in 1833, and continued the business after Mr. Foster the younger retired, in 1856. In 1863 he withdrew. He was for many years active in the public affairs of Charlestown, serving in the board of selectmen upon important committees; was for six years an alderman; two years — 1858 and 1859 — a representative in the state legislature; and in 1873 a state senator. He was chairman of the Board of Commissioners of the Charlestown Waterworks, 1862–1864, and afterwards for several years president of the Mystic Water Board. He became a director in the Bunker Hill Bank in 1842, and its president in 1855, retaining the position until his death on October 17, 1885..... Mr. Lawrence was an able business man, carrying all the details of the complicated affairs involved in the manufacture and sale of thousands of articles of furniture in his mind, while at the same time managing with great success the business of the Bunker Hill National and Warren Savings Banks, as chairman of their investment committees. He was ever ready to meet cheerfully any calls upon his patience and time from the church, the city, his family and relatives, or any one desiring his counsel and his aid. It was with a liberal foresight that he manifested his interest in his native town. He could not bear to see things at loose ends..... A memorial discourse was printed soon after his death, and the Boston papers at the time of his funeral contained lengthy obituary notices. The town of Harvard may well cherish the memory of a son of one of its honored mechanics, who in his financial and social success did not forget her beautiful hills and valleys, and spending the leisure of many a summer's vacation among the scenes of his childhood always preserved a love for the simple life of even her humblest citizens.

The exercises at the dedication of the new library building on June 22, 1887, included an address by Warren Hapgood, a brief historical essay by Selah Howell, A. M., principal of the Bromfield School, the Report of the Building Committee, etc. These were printed at the time in pamphlet form, with a heliotype view of the building.

In 1890, Miss Anna C. Brackett gave one hundred dollars in books, selected by herself, as a memorial to her relative, Miss Mary Hersey, deceased. The permanent investments from which income is now derived for library purposes in-

clude the Edward Lawrence fund of four thousand dollars in the hands of the town treasurer, and the Hannah W. C. Sawyer fund of two thousand dollars in the care of the trustees under her will.

HARVARD LIBRARY ANNALS.

Year ending March.	Appropriation.	Number of Volumes.	Circulation.	Year ending March.	Appropriation.	Number of Volumes.	Circulation.	Year ending March.	Appropriation.	Number of Volumes.	Circulation.
1858	$100	572	2704	1875	$100	1837	4295	1884	$190	2756	4184
1867	100	908	1538	1876	100	1919	3982	1885	200	2869	3937
1868	100	1123	2172	1877	100	1989	4901	1886	289	3070	3848
1869	100	1203	2823	1878	100	2044	5056	1887	200	3191	3911
1870	100	1364	3017	1879	100	2122	4433	1888	158	3050	3490
1871	100	1452	3450	1880	100	2206	4377	1889	200	2980	4489
1872	100	1557	3915	1881	100	2427	4196	1890	300	3034	4286
1873	100	1641	3307	1882	165	2495	4046	1891	200	3435	3953
1874	100	1750	3782	1883	201	2636	3789	1892	200	3563	4203
								1893	200	3612	4917

LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

Augustus Granville Hill, 1856–1866.
Dr. Eliakim A. Holman, 1856–58.
Rev. William G. Babcock, 1856–57.
Rev. John Dodge, 1856–58.
Emory Barnard, 1856.
Rev. John B. Willard, 1857–67, '70, '75, '76.
Dr. George M. Howe, 1858.
Trumbull Bull, 1865–69.
Rev. Henry H. Barber, 1865–66.
Charles H. Cummings, 1865–74.
Augustus J. Sawyer, 1869, '72. '76–81.
Rev. George H. Pratt, 1868–71.
Edwin A. Hildreth, 1869, '83–91.
Samuel G. Clarke, 1867, '68, '70.
Rev. Jefferson M. Fox, 1868.
S. C. Higgins, 1870.
Stanley B. Hildreth, 1870, '71, '73, '74, '77, '78, '79.
Rev. Daniel F. Goddard, 1871–76.
Mrs. Mary R. Farwell, 1871, '76, '82.
Charles H. Haskell, 1872.
Rev. Alfred E. Tracy, 1873, '74.
Rev. Stephen S. Morrill, 1875, '76.
Rev. Daniel Round, 1875.
Dr. Joseph H. Robinson, 1876.
Hiram Whitney, 1877–79.
Warren H. Fairbank, 1880–93.
Charles M. Hosmer, 1880.
Mrs. A. M. Harrod, 1880, '81, '87–93.
William L. Hooper, 1882.
Wilbur F. Sawyer, 1883–86.
Miss S. E. H. Farwell, 1887–93.
Selah Howell , 1887–
Francis G. Blanchard, 1887–
Miss Elizabeth Sprague, 1888–90.
Miss Ellen Gamage, 1889–93.
Frederick W. Bateman, 1891–93.

LIBRARIANS.

Alfred R. Willard, 1857–58.
Charles A. and Everett Hussey, 1860–63.
Benjamin F. Whitney, 1863–69.
Mrs. A. M. Harrod, 1869–89.
Miss Emma E. Willard, 1889–92.

LYCEUMS AND LECTURES.

About the middle of this century the lyceum became an efficient and very popular means of providing entertainment and instruction to the people. An association of citizens known as the Harvard Lyceum then flourished for a few years and introduced to the community many of the literary celebrities of the period. No records of this Lyceum are known to exist, and personal recollections of it are vague. Such noted lecturers as Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edwin P. Whipple, Wendell Phillips, Bayard Taylor, and Ralph Waldo Emerson are remembered as having delighted appreciative audiences in Harvard, but the less famous and their efforts to amuse or inspire their hearers are forgotten. The first president of the Lyceum was Augustus Granville Hill, an ideal presiding officer, stately but polite and graceful. It is related that when introducing Mr. Emerson to his fellow citizens, he did so in conventional form, calling him the *Reverend* Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Never mind the reverend, Mr. Hill —never mind the reverend," said the great lay preacher so as to be heard all over the hall. In later years various associations, sometimes wearing the same name and generally influenced by similar motives as the first Lyceum, have yielded amusement and more or less intellectual recreation to the town's people.

March 2, 1891, the town accepted—the vote being "unanimous and taken standing"—the generous gift of ten thousand dollars from Henry L. Warner, a native of Harvard, in trust for the providing of educational lectures open to all citizens of the town. The terms of the bequest are thus given by the donor:—

.....to found a lectureship and as a permanent fund and endowment, and in trust for free public lectures for the residents of the town, upon the following conditions and understanding, and with reference to the foregoing and following statements:

The town shall issue and guarantee the perpetual safety and integrity of the original gift or fund, and make good the loss in full, should any loss ever occur to it, and keep it forever unimpaired and undiminished. The town, moreover, shall be responsible for and make good one-half of any loss which may happen to the increase to the fund arising from the

income as hereinafter provided. In other words the town is to assume and replace all losses to the first ten thousand dollars of the fund, and one-half of all losses to the balance or excess over that amount. The town shall also furnish, free and without charge, a room or hall heated and lighted for the lectures. It shall make no charge for administering the trust and shall pay the incidental expenses, leaving the fund untouched and the income to be disposed of as hereinafter stated.

The town shall have full control and management of the fund, and invest or loan the same for an income to the best advantage.

Four-fifths of the whole income shall be used or expended from time to time for free public lectures, and the other one-fifth thereof shall be added to and merged in the permanent fund and become a part of it ever after and be treated as such. After the fund has reached the amount of thirty thousand dollars, the town shall be at liberty to reduce the rate of increase to one-tenth of the income, and to apply the remaining nine-tenths to the lectures. After the fund amounts to fifty thousand dollars the town shall be at liberty to discontinue or suspend from time to time any further increase.

The word fund herein mentioned is understood to include both the original principal or gift, and all additions made to it from the income.

The town shall have the full control and regulation of the lectures and the attendance upon them, and can exclude disorderly persons and take any course it pleases as to the attendance of those not residing in the town, as far as it is consistent with the permanence and object of the endowment, and the right management of the trust and of the provisions and statements herein contained. It is intended that the town shall possess and exercise full discretion and authority in all things pertaining to the fund, trust, income and lectures.

The lectures shall avoid partisan politics and religious sectarianism, and it is the intention of the undersigned that they shall be delivered as far as practicable by eminent or able lecturers and scholars, upon scientific, literary, biographical, historical, patriotic, national, educational and moral subjects; including also, travels, questions of government and society, and whatever may interest the people, and at the same time instruct and benefit them in accordance with the design of the lectures.

It is not the intention, in the least degree, to supplant or interfere with the usual lectures delivered in the town, nor to provide for them, nor for the professional or mixed courses of lectures and entertainments run by managers for profit, nor for any other which would be obtained by other means.

The intention is rather to add to all these, and furnish lectures after the character and style of the Lowell lectures and those previously described, and which the town might not otherwise enjoy. The town can administer the trust in whatever character, name, style, form or method it deems best for the purpose, and can do this by itself, its regular officers or by special agents.

Any one shall have the right and duty to enforce the due observance and execution of the trust in any name, manner or place.

In addition to this the undersigned reserves for himself the privilege and position of special inspector of the management of the trust and adviser as to the lecturer and lectures, and this privilege and position he can transfer to a successor with the right of transmission from one successor to another, who shall be of his kindred as far as possible. The same privilege and position shall ever be extended to and held by the principal of the Bromfield School. The fund trust or free lectures shall be designated or known as the Henry L. Warner, or for brevity, the Warner Fund Trust, or Free Lectures.....

Henry L. Warner, whose loyal affection for his birth-place and respect for his ancestry have borne fruit in this beneficence, is the president of the National Bank of Sioux City, Iowa. He is a direct descendant of the John Warner who came from Woburn in 1687 to build a new home upon Bare Hill; his father, Luther, being the grandson of Ebenezer, the third son of the pioneer. He was born on the original Warner homestead, October 28, 1834. His mother, Louisa Dwinells, was of a family living in the south-eastern part of Harvard. He was graduated at Union College, Schenectady, New York, in the class of 1859, and studying for the legal profession, was two years later admitted to the bar. He immediately went West, and in 1868 engaged in real estate operations at Sioux City, of which place he has twice been chosen the mayor.

The first course of lectures under the provision of the Warner trust began December 18, 1891, with a discourse upon Household Art in Japan, by Professor Edward S. Morse. He was followed by: Leland J. Powers, January, 1892, upon David Garrick; Henry A. Clapp, January 15, upon the Merchant of Venice, and January 29, upon the First Part of Henry IV.; George Kennan, February 26, upon Russia and its Political Exiles, with stereoptic illustrations; Reverend J. J. Lewis, March 10, upon the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, with illustrations; Justin Winsor, upon the Search for the Northwest Passage to India through the American Continent. The lectures were well attended, and the public appreciation of the privileges due to Mr. Warner's generosity thus far honors all concerned.

X.

SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL STATISTICS.

FEW rural communities even in Massachusetts display so obvious and uniform impress of culture, comfort and thrift as the town of Harvard; nevertheless it affords a fair example of that tendency to decadence in population and industrial enterprise which is emphasized anew by each census—that steady numerical decline which seems to threaten the abandonment, as permanent human abiding places, of those hill towns which lie at some distance from any great thoroughfare, or which have no water-courses furnishing steady power competent for large industrial operations. The native youth, who are the life and soul of such little republics, are nearly all enticed away to the commercial marts or the manufacturing centres by expectation of larger personal gain or better social advantages, and imported hirelings stand in their places, but can in no respect make good the loss. The population of the town grew with even though slow regularity from the date of its settlement to 1850, since when it has as steadily decreased, losing about ten per cent annually.

At the incorporation of the town in 1732 there were between fifty and sixty families, or not less than three hundred and twenty-five inhabitants; for the family then averaged over six persons, while at the latest census the average family in Harvard numbered but four. About 1746 the community came under the provisions of the law requiring the keeping of a grammar school, having over one hundred fam-

ilies within its limits. A return of the census for 1765, the first officially made in the colony, is found in Massachusetts Archives, lxxxviii, as follows:—

Inhabitants under sixteen :—males, 276; females, 270.
Inhabitants over sixteen :—males, 272; females, 296.
Inhabitants, colored :—males, 7; females, 5.
Houses, 153; Families, 173; Total Population, 1126.

In a letter from Reverend Joseph Wheeler, dated February 24, 1767, and printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, he states that there were then about two hundred families in Harvard, and one hundred and ninety-five church members; and that one farmer in the town usually sowed ninety acres of grain, chiefly wheat. In thirty-five years the population had nearly quadrupled.

The returns of the earliest elaborate valuation, that of 1771, are preserved in Massachusetts Archives, cxxxiii, and from them the following compilation of facts is derived:—

Polls (males over sixteen), ... 273

Dwellings	163	Horses	150
Stores	2	Oxen	254
Tannery	1	Milch Cows	569
Iron Works	1	Sheep	830
Malt House	1	Swine	276
Fulling Mill	1	Cider made, barrels	1554
Grist and Saw Mills	3	Pasturage, acres	1320
Tillage, acres	942	Grain, bushels	9213
English mowing, acres	728	English Hay, tons	559
Meadow, acres	1346	Meadow Hay, tons	1245

Other crops were neglected in the valuation, although flax, hops, potatoes, turnips, beans and tobacco were raised in large quantities. The population of the town was very nearly the same as at the state census of 1885. This fact adds interest to a comparison of the farm property and products of the two periods. It is especially noteworthy that the hay crop was not half what it now is, and that the production per acre was less than three-fourths as much as modern farming secures. For every yoke of oxen now in the town, there were nine in 1771. Then sheep were to be seen browsing in every rocky pasture, for each farmer had his little flock; and

the sheep-washing and shearing season was a time for much neighborly exchange of labor, and rum-inspired hilarity. The wool was largely manufactured at home, for homespun was the every-day wear of both sexes, and the good wives and girls were all skilled in spinning, dyeing and knitting, if not in carding and weaving. Every farm-house had its cards, spinning wheels, reels and dye-tubs, but local experts were sometimes called upon to assist in carding the greased fleeces into rolls, a pound being considered a fair day's work. Not much later carding machines were introduced in the little fulling mills, one of which was to be found in nearly every town, and the clothier receiving the wool returned the rolls to the spinners for seven or eight cents per pound. A few specialists, owning hand looms, did the weaving for many spinners at so much per yard, "according to the cloth," making two or three yards per day. Now a great-granddaughter of one of these Harvard weavers of Revolutionary days, standing at a power loom in a neighboring town, with much less physical exertion, turns off as finished product more than fifty yards of Brussels carpeting in ten hours, or managing four or more looms weaves from one hundred and twenty to two hundred yards of gingham in a day. Elisha Fullam, or Seth Gould at his fulling shop on Nonacoicus Brook, finished the various fabrics that came from the Harvard looms.

An even larger proportion of the tow-cloth and linen manufacture was strictly home industry, in which every member of the household, young and old, in turn participated; from the pulling and rotting of the cultivated and ripened flax through the processes of breaking, swingling, hatcheling, hanking, spinning and weaving to the bleaching on the greensward. If the goodwife or her girls would have a calico gown they had to pay at the village store fifty or sixty cents a yard for the goods—although six or seven yards then satisfied all the requirements of fashion in such a garment. The merchants' wives and fine ladies of the large towns on state occasions flaunted their silks, laces and false hair, aping foreign fashions; but very little imported finery entered into the costumes with which the rural belles dazzled the eyes of their swains.

Harvard in 1771 was no less famous for its orchards than it has ever since been, but most of the apples then found a market as cider. In the even years, which were the "apple years" as now, there were at least twenty farmers who made from thirty to forty barrels of cider each. Some of this went into the winter store of apple sauce, some was boiled down for spring and summer use, much of it was sold to the Bay towns, a little was saved for vinegar; but an astonishing amount was "drunk on the premises."

The hides of the animals slaughtered were at once taken to James Stone, the tanner, who converted them into leather by the pains-taking old-fashioned methods, which devoured nearly two years' time before the matured product was returned to the farmer. Its wearing properties when contrasted with those of modern leather, it must be confessed, more than justified the dilatory process. The tanned sheep-skins were in general use for leather breeches and aprons, while the neat's leather was reserved for harnesses and shoes. The tanner dressed the hides for a share — usually one-third — of the product. The cordwainer was very commonly a peripatetic philosopher who conveyed his kit from farm to farm, made his own lasts and thread — pegs had not been invented — and sojourned at each fireside long enough to mend and make the foot-gear for every member of the family. But in the summer and autumn not only the boys and girls, but the farmers, all went barefoot.

The hatter made hats to order, and bought of the boy trappers the skins of foxes, rabbits and muskrats, from the hair of which he manufactured his felting. Usually there was some skillful spinster or widow tailoress in the community, who, in like manner with the cordwainer, went from house to house to cut and make the boys' clothes, which were almost always evolved from a selection of the fittest portions of garments cast off by their elders, sometimes pieced in conspicuous places with nearly invisible rentering. The mother and daughters not only cut and made their own garments, but also the shirts and frocks of the men folk. The village tailor was depended upon for little besides the elaborate fabrication of the coats and waistcoats with which the goodmen

disguised themselves on Sunday, and the cutting to measure of other garments.

There was a store in each village, wherein, theoretically, everything was for sale: groceries, drugs, dyestuffs—especially indigo, madder, logwood and copperas—hardware, crockery, hats, wooden ware, stationery, farming tools, an assortment of dry goods, school books, the heavier wines and Medford rum. For these produce was accepted in exchange if desired. Squire Joseph Wheeler, the retired clergyman, presided over the larger one, his stock in trade being taxed upon a valuation of 180£, while Elias Haskell's, at Still River, was set down at 100£. Captain Jabez Keep had a small trip-hammer forge and bloomery upon the brook at Old Mill, to which upon his death in 1774 his son Jabez succeeded. The fifteen citizens paying the largest taxes were Lemuel Haskell, Judah Clark, Nathan Warner, Nathaniel Whittemore, Oliver Atherton, Jabez Keep, William Park, Lemuel Willard, Isaac Gates, Benjamin Barnard, Benjamin Stow, John Farwell, Samuel Mead, Peter Atherton and Samuel Haskell. Property was much more evenly distributed than at the present day.

Of the twelve negro inhabitants reported in the census of 1765, the majority were probably "servants for life," as slaves were then styled. Slavery gained a foothold in Harvard before its incorporation, for Major Samuel Willard took to Lancaster from Still River "his negro Cæsar" in 1726. Most householders of the town were of too humble means to hire labor, much less purchase laborers. In fact their own children were often apprenticed, or put out to service for a term of years to those who possessed large means or who would teach them some handicraft. But with the increase of wealth and luxury in New England the Boston ship-owners engaged in the Southern slave trade began to find the home market for their commodity increasing; and soon not only the wealthy city families bought their domestic servants, but in the little country towns the squire, two or three of the the most prosperous farmers, and often the minister, owned a "likely" colored boy or girl, usually bought when quite young. An able-bodied young black man or woman was valued at fifty pounds or more. The condition of those here

held in involuntary bondage was in many respects quite unlike that of the slaves in more southern latitudes, and in fact differed little from that of the bound apprentices. The northern negro was the same music-loving, superstitious, happy-go-lucky creature as his southern brother.

Abundant traces of the existence of slavery in Harvard survive in record and tradition. In 1735, "Zilpah a Negro Servant Girl to Eleazar Robbins" was baptized. The same year Hagar, negro servant to Jonas Whitney, was married by Reverend John Seccomb to Jexess, a negro belonging to Nathan Chase of Littleton. In 1737 "A Negro Servant-Child of John Forbush" died. In 1738, "Cæsar the Negro Man-Servant of Thomas Wheeler" was baptized. The public conscience was always sensitive about the morality of slaveholding, and Thomas Wheeler's character was doubtless deemed whiter in his own day, as it is in ours, for his having put upon record the following agreement with his bond-slave and Christian brother:—

HARVARD, August 21, 1744.

This may Certifie that Ceasar my Servant is to have his time and be freed from me and any under me at the expiration of four years from the date hereof, if he serves me faithfully till then.

EBENEZER DAVIS Witness my hand, THOS. WHEELER.
JOHN WETHERBEE JUNR.

In 1740, "Cato a Negro Man Servant of John Martyn Esq.," died, and Cæsar, before named, was admitted a member of the church. In 1756, an item of Justinian Holden's inventory was "One Negro, 25£." In 1757, Joseph Hutchins in his will bequeathed his negro Neptune to a kinsman. In 1773, "A negro man belonging to Elijah Houghton, of advanced years," died. In 1775, "A Negro Woman belonging to the Widow Margaret Whitney," died. Othello, better known in rural life as "Thurlo," the faithful negro body-servant of Colonel Henry Bromfield, was an eccentric character, as well known in Harvard as his master. Born in the interior of Africa, he was bought in England and brought to America about 1760. Being manumitted, he chose to remain with the Bromfield family, and became an almost inseparable attendant upon the colonel. An equally noted colored citi-

zen, but one whose life was passed in less aristocratic society, was Cyprian, who figured at the rustic dances, and figures in the town records as "Sip." He was the slave of Ephraim Robbins, and apparently, after years of service had impaired his usefulness as a drudge, was granted the cheap boon of freedom. He built for himself a lodging-place, half cellar, half hut, in a lonely hollow in Shabikin, still referred to in deeds as "Sip's hole," and kept body and soul together by trapping, fishing, and other ways best known to Cyprian. In time his remnant of strength failed him, and in July, 1768, the town was called upon by Isaac Willard to pay for care rendered and food furnished him. At a later town-meeting Ephraim Robbins was duly notified to excuse himself for his abandonment of this worn-out chattel. Ephraim's statement, if any was made, is not found, but the selectmen were instructed to "proceed Discressionary in Regard to said Sip." The poor negro had one prized possession, which he clung to until he saw death near at hand. Like Thurlo, he was a born fiddler, and had furnished the musical inspiration and called the dance figures for all the rural junketings in his neighborhood. His only treasure was an old violin, and this, just before he died — over ninety years of age, in 1784 — he had broken into small pieces in his presence, declaring that there should be no "quarreling over his estate after he was gone."

By the enumeration in 1776 the population had grown to 1315. A resolve of the Provincial Congress, December 9, 1776, required each town to make a sworn return of all its male inhabitants over sixteen years of age, for military purposes. The selectmen on January 31, 1777, certified :—

> .....that there are belonging to the Town of Harvard Three hundred and Thirty-eight [male] Inhabitants and Mr Eads of Charlstown, Likewise two aged Negro men belonging to said Harvard, all which are above sixteen years old.

The valuation returns for 1786 are found in the Massachusetts Archives, clxiii, 230, of which the following is a summary :—

Polls	306	Tillage, acres	877
Dwellings	165	English mowing, acres	755
Barns	156	Fresh Meadow, acres	1162
Shops and Stores	18	Woodland, acres	1840
Tannery	1	Unimproved, acres	4965
Potash Works	1	Unimprovable, acres	1345
Grist and Saw Mills	6	Cider made, barrels	2190
Iron Works	1	Oxen, 4 years old	250
Horses and Colts	190	Cows, 4 years old	583
Swine, 6 months	255	Other neat Cattle	428

By the successive censuses under the present constitution the population has been as follows:—

1790.....1387	1840.....1571	1870.....1341
1800.....1319	1850.....1630	1875.....1304
1810.....1431	1855.....1533	1880.....1253
1820.....1597	1860.....1507	1885.....1184
1830.....1600	1865.....1355	1890.....1095

At the last state census, that of 1885, Harvard ranked as the two hundred and thirty-fifth town in the state in population; the two hundred and forty-eighth in the value of goods manufactured; the *forty-fourth* in agricultural products. Of its inhabitants but forty-four, over the age of ten years, were unable to read and write; there were five hundred and sixty-four males and six hundred and twenty females; one thousand and fifty-two were born in the United States, eighty-eight in Ireland, twenty-five in England and English speaking colonies, nine were French Canadians, and eight, Germans. Sixteen were colored. There were one hundred and twelve persons over seventy years of age, being nearly one for every ten of the population; a proportion equalled by less than a score of towns in the commonwealth. The oldest person living was ninety-eight.

The records of the town afford many instances of exceptional longevity. February 13, 1755, Caleb Sawyer died aged ninety-six. He was the last of those householders whose names appear in the garrison lists of 1704. He had almost attained manhood at the time of the Rowlandson massacre; and had the Reverend Timothy Harrington, when writing his Century Sermon in 1753, spared us ten pages of historic platitude about the persecutions of Israel, and given us, fresh

from Caleb Sawyer's lips, his reminiscences of the Nashaway warriors, of his grandfather John Prescott, of his sturdy father Thomas Sawyer the blacksmith, of his energetic brothers the mill-builders, and of the other leading spirits in the Nashaway Plantation and their heroic lives, how much richer we should be!

February 16, 1806, died Abel Jewett of the Shaker community, aged ninety-nine years. In the mortuary list of 1807 there were six names of citizens who had seen more than four score and ten years: Ebenezer Burges, 92; Samuel Warner, 95; John Warner, 96; Widow Safford, 97; Eunice Rawson, 97; Elizabeth Hapgood, 96. In 1869, there were twelve widows resident in Harvard all over eighty-two years of age, whose united years amounted to one thousand and thirty-two.

The oldest of these, Mrs. Rebecca (Parker) Huse, lived in the Shabikin district, on a little farm that slopes down to the Nashua river. The house in which all but three years of her married life and widowhood were passed was burned a few years ago. She died September 14, 1869, when the town-clerk recorded her age as one hundred and four years, two months and twelve days, and her parents' names as Ebenezer [Eleazar] and Dinah Parker of Groton. Upon her gravestone her years are given as 103. She retained to the last year of life a fair possession of all her physical powers and mental faculties, and read her bible without the aid of spectacles, but was somewhat hard of hearing. She cultivated a small garden, and kept a cow or two which she milked with her own hands until past her ninetieth year. She attended to all ordinary household duties until nearly one hundred years of age, and when ninety-five one day walked four miles to gratify her desire to visit an old acquaintance. Her memory of sundry incidents that occurred during the Revolution was vivid—especially that of her father's departure to join the patriot army, and his return to his family. He was a Harvard soldier, serving in the Continental regiment of Colonel Timothy Bigelow. She was born in Groton, but removed to Harvard when fifteen years of age, and married John Dennison Huse in December, 1795. Of several children born to her only three outlived their mother: two sons,

John and Enoch, and a married daughter, Rebecca (Huse) Ross. Her husband, aged eighty-one, died August 6, 1840.

Mrs. Lydia (Sprague) Blanchard, now ninety-three years of age, who was born in Shabikin, a near neighbor to Mrs. Huse, describes her as a notable housewife, locally famous for the excellent quality of her butter and cheese, and a kind-hearted, motherly woman whose skillful aid as a nurse was eagerly sought and cheerfully rendered in cases of illness in the neighborhood.

Her grandson, Eliakim H. Ross of Medway, remembers her as a devoted Christian, fond of reading the scriptures. She claimed to have read her bible through fifty times. He also relates that she was a wonderful knitter, as attested by the fact that she could knit three pairs of men's mittens in two days.

A. J. Brown of Concord, New Hampshire, who married a grand-daughter of Mrs. Huse, writes that there was some uncertainty about her age, and the question was settled by a birth record obtained from a relative, a Dr. Parker of Shirley. He pronounces the inscription upon her gravestone correct, and says that her father's name was Eleazar. In his possession is an original letter directed to John D. Huse at Harvard, dated Bloomfield, Maine, August 5, 1830, and signed, "Your father and mother, Eleazar Parker, Dinah Parker." In the letter they speak of being partly supported by a pension. Note of their burial in the Bloomfield Cemetery has been found, but without date.

It should be added that the doubt respecting the age of Mrs. Huse was owing to her belief that she was even older than the record proves her to have been. She asserted her recollection of an accident by which three men were drowned in the river on an Election Day, when she was about four years of age. This accident occurred May 30, 1764, and if her statement had been accurate it would have proved her 109 years old at her death. It is not very rare for a person to deceive himself into the belief that he can remember events which took place even a little before he was born, when those events were of so thrilling interest as to be much talked about during his early childhood. A writer in the

"Daily Evening Traveller" for October 27, 1865, speaks of her as "now 106 years old." This was probably a typographic error for 100.

In 1888, on February 15, Stephen Withington died at the age of one hundred years, eight months and fifteen days. He was born in Stow, May 27, 1787, and spent the first fifty years of his life in that town. He was one of a family of fourteen children. All of his brothers lived to be over eighty, and one who survived him died soon after at the age of ninety-eight.

In 1890 there were eighteen deaths in Harvard, and omitting one whose years were not known, the average age of the deceased was sixty-eight years and four months; eleven were over seventy, five over eighty, and three over ninety. Such records sufficiently controvert the belief rife in early days that the site of the town was an unhealthy one.

The occupations of Harvard citizens, as classified in 1885, were:—

MALES.

Merchants and dealers	10	Woolen mill operatives	5
Farmers	179	Scholars and students	97
Farm laborers	145	Retired	14
Carpenters	6	At home	36
Painters	5	Other occupations	62
Machinists	5		

FEMALES.

Teachers	11	Dress-makers	10
Housekeepers in families	8	Scholars	109
Housewives	243	At home	41
Housework	170	Other occupations	28

Of manufactories there were two of agricultural implements, George E. Burt's and that of the Hildreth Brothers; one of drugs and medicines, the Shakers' herb-drying and packing establishment; three of food preparations, grist-mills; one of glue, Mr. Bacon's; one of metal goods; one of woolen goods, a shoddymill; one of grave-stones. The capital engaged in these was $81,450. The hands employed numbered thirty-nine, earning $11,320 in the preceding twelve months.

The annual products of manufacture were valued at $73,318.

The whole number of farms was two hundred and ten, seventeen of which were leased. The wages paid for farm labor amounted to $21,285, and the total products to $229,533 per annum.

The dwellings numbered two hundred and eighty-one, of which two hundred and fifty-two were of wood and eleven wholly or partly of brick. Eighteen were unoccupied. The families were two hundred and ninety-three in number.

The land, estimated at 17,792 acres, and valued at $481,886, was divided as follows:—

Mowing	3,483⅜ acres.	Unimproved	911¼ acres.
Market gardens	12¾ "	Orchards	182¼ "
Pasture	6,616¾ "	Other cultivated	398⅓ "
Principal crops	726¾ "	Woodland	5,457 "
Nurseries	4 "		

The domestic animals, valued at $89,807, were:—

Bees, swarms	44	Hogs	264
Bulls	47	Horses	288
Calves	248	Milch cows	1138
Colts	5	Oxen	28
Dogs	92	Pigeons	80
Ducks	25	Pigs	190
Heifers	211	Sheep	60
Hens and chickens	9664		

The farming machines and implements, including wagons and harnesses, were valued at $41,161. The fruit trees and vines were called worth $124,219, and included 27,717 apple trees, 13,743 peach trees, and 20,033 grape-vines. The chief agricultural products were:—

Hay, tons	3,778	Canned fruits, pounds	11,789
Fodder, tons	1,782	Small fruits, quarts	44,700
Corn, bushels	11,494	Cranberries, barrels	194
Oats, "	401	Cider, gallons	8,513
Rye, "	343	Milk, gallons	466,665
Barley, "	256	Butter, pounds	35,905
Potatoes, "	14,713	Eggs, dozen	32,427
Turnips, "	4,488	Beef, pounds	68,401
Cabbage, heads	10,880	Pork, "	61,737

Apples, bushels	24,014	Veal, pounds	78,507
Pears, "	1,085	Poultry, "	16,367
Cherries, "	81	Squashes, "	13,000
Nuts, "	388	Pumpkins, "	53,240
Grapes, pounds	127,877		

Only twenty-eight towns in the state surpassed Harvard in the amount of milk produced. The apple crop of the even years is far in excess of the amount above recorded. There are five farmers in Harvard—Andrew Fairbanks, Wilbur F. Sawyer, William B. Haskell, Samuel F. Whitney and Stowell W. Davis—whose orchards produce a thousand barrels of apples each in a favorable season; and the first named has gathered nearly two thousand barrels in a year. His fruit marketed in 1892 amounted to fifteen hundred barrels. From twenty-five to thirty-five thousand barrels have been shipped from Harvard in each of the three or four apple years last past. These mostly found a market in Liverpool. The peach crop, which for several decades has been insignificant, is fast assuming large proportions.

The financial records of Harvard during the first century are too imperfect and confused for trustworthy tabulation. For a time the appropriations did not distinguish the cost of the schools from "other town charges," and the minister's salary and bills for "building the meeting-house" were included in the selectmen's accounts. The appropriation for highways and bridges was always kept distinct, it being assessed by itself, every one "working out" his road tax or hiring others to do it, under the supervision of the district surveyors. The first highway rate, that of 1734, was forty pounds, and at this sum the annual appropriation was fixed until 1765, when it was made fifty pounds. It became sixty pounds in 1770, eighty in 1772, and in 1780, when the paper currency was fast losing all value, it was set at two thousand pounds.

For the three years 1732, 1733 and 1734 the selectmen reported the total town expenditures as: 125£. 14^{s}. 6; 248£, 7^{s}. 10^{d}.; and 340£. From this period until Revolutionary days the yearly appropriations were very irregular in amount, although never exceeding these given. In 1780 the enormous

sum, in paper, of eighteen thousand pounds was assessed. In 1790 the town voted 75£ for ordinary charges and 100£ each for schools and highways. In 1795 the appropriations were 150£ for town charges, 120£ for schools and 170£ for highways.

From this date the town officers kept their accounts in the decimal currency of the United States. But for nearly fifty years later, in daily traffic merchants and farmers stated their prices in shillings and pence, although the coins of these designations slowly gave place to those issued from the national mint. The trader priced his cloths at "three shillings," "four and six," and "five and thrippence," not half a dollar, seventy-five, and eighty-seven and one-half cents; and the skilled mechanic called his daily wages "seven and six," or "nine shillings," instead of a dollar and a quarter or a dollar and a half.

In 1800 the town granted: $550 for the minister's salary, $500 for schools, $770 for highways, and $600 for other expenditures; in 1805, $400 for the minister, $700 for schools, $800 for highways, and $900 for other charges; in 1810, $400 for the minister, $800 for schools, $800 for highways, and $1200 for other charges; in 1815, $640 for the minister, and for other uses the same sums as in 1810. In 1820 the appropriation for the ministry ceased; there were 330 polls, and the grants were: $800 for schools, $800 for highways, and $1500 for town charges; at about these sums the appropriations remained for the next fifteen years. The following tabulation, derived from the assessors' records, gives the financial history of the town since 1836:—

A. D.	Expenditure for year ending March 1.	Highway Appropriation.	Debt or Surplus.	Valuation.		Tax per $1,000.	Polls
				Personal.	Real Estate.		
1837	$5370.70	$800	S. $72.61	.....	$357,549.33	....	...
1840	2,879.04	800	D. 1,099.25	.....	425,873.44	....	443
1848	3,077.98	1,000	D. 457.70	$210,840	432,845.00	....	411
1849	4,357.30	1,000	D. 1,085.26	217,465	439,540.00	....	419
1850	4.797.10	1,000	D. 51.70	213,681	488,674.00	5.00	449
1851	5,033.17	1,000	D. 88.59	219,931	492,084.00	....	443
1852	2,995.75	1,000	S. 198.67	240,304	496,014.00	....	437
1853	2,652.46	1,000	S. 826.12	247,359	498,054.00	....	426
1854	4,964.98	1,000	D. 212.17	318,808	501,359.00	5.85	427
1855	5,218.10	1,000	D. 1,066.48	320,119	534,436.00	6.60	421
1856	4,982.56	1,000	D. 656.40	327,422	542,713.00	7.15	434
1857	5,187.13	1,000	D. 1,038.26	316,283	548,623.00	8.00	425
1858	7,574.08	1,000	D. 857.06	299,177	553,962.00	6.50	430
1859	7,739.26	1,000	D. 1,609.56	288,976	562,828.00	7.50	424
1860	6,374.77	1,000	D. 1,388.00	333,696	624,975.00	6.50	411
1861	5 698.75	1,000	D. 704,06	346,365	630,432.00	6.30	433
1862	6,500.94	1,000	D. 829.40	289,912	627,400.00	7.34	411
1863	14,528.49	1,500	D. 6,277.73	258,215	630,970.00	11.56	390
1864	17,614.37	1,000	D. 2,651.23	190,945	630,585.00	12.04	384
1865	17.528.64	1,600	D. 5,841.43	266,465	629,950.00	15.20	383
1866	19,730.58	1,600	D. 6,816.94	270,185	642,545.00	12.40	369
1867	13,307.47	1,600	D. 8,029.35	284,130	648,785.00	14.70	370
1868	12,189.76	1,600	D. 5,071 94	279,485	645,230.00	11.50	375
1869	9,963.41	1,600	D. 2,953.79	299,810	642,820.00	11.90	374
1870	26,087.97	1,500	D. 10,287.14	295,330	708,530.00	13.05	361
1871	16,781.76	1,200	D. 8,870.93	214,010	695,499,00	14.00	376
1872	27,897.73	1,400	D. 14,660.60	265,141	693,669.00	12.20	354
1873	17,260.81	1,500	D. 15,213.09	198,062	698,899.00	13.50	347
1874	19,432.44	1,500	D. 19,416.45	206,155	693,424.00	13.50	348
1875	18,574.00	1,500	D. 17,285,66	183,809	691,259.00	13.60	356
1876	16,312.22	1,500	D. 15,425.90	179,886	688,456.00	13.00	359
1877	16,443.33	1,500	D. 13,904.20	233,698	685,360.00	12.60	354
1878	13.364.02	1,600	D. 10,800.71	206,539	677,927.00	12.60	367
1879	16,043.28	1,600	D. 6,429.97	197,555	678,305.00	12.40	371
1880	15,624.27	1,600	D. 3,294.71	338,101	640,545.00	11.80	361
1881	18,516.24	1,600	D. 210.00	180,782	650,580.00	12.90	350
1882	14,844.21	1,600	S. 1,981.96	190,929	651,814.00	10.00	343
1883	9,437.58	1,600	S. 4,315.13	258,890	655,345.00	6.60	327
1884	10.124.64	2,000	S. 4,090.44	252,139	652,078.00	5.60	316
1885	13,004.19	2,000	S. 2,147.36	256,968	654,093.00	7.10	341
1886	9,373.40	2,000	S. 2,451.60	259,953	658,109,00	8.70	337
1887	13,820.48	2,000	S. 1,337.46	281,187	656,485.00	7.30	330
1888	11,216.77	2,000	S. 1,260.58	278,245	655,200.00	10.40	241
1889	14.242.24	2,000	S. 1,543.87	292,078	655,193.00	7.00	333
1890	10,851.84	2,000	S. 2,040.40	316,053	646,134.00	7.00	309
1891	12,482.21	2,000	S. 1,756.29	308,150	648,725.00	8.60	307
1892	13,048.04	2,000	S. 3,132.37	319,367	649,468.00	6.20	306
1893	13,169.21	2,000	S. 1,491.54	192,930	652,609.00	10.80	317

POSTAL FACILITIES.

Previous to the Revolution any mail matter directed to the inland towns of Massachusetts was held at Boston until

called for, or reached its destination by the news-carriers, who once a week, on horseback, travelled over their established routes, delivering from their saddlebags to subscribers the diminutive and ill-printed *Gazettes* and *Chronicles* of the period. Silent Wilde and Isaac Church of Lancaster were the post-riders through this part of the county for a time before the war for independence. One of them started from the city every Monday over his route to the Connecticut valley, and returned at the end of the week. The following is one of the advertisements found in the *Massachusetts Gazette and Boston Weekly News Letter* of May 5, 1774 :—

SILENT WILDE, News-Carrier along the Road from Boston through Lancaster Rutland &c. to Northampton Deerfield &c. desires seasonably to put his Customers in Mind that the first half year of his last Engagement ends with the News Paper of the 9th. of May Inst. when there will be due from each of them One Dollar &c. the *Payment* of which some Time in the Week following the said 9th. of May, at the usual Places where he has left their Papers, he greatly hopes will be *Certain* and Punctual—and flatters himself therefore that none of them will be so Unkind as by their Delinquency, to deny him the Means of defraying the great Expence attending the same.

His former Customers who are yet in Arrears may not expect to be called upon again in *this* Way as he must have his Pay in a short Time without fail. May 5, 1774.

Joshua Thomas, also of Lancaster, was post-rider from Worcester through Lancaster eastward during the Revolution. Letters for Harvard citizens were occasionally advertised as remaining uncalled for in both the office at Boston and that at Worcester. In 1795, Lancaster was granted a post-office, and the Boston, Concord and Lancaster Mail Stage, twice a week, conveyed travellers and the mail to and from the metropolis. The Lancaster office served Harvard and other towns adjoining. Sixteen years more passed before a post-office was established at Harvard. The first mail-carrier was the proprietor of the "Harvard, Lunenburg and Winchendon Stage," which came from Concord over the Union Turnpike, and passed on through Shirley Wednesdays and Saturdays, returning on Mondays and Thursdays. The Wetherbee tavern was a regular "half-way house," where the horses were changed and the passengers alighted to stretch

cramped muscles or lubricate dry throats. Stage-drivers Harrington and Chickering were well known worthies of this line. For a few years a stage coach ran between Lowell and Worcester and made daily halts here.

The following is a list of the postmasters of the town with the dates of their appointments as registered in the Postmaster General's office at Washington :—

HARVARD.

William S. Foster, April 1, 1811.
Stevens Hayward, Oct. 1, 1812.
Ebenezer Bridge, Jan. 1, 1818.
John P. Whitcomb, Feb. 11, 1826.
Zophar Wetherbee, Nov. 28, 1845.
Thomas B. Wheeler, Oct. 10, 1872.
Hiram Joy, July 31, 1873.
Abbott A. Jenkins, Nov. 28, 1879.
Charles A. Hersey, Aug. 11, 1880.

The first four postmasters kept the office in their stores; Mr. Wetherbee moved it from the Whitcomb store to his tavern which stood at the north corner of the same street, on the site of the library building. Mr. Wheeler died in office June, 1873. Mr. Hersey, who had been in charge of the mail during Mr. Jenkin's official term, upon the destruction of the Wetherbee tavern by fire, August 25, 1880, established the office in the building now occupied by Gale and Dickson. There it remained until removed to its present room in the library building, June 25, 1887. The Harvard office was given the privileges of the money-order system in 1872.

STILL RIVER.

William F. Bateman, Jan. 11, 1855. Mrs. Louisa H. Bateman, Feb. 13, 1877.

Mr. Bateman died January 31, 1877, and his widow was appointed to succeed him. The office was at first in Mr. Bateman's residence, the house now occupied by Amos H. Keyes. For about three years, beginning with the spring of 1856, Chandler Lee and his father Charles Lee served as deputy postmasters, and kept the mail at their store. Since then the office has always been in the Bateman family's dwelling, being removed to its present location in April, 1885. Before the establishment of the post-office, for several years it was customary for the postmaster at Harvard to send the mail belonging to the Still River people to the store of H. N. Smart

by any chance messenger. There it was thrown into a box from which every comer helped himself as he pleased.

THE REPRESENTATIVES OF HARVARD.

December 28, 1726, a law of the province enacted that no town, "under the number of sixty families shall be obliged (unless they think fit) to send a person to represent them in the Great and General Court." Harvard went unrepresented for the first eight years of her history, though not exempt under this statute after the first twelvemonth. The deputies were paid a *per diem* stipend, varying from six shillings in 1726 to two shillings in 1741. Usually three shillings was the daily pay, with allowance for travel at the rate of one day for each twenty miles. But the sum paid from the public treasury was recovered from each town in the tax rate for the following year. The poorer towns therefore naturally excused themselves from electing a representative whenever possible, unless some local want made the sending advisable. This neglect became so common that the General Court sometimes inflicted heavy penalties upon such towns as omitted the election of a representative without excellent reason. Harvard was find five pounds for neglecting to send a deputy in 1745 and in 1750; ten pounds in 1746 and 1762; fifteen pounds in 1755 and 1759; eight pounds in 1757, and twelve pounds in 1758.

At a town-meeting May 19, 1740, it was for the first time voted to send a representative to the General Court. Deacon Joseph Fairbank was the choice of the town, but he declined the dignity proffered him, and Peter Atherton was then chosen. Instances of an elected delegate's refusing to serve were not very rare, and sometimes a town had to advance part of the stipend to enable their deputy to properly equip himself for his official elevation.

After having been twice fined for neglect of their duty, May 18, 1747, Harvard elected a second representative. The last record made in the town-book by the third town-clerk, Thomas Wheeler, was that of the action of this town-meeting, and it closes thus: "Chose Mr. Daniel Perce to represent them in y^{e} great and general Court, and I hope those

that chose him will pay him." Peter Atherton died while attending the General Court at Concord, of a bilious colic, June 13, 1764. The date of the annual election was "at least ten days before the last Wednesday in May," until 1831, since when it has been in November. In the following list when the year is not given the town voted not to send a delegate:—

HARVARD'S REPRESENTATIVES IN THE MASSACHUSETTS LEGISLATURE.

1740. Peter Atherton.
1747. Daniel Peirce.
1749. Daniel Peirce.
1751. Captain Jonathan Whitney.
1752. Daniel Peirce.
1753. Captain Jonathan Whitney.
1756. Captain John Whitney.
1764. Peter Atherton, *died.*
1765. Captain Israel Taylor.
1766. Captain Israel Taylor.
1767. Captain Israel Taylor.
1769. Captain Israel Taylor.
1770. Captain Israel Taylor.
1771. Captain Israel Taylor.
1772. Captain Israel Taylor.
1773. Captain Israel Taylor.
1774. Captain Israel Taylor.
1775. Reverend Joseph Wheeler.
1776. Captain Phineas Fairbank.
1777. Captain Phineas Fairbank.
1778. Deacon Oliver Whitney.

Under the State Constitution the representation was originally based upon one hundred and fifty ratable polls, and three hundred and seventy ratable polls entitled a town to two representatives. Harvard was fined for sending no representative to the General Court of 1786.

1780. Colonel Josiah Whitney.
1781. Colonel Josiah Whitney.
1783. John Munroe.
1784. Joseph Stone.
1785. Oliver Whitney.
1787. Josiah Whitney, Esq.
1788. Josiah Whitney, Esq.
1789. Josiah Whitney, Esq.
1791. Major Benjamin Kimball.
1793. Major Benjamin Kimball.
1794. Benjamin Kimball, Esq.
1795. Benjamin Kimball, Esq.
1796. Benjamin Kimball, Esq.
1797. Honorable Joseph Stone, Esq.
1798. Honorable Joseph Stone, Esq.
1799. Honorable Joseph Stone, Esq.
1800. Honorable Joseph Stone, Esq.
1802. Benjamin Kimball, Esq.
1803. Thomas Park.
1804. Thomas Park.
1805. Thomas Park.
1806. Doctor Isaiah Parker.
Jonathan Wetherbee.
1807. Jonathan Wetherbee.
Jonathan Symonds.
1808. Jonathan Symonds.
1809. Jonathan Symonds.
Jonathan Wetherbee.
1810. Jonathan Symonds.
Jonathan Beard.
1811. Jonathan Beard.
Reuben Whitcomb.
1812. Reuben Whitcomb.
Jonathan Sawyer.
1813. Reuben Whitcomb.
Jonathan Sawyer.
1814. Stevens Hayward.
1815. Stevens Hayward.
1816. Stevens Hayward.
1817. Stevens Hayward.
1818. Philemon Atherton.
1823. Calvin Haskell.

Constitutional Amendment X. was ratified May 11, 1831, changing the beginning of the political year from the last Wednesday in May to the first Wednesday of January, and the election to the second Monday in November.

1835. Calvin Haskell.

In 1836, Constitutional Amendment XII. was adopted, under which representation was based upon three hundred polls.

1838. Cephas Houghton.
1839. Asa Daby.
1839. Abel Whitney.
1840. Asa Daby.

In 1840, Constitutional Amendment XIII. was adopted, by which representation was based upon twelve hundred inhabitants.

1841. Asa Daby.
1842. Joseph Carter
1843. Ellis Harlow.
1844. Ellis Harlow.
1848. Ebenezer Willard.
1850. Ellis Harlow.
1851. George Gerry.
1852. Gideon Cadwell Noble, M. D.
1854. Joseph Carter.
1855. Caleb Strong Gerry.
1856. Ebenezer Crosby Willard.

In 1857, Constitutional Amendment XXI. was adopted, when Harvard, Berlin and Bolton formed the Seventh Worcester District, with one representative.

1859. George Edward Burt.
1862. Isaac Newton Stone.
1865. Frederick Augustus Willard.

In 1866, the Sixth Worcester District was formed of Harvard, Bolton and Lancaster.

1867. John Milton Whitney.
1873. Augustus Jonathan Sawyer.
1875. Jonathan Cady Richmond.
1876. Jonathan Cady Richmond.

In 1876, the Fifth Worcester District was formed of Lancaster, Harvard, Bolton, Sterling, Berlin, Lunenburg and Clinton, with two representatives.

1879. Abner Barnard.
1883. Edwin Alonzo Hildreth.

In 1886, the Thirteenth Worcester District was formed of Harvard, Lancaster, Bolton, Clinton, Sterling, Boylston and West Boylston, with two representatives.

1890. Stanley Barbour Hildreth.

STATE SENATOR.

In 1787, Joseph Stone was chosen to the senate.

DELEGATES.

Reverend Joseph Wheeler was Harvard's delegate to the Provincial Congresses of 1774 and 1775. To the Constitu-

tional Convention of 1779-80, were sent Deacon Oliver Whitney, Colonel Josiah Whitney and Joseph Stone. To the convention that ratified the Constitution of the United States, held at Boston in 1788, Brigadier-general Josiah Whitney was sent as a delegate. In the convention of 1820 for the Revision of the State Constitution, Harvard was represented by Reverend Abisha Samson and Thomas Hersey. In the convention of 1853 to Revise and Amend the State Constitution, Reverend Washington Gilbert represented the town.

COUNTY OFFICERS.

Reverend Joseph Wheeler, Esq., was chosen Register of Probate for Worcester County in 1776, and served in that office until his death in 1793. The following were appointed Deputy Sheriffs: Peter Atherton, 1774–84; Jonathan Symonds, 1788–1802; John Hill, 1807–1809; Cyrus Whitney, 1813; Reuben Whitney, 1814–1823; Emory Barnard, 1829–32; A. A. Jenkins, 1878. Jerome Gardner was County Commissioner, 1847–1850.

TOWN OFFICERS.

At the first town-meeting in Harvard twenty-three officials were created to administer the affairs of the corporation, under eleven titles: moderator, clerk, treasurer, five selectmen, three assessors, two constables, two tithing-men, two highway surveyors, two fence viewers, two field drivers, and two hog-reeves. Within five years thereafter these titles were added: surveyor of flax and hemp, pound-keeper, sealer of weights and measures, sealer of leather. In 1741 two deer-reeves appear in the list of officials. Two cullers of staves, shingles, clapboards and hoops were chosen after 1756; two wardens, a surveyor of wheat, and a grave-digger appear a few years later. In 1790, the election of a school-committee, composed of one citizen from each district, began. There were fifty town officers in 1800, including one school committee-man, a highway surveyor and a hog-reeve for each of the eight school-districts. The titles were but sixteen in number, the wardens, deer-reeves, and surveyor of wheat having been dropped. Several new titles have since

been added, although many of the minor offices, if not discontinued, are of late left to be filled by appointment of the selectmen. Of new ones are: collector of taxes, measurers of wood and surveyors of lumber, superseding the old office of cullers of staves, etc., library committee, dating from 1857, cemetery committee, dating from 1887, registrar of voters, from 1886, fish committee, from 1878, auditor, from 1889. The selectmen in Harvard have always performed the duties of overseers of the poor. In 1890 the office of highway surveyor disappeared and three road commissioners succeeded to their duties.

The curt registry of municipal acts made by the clerks need not mislead us into supposing that the business of self-government in the Massachusetts town was always conducted with the quiet and brevity of a Quaker meeting. Both municipal and parish affairs were at first under control of the taxpayers. Often discussions were protracted, noisy, embittered by district jealousies, and personal, political or sectarian feuds. Frequently the presiding officer of the town-meeting had to put forth all his natural and delegated powers, even to a call upon the constable for assistance, before he could quell a turbulent broil, or the boilings of factious spirit. In fact the moderator was commonly selected for his heroic qualities as well as his knowledge of the rules governing deliberative assemblies. He at times needed a nimble wit and the voice of Stentor, not less than the judicial coolness and sharp decision of Rhadamanthus. It was not uncommon for some citizen of slow perception or captious disposition to jump up after hands were counted to assert that he did not understand the question. One favorite moderator, noted like most of his class for stately courtesy, had a voluble reply always ready for such obstructionists: "The chair regrets the gentleman's unfortunate lack of understanding, but *he* cannot be held responsible for it. The question is decided in the negative. The next article in the warrant is ....."

The most popular moderators before the opening of the present century were: Captain Simon Stone, Captain Jonathan Whitney, Peter Atherton, Esq., Israel Taylor, Esq., Cap-

tain Eleazar Hamlin, Colonel Josiah Whitney, Honorable Joseph Stone, Benjamin Kimball, Esq., Captain Aaron Whitney and Captain Francis Farr; in the present century John Park, Jerome Gardner, Emory Barnard, Caleb Strong Gerry, Augustus Granville Hill, Augustus Jonathan Sawyer and Warren Herbert Fairbank.

TOWN CLERKS.

Peter Atherton was chosen the first clerk of the town, and recorded the action of the first town-meeting. He was not a skilled penman, and held the office only eight months. In that time a scholar of excellent qualifications became a resident of Harvard and was chosen town-clerk March 5, 1733. Most of his successors have been legible, and some of them very neat penmen, and their records are in good preservation. The names and service of these valuable servants are here listed :—

Peter Atherton, 1732.
John Martyn, 1733–8.
Thomas Wheeler, 1739–47.
Israel Taylor, 1748–51.
William Willard, 1752–65.
Phineas Fairbank, 1766–79.
Oliver Whitney, 1777–8.
Richard Harris, 1780–5.
Benjamin Kimball, 1786.
Francis Farr, 1787–1819.
Isaac Whitney, 1820–3.
John Priest Whitcomb, 1824–9 and 1831.
Eliakim Atherton Holman, 1830 and 1860–5.
Jerome Gardner, 1832–45.
Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., 1846–53, and 1856.
Silas W. Holman, 1854–5.
Trumbull Bull, 1857–9.
Hiram Whitney, 1866–79, *died.*
William Henry Savage, 1879–83.
Abner Barnard, 1884–93.

TREASURERS.

John Willard, 1732–4.
Thomas Wheeler, 1735,
Joseph Fairbank, 1736–40.
Jonathan Whitney, 1743–54.
William Keyes, 1755.
Israel Taylor, 1756–66.
Joseph Fairbank, Jr., 1767–9.
Nathan Warner, 1770–7.
Phineas Fairbank, 1778.
Joseph Atherton, 1779.
Silas Parkhurst, 1780–2, and 1790–1802, and 1806–7.
Joseph Willard, 1783 and 1818–22.
James Stone, 1784–6.
Caleb Sawyer, 1787–8.
Francis Farr, 1803–4.
Jonathan Sawyer, 1805 and 1808–17.
Ezra Wetherbee, 1823–4.
Seth Nason, 1825–1834.
Reuben Whitcomb, Sen., 1834–46.
Asa Daby, 1847–79,
Caleb Strong Gerry, 1880–5.
Andrew Fairbank, 1885–6.
Eli W. Hosmer, 1887, '9–90.
Harvey Melville Whitney, 1888.
Philip O. Dickson, 1891–3.

ASSESSORS.

The Board of Assessors has always been composed of three. In 1736, 1737 and 1739 the selectmen were the assessors.

Samuel Warner, 1732.
Eleazar Davis, 1732, '3, '5, and '42–7.
Lt. Peter Atherton, 1732, '4, '8, '40–2, '4, '5, '6, '9, '50, '1 '3, '7, '8, '60.
John Martyn, Esq., 1733, '4, '5, '41.
Thomas Wheeler, 1733–5, '40–2.
John Atherton, 1738.
Jonathan Whitney, 1738.
Israel Taylor, 1740–1, '3–50, '1, '3, '4, '7, '60.
Ebenezer Davis, 1743.
Phineas Fairbank, 1747, '8, '50, '1, '4, '5, '6, '9, '60–4, '6, '9, '70.
Dea. John Laughton, 1748, '9.
Richard Harris, 1752.
Joseph Fairbank, Jr., 1752, '3, '6, '7, '8, '71, '2, '5, '6.
William Keyes, 1754, '5.
William Willard, 1755.
Simon Daby, 1756, '8, '76, '77.
Isaac Foster, 1756.
Lemuel Willard, 1757–9, '61–5, '7, '8, '9, '70, '1, '2.
Jeremiah Laughton, 1759, '61–5, '70, '3, '4, '5.
Jonathan Whitney, Jr., 1765, '6, '7, '8, '9.
Joseph Wheeler, 1771, '3.
Phineas Willard, Jr., 1772, '3, '5, '6, '7, '8, '88, '9.
Isaac Gates, 1774.
Oliver Whitney, 1774.
Jacob Robbins, 1777.
Silas Parkhurst, 1778, '9, '91.
Ephraim Davis, 1778, '9, '80–4.
John Munroe, 1779, '80, '1, '2, '3, '6, '7.
Francis Farr, 1780, '5, '6, '7, '8, '9, '90, '9, 1801 to 1818.
Peleg Crooker, 1781, '2.
Nathaniel Longley, 1783, '4.
Abraham Whitney, Jr., 1784, '98.
Benjamin Kimball, 1785, '9, '90–97, '9, 1802, '3, '4, '6, '8, '11, '12, '20, '21, '22.
Josiah Willard, 1785, '6, '90–8.
Ward Safford, 1787, '8, 1801.
Thomas Park, 1792–7, 1805.
Phineas Sawyer, Jr., 1798.
Joseph Willard, Jr., 1799.
Josiah Willard, 1801–4.
Joseph Henney, 1801.
Lemuel Willard, 1805, '7.
Jonathan Symonds, 1805, '7, '9.
Flint Davis, 1806.
Leonard Edgarton, 1807, '31.
Philemon Atherton, 1808, '13, '14, '17, '18, '19–22.
Ellis Harlow, 1809.
Jacob Robbins, 1809.
Reuben Whitcomb, 1810–13.
Jonathan Sawyer, 1810, '11, '14–17.
William Park, 2d, 1814, '15, '23–28.
Stevens Hayward, 1816.
Isaac Whitney, 1818, '9–22.
Ephraim Warner, 1823–28.
Jonathan Wetherbee, 1823–28.
Daniel Robbins, Jr., 1829–31, '4–7, '41–2.
Shadrach Hapgood, 1829–31.
John P. Whitcomb, 1829.
Calvin Haskell, 1830–1.
Jonathan Fairbank, Jr., 1832, '3, '44, '5.
Nathan Willard, 1832–7.
William B. Willard, 1832.
George Gerry, 1833, '46–9, '51–3.
John Park, 1834–6.
Cephas Houghton, 1837–40, '43, '50.
Jerome Gardner, 1838–40.
Nathaniel Stacy, 1838.
Benjamin K. Park, 1839, '40.

Luther Farwell, 1841.
Emory Barnard, 1841–2, '4–7, '50–6, '60, '1.
Ephraim S. Willard, 1842, '5, '7.
Levi Willard, 1843.
Rowland Willard, 1843, '4.
Thomas Cummings, 1846, '64–8, '75–9.
Isaac N. Stone, 1848, '9, '56–8.
William K. Harrod, 1848–50, '57–9, '69, '70.
John Hapgood, Jr., 1851–3, '6–9.
Zimri Whitney, 1854, '5.
Luke Sawyer, 1854.
Trumbull Bull, 1855.
Samuel F. Whitney, 1859.
John Farwell, 1860–3.
Samuel Bacon, 1860–1.
Augustus J. Sawyer, 1862–70.
H. F. Davis, 1862–4.
Alonzo Willard, 1865–70.
Charles H. Haskell, 1867.
Luke Whitney, 1870–4.
Jonathan C. Richmond, 1871–75, '80.
Sherman Fletcher, 1871–4.
Harry M. Whitney, 1875, '6, '8, '9 to '84, and '86–93.
Frederick A. Willard, 1876, '7.
Ephraim W. Houghton, 1877 to '85.
Elisha D. Stone, 1881–92.
Charles C. Maynard, 1885–8.
Warren H. Fairbank, 1889–93.
Alfred A. Sawyer, 1893.

SELECTMEN.

For many years the selectmen were five in number, but the board usually has consisted of three :—

Hezekiah Willard, 1732–3, '9.
Capt. Simon Stone, 1732, '5, '6, '8, '9, '40, '6.
Capt. Jonathan Whitney, 1732, '6, '8–41, '3–5, '8–51, '3–6, '9, '60.
Thomas Wheeler, 1732, '3, '5, '7, '9, '40, '43.
Gabriel Priest, 1732.
Eleazar Robbins, 1733, '7.
Dea. Joseph Fairbanks, 1733, '5, '43, '5–52.
John Willard, 1733.
John Daby, 1734, '8, '43.
Joseph Hutchins, 1734, '5.
Jonathan Sawyer, 1734.
Jonathan Farnsworth, 1734, '52.
John Martyn, Esq., 1734–8, '41.
Ens. Joseph Atherton, 1735.
Ens. Jacob Gates, 1736, '7, '40, '1, '7, '8, '50, '3, '7–60.
John Warner, 1736.
Caleb Sawyer, 1737.
Ens. Henry Willard, 1738, '41, '4, '9, '56–8.
Lt. Peter Atherton, 1739–41, '4–8, '51, '3–5, '58, '9, '61–4.
Daniel Peirce, 1743, '4.
Eleazar Davis, 1744, '5, '6, '54, '8.
Israel Taylor, 1745, '6, '7, '50, '1, '3, '5, '7–63, '5, '6, '9, '73.
Shadrach Hapgood, 1747, 9, '54, '5, '63, '4.
Dea. Joseph Haskell, 1748.
Dea. John Laughton, 1749.
Ebenezer Davis, 1750.
Jonas Whitney, 1751, '86.
James Whitcomb, 1752, '7, '61–4.
Capt. Samuel Haskell, 1752, '60, '6.
Jonathan Gates, 1752.
Judah Clark, 1753, '61, '2, '4, '5.
Elijah Whitney, 1754.
Seth Sawyer, 1755.
Nathan Warner, 1756, '9, '64, '6.
Samuel Fellows, 1756.
Oliver Stone, 1756.
Phineas Fairbank, 1757, '61, '2, '5, 73–6, '9.
Nathaniel Whittemore, 1761.
Benjamin Lawrence, 1763.

John Priest, 1765, 6, '70, '1, '91, '2, '3.
Dea. Lemuel Willard, 1765, '6, '9, '70–4.
Simon Whitney, 1767, '8.
Tarbel Willard, 1767, '8.
Benjamin Barnard, 1767, '8.
Joseph Wetherbee, 1767, '8, '78.
Ens. Jason Russell, 1767, '8.
Capt. Joseph Fairbank, Jr., 1769, '72, '7.
Samuel Mead, 1769, '71, '2.
John Farwell, 1769, '70, '2, '3.
Joseph Willard, 1770, '8, '9, '80.
Nathaniel Farnsworth, 1770, '2, '93, '4, '9.
William Burt, 1771, '4, '5, '8, '9, '80.
Isaac Gates, 1771.
Oliver Atherton, 1773.
Oliver Whitney, 1773–7, '85, '95–7.
Phineas Farnsworth, 1774.
Joseph Atherton, 1775, '6, '7, '88–90.
Jonathan Reed, 1775.
Samuel Hill, 1776.
Isaiah Whitney, 1776, '81, '95.
Simon Daby, 1777.
Joseph Farnsworth, 1777.
Caleb Sawyer, 1778, '9, '80, '7, '8, '95–8.
Richard Harris, 1778, '9, '80, '1, '3, '4, '5, '94–7.
James Hill, 1780, '1.
Amos Fairbank, 1781, '9, '90.
William Park, 1781.
Ward Safford, 1781, 1801, '4, '5, '6.
Ephraim Davis, 1782.
John Houghton, 1782.
Thaddeus Pollard, 1782, '92, '3, '4.
Eleazar Hamlin, 1782.
Josiah Whitney, 1783, '4, '7, '8, '9.
Micah Stone, 1783, '4.
Jabez Keep, 1783, '4.
John Darby, 1783, '4, '7.
James Haskell, 1785, '90, '5.
Phineas Warner, 1785.
Jonathan Wetherbee, 1785, '6, '7, '90, 1806–9, 1821 5.
Benjamin Kimball, 1786, '9, '90, 1800, '4, '5, '6, '11, '12, '13.
Josiah Haskell, 1786, '96, 7, '8, 1800, '4, '5.
Israel Whitney, 1786.
Josiah Willard, 1787, '91, '8.
Samuel Hill, 1788.
Thomas Park, 1788, '9, '98, '9, 1800.
Joseph Stone, 1791, '2, '3.
Isaac Whitney, 1791, '2, '3.
Shadrach Hapgood, 1791, '2, 1821–5.
Richard Goldsmith, 1794.
Philemon Priest, 1796, '7.
Francis Farr, 1798, '9, 1802, '4, '5, '6, '11–13.
Richard Whitney, 1799, 1800.
Jacob Robbins, 1799, 1803, '14.
Phineas Sawyer, 1800.
Joseph Willard, 1801, '3, '7, '8, '9, '11–14, '18–20.
Jonathan Symonds, 1801, '6, '7, '10.
Jacob Priest, 1801.
Reuben Whitney, 1801, '4, '5, '31.
Solomon Taylor, 1802.
Jacob Haskell, 1802, '15, '16, '17.
Jonathan Sawyer, 1802, '8, '9, '14, '15.
Isaiah Davis, 1802.
Reuben Whitcomb, 1803, '7–15.
Cyrus Whitney, 1803, '10.
John Hapgood, 1803, '18.
Lemuel Willard, 1807.
James Whitney, 1808, '9.
Jonathan Beard, 1810, '13.
Aaron Whitney, Jr., 1810, '19, '20–4.
Jonathan Fairbank, 1810.
Stevens Hayward, 1814–16.
William Park, 2d, 1815, '16, '17.
Abner Pollard, 1816, '17.
Ephraim Warner, 1816, '17, '19, '20.
Isaac Whitney, Jr., 1817, '19, '20.
Philemon Atherton, 1817, '19, '20.
Ezra K. Beard, 1818.
Joel Bowers, 1818.
Theodore Goldsmith, 1821–2.
Calvin Haskell, 1821–4.
Luther Farwell, 1823–8.
Cephas Houghton, 1825–8.

Jabez Hapgood, 1825–6.
Jonathan Willard, 1826.
John Park, 1826, '7, '8, '31.
Nathan Willard, 1827, '8, '9.
John P. Whitcomb, 1827, '8, '45–66.
Jerome Gardner, 1829, '30, '55–6.
John Blanchard, 1829, '30, 31, '59–71.
Ebenezer Willard, 1829, '30, '47–50.
Charles Atherton, 1829.
William Lewis, 1830.
George Gerry, 1830, '2.
Abel Whitcomb, 1831.
Levi Willard, 1832–6.
William K. Harrod, 1832–4, '59–63.
Luke Sawyer, 1833.
Ellis Harlow, 1831, '34–9, '50.
Joseph Carter, 1835–6.
Aaron Whitney, 1837–9, '43.
Asa Daby, 1837–42 and '44–47.
Samuel Bacon, 1837–39.
Daniel Robbins, 1840–2.
Daniel Hartwell, 1840–1.
Thomas Cummings, 1842.
Reuben Whitcomb, 1843–4.
Andrew Gardner, 1843-5
Peter D. Conant, 1846.
Silas W. Holman, 1848–51.
Gideon C. Noble, 1851, '2.
James L. Whitney, 1851–3.
Caleb S. Gerry, 1852, '63–75.
Emory Barnard, 1853, '4.
William B. Willard, 1853, '4.
Phineas H. Harlow, 1854–8.
John Farwell, 1854.
Dr. Eliakim A. Holman, 1855–62.
Andrew Farwell, 1857, '8.
Andrew Fairbank, 1864–7, and '75–82.
Jonathan C. Richmond, 1868–72.
J. William Bacon. 1872, '3.
Augustus Jona. Sawyer, 1872.
George L. Sawyer, 1873, '79–84.
George H. Fletcher, 1874.
Hiram Whitney, 1874–9.
Elisha D. Stone, 1876–8.
Edward Warren Houghton, 1879–82.
Charles M. Hosmer, 1883.
Stowell W. Davis, 1883–88.
Warren H. Fairbank, 1884–6.
Alfred A. Sawyer, 1885–90.
Mark A. Farnsworth, 1887–93.
Ephraim W. Houghton, 1889–93.
John H. Davis. 1891–93.

JUSTICES OF THE PEACE.

The citizens of Harvard requiring the services of a magistrate were for several years dependent upon those of the adjoining towns. The following have been resident justices, the years of their first appointment only being given:—

1738. John Martyn.
1745. Peter Atherton.
1767. Henry Bromfield.
1768. Israel Taylor.
1776. Joseph Wheeler.
1782, Brig.-Gen. Josiah Whitney.
1794. Benjamin Kimball.
1802. John Mycall.
1809. Joseph Stone.
1811. Alexander Dustin.
" Joel Harris.
1812. Jonathan Symonds.
1814. Francis Farr.
1818. Stevens Hayward.
1821. Isaac Whitney.
1822. Jacob Haskell.
1827. John Park.
1833. Jerome Gardner.
1837. Abel Whitney.
1840. Augustus Granville Hill.
1842. John Priest Whitcomb.
1845. Benjamin Stow Farnsworth.
1845. Emory Barnard.
1849. Eliakim A. Holman, M. D.

1850. Ephraim Abbott.
1853. Ellis Harlow.
1854. Noah Warner.
" Reuben Whitcomb, Jr.
1856. William Bowles Willard.
1867. Samuel Fletcher Whitney.
" Samuel Greeley Clarke.
" Augustus Jona. Sawyer.
1869. Edwin Alonzo Hildreth.
1872. Trumbull Bull.
" Asa Dunbar Farnsworth.
" Enoch Perkins.
1974. John Quincy Adams McCollister, M. D.
1879. Andrew Patch.
1880. Caleb Strong Gerry.
1882. Warren Herbert Fairbank.
" William Henry Savage.
1883. Stanley Barbour Hildreth.
1884. Silas H. Stuart.
1886. Martin Howard.
1888. Mark Antony Farnsworth.
1889. Charles Philemon Atherton

ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELORS AT LAW.

ALEXANDER DUSTIN, graduate of Dartmouth College, 1799, A.M.; resident in Harvard until 1811, when he removed to Sterling and Westminster. Died 1837, aged sixty years. He claimed direct descent from Hannah Dustin, famous in the story of Indian warfare.

JOEL HARRIS, native of Harvard, graduate of Dartmouth College, 1804; died in Harvard December 2, 1817. *See native graduates on later page.* HARRISON GRAY HARRIS, brother of Joel, born in Harvard July 2, 1790, studied law with his brother for a time here. He became a distinguished lawyer at Warner, New Hampshire.

MERRICK RICE, graduate of Harvard College, 1785, A.M.; a native of Brookfield; established an office in Lancaster two years after graduation. Having accumulated about twenty thousand dollars, a fortune in that day, he built a mansion considered the finest in the town. The lady whom he hoped would become its mistress was not won by its grandeur, however, and Mr. Rice was never married. He sold the house, removed to Harvard in 1814, and in August, 1819, while on a journey, died at Pittsfield.

EPHRAIM HINDS, graduate of Harvard College, 1805; born in Shrewsbury, 1780; established an office in Harvard 1820, having previously practiced in Athol and Barre. He removed to Marlborough in 1834, and died at West Boylston, June 18, 1858.

AUSTIN DENNY, graduate of Yale College, 1814, A.M., 1822; son of Daniel, born in Worcester December 31, 1795; studied in office of Hon. Nathaniel Paine; resident in Harvard 1817–19; removed to Worcester and became editor of the Massachusetts Spy, etc.; died July 1, 1830.

ABEL WHITNEY, graduate of Williams College, 1813: born in Harvard February 17, 1786, son of Aaron and Sarah; died May 30, 1853. After twenty years' experience as a teacher, chiefly in Boston, he began the practice of law in Harvard about 1837. He purchased the estate now held by Dr. Herbert B. Royal, where he resided. His son GILES HENRY WHITNEY, a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1837, was for a time associated with him, but removed to Templeton in 1846, and thence to Winchendon in 1855, where he died January 12, 1888, one of the most trusted citizens of that town.

Isaac Gates, graduate of Harvard College, 1802; died at the age of seventy-five years, November 9, 1852, in Harvard, his birthplace, to which he returned to spend the closing years of life, having practiced his profession at Concord, New Hampshire, Brunswick, Maine, and Lynn. He was an uncompromising Federalist, obstinate and self-asserting. This and his advanced years prevented his gaining any prominence in town councils, although in intellectual force he had no superior among his townsmen.

Henry Bromfield Pearson, A.M., graduate of Harvard College, 1816; born at Andover, the son of Professor Eliphalet Pearson, L.L.D.; died in Boston, June 29, 1867. Mr. Pearson married Elizabeth McFarland in 1841, and thereafter generally resided at Harvard in the Bromfield mansion until its destruction by fire in 1855.

Samuel Greeley Clarke, resident at Harvard from May, 1865, to April, 1870; graduate of Harvard College, 1851. Mr. Clarke was the eldest son of Captain John Clarke, born at Pittsfield, N. H., June 17, 1827. He was fitted for college at Phillips' Exeter Academy, and after graduating — the first scholar in his class — studied law in the office of Daniel Webster and John P. Healey. A retentive memory aided by extended foreign travel gave him command of several languages and an exhaustless fund of information. Thus richly endowed with intellectual gifts, his genial disposition attracted troops of friends. He rendered valuable service to Harvard upon the school and library committees, and his loss was greatly regretted in social circles. He died at Bristol, R. I., April 19, 1887.

Salmon Whitney, son of Justin and Mary Cushing (Cotton), born in Harvard, March 4, 1833; studied law in Lowell and at Harvard Law School; was admitted to the Bar in 1860, and opened an office at Groton Junction, now Ayer. He served in the Sixth and Fifty-third Massachusetts Infantry, and died at Leominster July 26, 1864.

PHYSICIANS.

Harvard at the date of its incorporation, and for several years after, had no medical practitioner resident within her limits. In every garret were hung bunches of dried boneset, sarsaparilla and sundry mints; in the gardens were cultivated mustard, rue, wormwood, saffron, tansy and fennel. Certain good-wives reputed skilful as nurses, and wise in the occult properties of roots and herbs, were consulted in cases of ordinary family ailments, especially in those of children, and in midwifery; and no doubt the minister sometimes gave drastic doses of drugs, as well as of theology, to the sick. If a case of surgery or fever got beyond such curative agencies, some one galloped over to Lancaster to summon Dr. John Duns-

moor, or to Bolton after Doctor Daniel Greenleaf — two young men who had recently begun to trot about the highways and by-ways of the region, their saddlebags loaded with aloes, jalap, rhubarb and calomel. Their heroic doses, blistering and bleeding, usually eliminated disease, or patient, without tiresome delay.

PHILLIP FOWLER was the physician earliest mentioned in the town records. During the epidemic of 1746, he lost two young children. He owned lands in the Old Mill district, bought of Justinian Holden, which he sold in 1754, being then called of Groton.

JOHN TAYLOR was married to Mary Bowker of Harvard in 1756. In 1759 and 1760 he served as surgeon of Colonel Abijah Willard's regiment in the campaigns against Canada. His wife died in Harvard, 1764, and probably not many years later he removed to Lunenburg, where he soon became a controlling spirit in town affairs. His ardent patriotism and forensic talents made him prominent in the Provincial Congresses. Before the close of the Revolution he left Lunenburg, and for some time lived in Pomfret, Connecticut. Reckless land speculations in Maine involved him in litigation, and destroyed the happiness of his later years. He died at Dudley, Massachusetts, of an over-dose of laudanum, April 27, 1794, aged sixty years.

ISRAEL ATHERTON, born at Still River in 1740, was graduated at Harvard College in 1762, and began the practice of medicine at Lancaster not long after, having studied his profession with the famous Doctor Edward Holyoke of Salem. He won a wide reputation, and had an extensive clientage in Harvard.

PETER GREEN, son of Peter and Abigail, born in Lancaster October 1, 1745, a Harvard graduate of 1766, was a sojourner in Harvard, and buried his wife there in 1770. He died in Concord, March 31, 1828.

NATHANIEL MARTYN was of Harvard in 1765, when he married Mrs. Anna Townsend of Bolton, and lost a child there the following year; but no evidence of his extended residence in the town is found. Probably son of John and Mary.

JOHN CLEVERLY was a prominent physician in Harvard for about twenty years. He was of Concord in 1763, of Braintree in 1767, and probably came from the last town to Harvard during the Revolution; the town-records give the death of a child here in 1778, and that of his wife in 1780. He bought the William Buttrick farm in North Still River, and other lands; in 1785 built a house "near the Baptist meeting-house," but removed to a farm in the north part of Lancaster in the summer of 1795.

MOSES BARNARD, born in Harvard, the son of Benjamin, May 7, 1749, was a graduate of Harvard College, A.M., 1773. The date and place of his death are unknown. He was surgeon's mate in Colonel Asa Whitcomb's regiment during the siege of Boston.

ISAIAH PARKER, son of Aaron, born in Westford, November 13, 1752,

was the first pastor of the Baptist Society at Still River. He studied for the medical profession under Dr. Thomas Green of Leicester, and probably began practice in Harvard in 1772 or 1773. During the Revolution and later he acted as surgeon in the militia. He removed to Cavendish, Vermont, about 1806, and died there January 16, 1848. His son Samuel Stilman, born in Harvard, 1776, was also a physician; he died in Michigan in 1811.

ELIAS WILLARD, born in Harvard, the son of Lemuel, January 7, 1756; was an assistant surgeon in the Continental Army during the Revolution. He married in Albany and died there.

DANIEL ROBBINS, oldest son of Jacob and Anna (Whitcomb), born in Harvard, October 12, 1758; settled in Boxborough, and married Elizabeth Townsend.

EPHRAIM MUNROE married Mercy Atherton January 12, 1778, and died in Harvard December 8, 1795, aged fifty years.

THOMAS KITTREDGE, son of Jacob and Rebecca, born in Brookfield, March 7, 1784; married Olive Derby May 14, 1809; died in Harvard September 4, 1809.

DR. PAUL KITTREDGE is named in records, 1813, as a local physician.

SAMUEL YOUNG, M.M.S.S., born in Athol August 12, 1782, son of Lt. Samuel and Lois (Sanderson) Young. Dr. Young was a graduate of Williams College, 1804, and practiced in Athol and Lowell before coming to Harvard. He lived for about thirty years in a house yet standing upon the east side of the common, where he died March 30, 1845. One of his legs being much shorter than the other, he walked with a cane. He was the last of the old-style doctors, paying his visits on horseback, his stock of medicines borne in saddlebags before him.

EPHRAIM STONE, M.M.S.S., born at Ashburnham, December, 1770, was a direct descendant from Deacon Simon Stone of Harvard. He began the practice of his profession near the close of the last century, at Still River. There he resided until 1840, when infirmities incident to his years prevented active labor, and having acquired a competence he removed to Boston to enjoy it. He died June 26, 1860.

ELIAKIM ATHERTON HOLMAN, M.M.S.S., born in Bolton, April 20, 1799, the son of Silas and Elizabeth (Atherton) Holman; graduate of Bowdoin Medical School in 1826; married Lucinda Whitcomb Sept. 19, 1827; died at Harvard January 22, 1869, He resided near the south-east corner of the common.

AUGUSTUS ROBBINS, M.M.S.S., son of Jacob and Olive (Willard) Robbins, born in Harvard, October 17, 1805; graduate of Harvard Medical School, 1832. He removed from Harvard to Holden in 1842, and went thence to Brooklyn, New York, about 1850, and died there September 13, 1855.

WILLIAM STONE came to Still River from Wellfleet. He died here May 20, 1843, within a few months of his coming. He was born at Enfield, December 14, 1784.

LEVI HOWARD, JR., M.M.S.S., born in Bolton near Still River, May 26,

1820; graduate of Dartmouth Medical School, 1846; practiced in Harvard 1846–1851, when he removed to Chelmsford, and there died Feb. 24, 1885.

Ebenezer Willis, M.M.S.S., was in Harvard 1845–1850, when he removed to Groton Junction. He was the son of John and Nancy (Spriggins) Willis, born at Newmarket, N. H., January 26, 1815, and died at Ayer May 10, 1890.

Floyer Galen Kittredge, M.M.S.S., graduate of Harvard Medical School, 1845; assistant surgeon 31st Massachusetts Infantry in Rebellion; died at Peabody, Mass., June 1, 1878, aged fifty-eight years.

Gideon Cadwell Noble, M.D., 1829, born at Norfolk, Connecticut, the son of Matthew and Hadassah (Tucker) Noble, June 6, 1803; moved to Harvard from Fitchburg in 1844, and became a farmer; removed to Hudson 1868; died in Waltham, September 6, 1879. Representative from Harvard 1852.

Lemuel Fuller, M.M.S.S., son of Dr. Lemuel and Mary (Shepherd) Fuller, born in Marlborough, April 2, 1811; graduate of Vermont Medical College at Woodstock, 1841; resided in Still River; removed from Still River to Groton 1847, whence, after about three years' residence, he removed to Milton and thence to North Weymouth. Being on a visit to Harvard, he died there February 11, 1864, aged fifty-one years.

John O. Dow, M.M.S.S., born in Lyndon, Vermont, April 25, 1822; graduate of Castleton Medical College, Vermont, 1846; residence of Harvard 1846–1871. Now a much respected practitioner in Reading.

Jonathan Newell, A.M., M.M.S.S., born in Stow, but came to Harvard about 1852, but died February 8, 1868, aged eighty-four years; a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1805.

George Marshall Howe, M.M.S.S., son of Buckley and Sarah Howe of Sudbury, born July 2, 1824; graduate of Harvard Medical School 1854. In Harvard, 1855–1863; married Harriet M. Howe of Pepperell, January 17, 1855, and had four children; removed to Framingham and there died in 1882.

John Quincy Adams McCollester, M.M.S.S., resident in the Old Mill district 1869–1880, removing here from Groton Junction; born in Marlborough, New Hampshire, son of Silas and Achsah (Holman) McCollester, May 3, 1831; graduate at Norwich University in class of 1853; A.M., 1856; M.D. at Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia, 1856; during the Rebellion, surgeon of the Fifty-third Regiment, Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry; returned to Ayer, 1880, and thence moved to Waltham, where he now resides.

Jacob Sawyer Eaton, M.M.S.S., youngest son of John and Mary (Kimball) Eaton, born in Warner, New Hampshire, January 4, 1805; died in Harvard, September 5, 1888. He studied medicine with Dr. Buswell of Warner, and attended lectures at the Hanover and Philadelphia Medical Schools. He began practice at Alexandria, New Hampshire, but soon removed to the adjoining town of Bristol, where he remained twenty-four years. In 1855 he removed to Stow, thence to South Deerfield and finally to Harvard. He was twice married, his first wife being Mrs.

Harriet B. Kimball, who died at Bristol, December 5, 1837; his second, Alma Ellery Tyler of Harvard, married September 20, 1849.

JOSEPH H. ROBINSON came to Harvard from Littleton in January, 1872, and removed to Worcester in June, 1884. He was born in Stonington, Connecticut, January 28 1840; graduated at the University of New York City, 1863, and was acting assistant surgeon U. S. A. for two years. He is now in successful practice at Worcester.

EBENEZER M. PERKINS succeeded Dr. Robinson in 1884. He was born in North Brookfield, January 28, 1853; practiced in Sterling, and was an assistant physician at the Worcester Lunatic Asylum previously. He removed to Enfield in 1888.

HERBERT BENJAMIN ROYAL, M.M.S.S., graduate of Bowdoin Medical School, 1887. Dr. Royal was born at Foxcroft, Maine, the son of Josiah P. and Susan M. (Garland) Royal, September 24, 1860. He came to Harvard from Lowell in July, 1888, and was married to Alma Tyler Eaton, daughter of Dr. J. S. Eaton, June 1, 1889.

SHADRACH MELLEN CATE, a homœopathic physician, came to Harvard from Salem in the summer of 1889. Dr. Cate is a native of Loudon, New Hampshire, born October 24, 1823. He received his medical education in the Western Homœopathic Medical College at Cleveland, Ohio, graduating in 1854. His medical experience includes three years' practice at Loudon, N. H., ten years at Augusta, Maine, and twenty at Salem, Massachusetts.

A LIST OF GRADUATES FROM COLLEGIATE AND PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS WHO WERE NATIVES OF HARVARD, OR RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN AT GRADUATION.

JOSHUA ATHERTON, A.M., 1762, Harvard College; born June 20, 1737, son of Peter and Experience (Wright) Atherton. He intended to be a farmer, but being crippled by illness he fitted for college with Rev. Timothy Harrington of Lancaster, and after graduation studied law with Abel Willard, Esq., of Lancaster and James Putnam, Esq., of Worcester. He was admitted to the bar in 1765, and practiced at first in Petersham, but soon removed to Amherst, N. H. He served in house and senate of the New Hampshire legislature, and became attorney-general in 1793. He died at Amherst, April 3, 1809.

ISRAEL ATHERTON, A.M., 1762; Harvard College; brother of the preceding, born 1740, and married Mrs. Rebecca (Stevens) Prentice, Sept. 6, 1772. He became a widely known and esteemed physician at Lancaster, and died of palsy July 20, 1822.

MOSES BARNARD, A.B., 1773; A.M., Harvard College; son of Benjamin and Lucy, born May 7, 1749. He was a physician; the date and place of his death are unknown.

SAMUEL MEAD, A.B., 1787; A.M., Harvard College; son of Samuel and Hannah, born May 30, 1761. He was a minister at Alstead, N. H., Danvers and Amesbury, and died at Walpole, N. H., March 20, 1832. He was an able though eccentric man; several of his sermons were printed.

Ebenezer Grosvenor, Jr., entered Harvard College 1784; son of Rev. Ebenezer and Elizabeth Grosvenor, born 1768 at Scituate; died at Harvard, May 15, 1788.

Benjamin Haskell, A.B., 1789; A.M., Harvard College; M.B., 1793; M.D., 1811; born in Harvard, February 23, 1764; died 1829, it is said, in Paris.

John Harris, A.M., 1791, Harvard College; born Oct. 13, 1769, son of Deacon Richard, Jr., and Lydia (Atherton) Harris. He studied law with Hon. Simon Strong of Amherst and Hon. Timothy Bigelow of Groton; admitted to the bar at Hopkinton, N. H., 1794; judge of probate for Hillsborough Co. 1812–1823, and of Merrimack Co. 1823–1843; trustee of Dartmouth College; appointed associate justice of supreme court of New Hampshire 1846, when he declined the office; but accepted it when again appointed, and served 1823–1833; died April 23, 1845, at Hopkinton, N. H. He married Mary Poor, September 1, 1799, by whom he had a son, George, and three daughters. He early became a prominent member of the Masonic fraternity, and attained the highest honors that body can confer.

Isaac Gates, A.B., 1802, Harvard College; born in Harvard, May 7, 1777, son of Isaac and Submit (Lawrence) Gates; practiced law in Concord, N. H., Brunswick, Me., Lynn and Harvard; died in Harvard, November 9, 1852. His brother Jacob entered college, but did not graduate.

Joel Harris, A.B., 1804; Dartmouth, A.M.; brother of John; born in Harvard, September 24, 1782. He studied law with John Harris and began practice at Hopkinton, N. H., 1807, but removed to Harvard 1809, and there died December 2, 1817. He married Mary Blood of Bolton, September 20, 1808. His office was at the eastern corner of Harvard common.

Samuel Scollay, A.B., 1808, Harvard College; born in Harvard, January 21, 1781; son of Grover and Rebecca (Harris) Scollay; cousin of the Harrises above; M.D., 1816, University of Pennsylvania; died January 11, 1857, in Smithfield, Va.

George Kimball, A.B., 1809, Dartmouth; son of Esquire Benjamin and Nancy (Wilder) Kimball, born in Harvard, May 18, 1783; a lawyer.

Abel Whitney, A.B., Williams College, 1813; son of Aaron and Sarah (Pollard) Whitney, born in Harvard, February 17, 1786. He was a noted schoolmaster of the old-fashioned type, stalwart and stern. He taught a classical school for several years in Lancaster and for a much longer period in Boston. Studying law late in life, he returned to his native town about 1837 with a competence, and died May 30, 1853.

Richard Farwell, A.B., 1817, Harvard College, A.M.; born in Fitchburg, July 23, 1789, but taken to Harvard when an infant; a lawyer in Dubuque, Iowa; died at Marlborough, Mass., February 20, 1853.

Jonathan Farr, A.B., 1818, Harvard College, A.M., 1824; Harvard Divinity School, 1821; Unitarian minister at Gardner, Mass., etc.; born in Harvard, son of Francis and Sarah (Laughton) Farr, Sept. 20, 1790;

died in Harvard, June 3, 1844. He was a voluminous writer upon religious themes.

ALONZO HILL, A.B., 1822, Harvard College, A.M., S.T.D., 1851; Harvard Divinity School, 1826; born in Harvard, the son of Oliver and Molly (Goldsmith) Hill, June 20, 1800; fitted for college with Rev. Stephen Bemis; minister of Unitarian Parish at Worcester, where he died February 1, 1871.

CALEB STETSON, A.B., 1822, Harvard College, A.M., Harvard Divinity School, 1827; born at Kingston, Mass., in 1793, son of Thomas. The family moved to Harvard, and while there Caleb was fitted for college at Andover; minister at Medford, South Scituate and Lexington; died at Lexington, May 17, 1870.

GEORGE HASKELL, A.B., 1857, as of the class of 1827; Dartmouth College, M.D., 1827; son of Samuel and Ruth (Safford) Haskell, born in Harvard, March 23, 1799, but removed to Waterford, Maine, in 1803; a physician at Rockford, Illinois, etc.; died 1876.

NOAH WARNER, A. B., 1827, Brown University; born in Harvard, the son of Calvin and Anna (Houghton) Warner, February 15, 1800; a teacher, surveyor, farmer, student, and a man of scholarly tastes and accomplishments; died at Harvard, February 4, 1873.

JOHN WHITNEY, A. B., 1831, Amherst College; Andover Theological Seminary, 1834; born in Harvard, September 1, 1803; son of Salmon and Hepsibeth Whitney; minister three years at Boxford, twenty years at Waltham, ten years at Canaan, N. Y.: died at Newton Centre, May 31, 1879.

AUGUSTUS ROBBINS, M. D., 1832, Harvard Medical School; born in Harvard, October 17, 1805; son of Jacob and Olive Robbins; died at Brooklyn, N. Y., September 13, 1855.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD SAMSON, A. B., 1839, Brown University, D. D.; Newton Theological Institute, 1843; born at Still River, son of Rev. Abisha and Mehitable Samson, September 29, 1819; a Baptist minister at Jamaica Plain, Washington, D. C., Harlem, N. Y., etc.; President of Columbia College, Washington, and of Rutger's Female College, N. Y.; a voluminous author.

JOHN BARSTOW WILLARD, A. B., 1842, Brown University; born in New York city, April 1, 1822, the son of Luther and Mary (Davis) Willard, but removed to Harvard when quite young; studied law but did not enter the profession; studied theology with Reverend Washington Gilbert, and ordained at Westford in 1848; minister at Barnstable, Norton and Lunenburg; of late years resident at Harvard.

BENJAMIN WEST BALL, A. B., 1842, (1886) Dartmouth College; born at Concord in 1823, son of Benjamin; a journalist and poet, resident of Rochester, New Hampshire. His father and family lived at Harvard for ten or more years, during which time Benjamin was educated at the academy in Groton, and Dartmouth College.

GEORGE ELISHA FISHER, A. B., 1846, Amherst College; Andover Theological Seminary, 1849; born in Harvard, the son of Rev. George

and Mary H. Fisher, January 22, 1823; minister at Rutland, Amherst, Mason Village, N. H., Ashburnham, South Hadley Falls, etc.

ANDREW JACKSON WILLARD, A. B., Yale, 1853; Yale Theological Seminary, 1856; M. D. Vermont, 1877; born in Harvard, the son of Nehemiah B. and Hannah Willard, March 19, 1832. Resident at Burlington, Vermont.

HENRY L. WARNER, A. B., 1859, Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.; admitted to the bar as attorney, 1860; Mayor of Sioux City, Iowa; now President of the National Bank of Sioux City. Born in Harvard, son of Luke and Amanda Warner, October 28, 1834.

ANDREW POLLARD, A. M. (honorary), Brown University, 1853; S. T. D. 1863; born in Harvard, October 7, 1814; a Baptist minister, ordained at Holden, and pastor at South Gardner, Hyannis, Taunton 1849, South Boston 1872; Secretary for New England of the American Baptist Publication Society for twelve years; Treasurer of the Massachusetts Baptist Convention; died at South Boston, August 21, 1886.

SOLON FRANKLIN WHITNEY, A. B., 1859, Brown University; born in Harvard, son of Benjamin F. and Louisa Whitney, August 22, 1831. Librarian of Watertown Public Library.

WESLEY CALEB SAWYER, A. B., 1861, Harvard College; A. M.; Ph. D., Gottingen, 1870; born in Harvard, son of Luke and Mercy B. (Whitcomb) Sawyer, August 26, 1839; captain 23d Mass. Infantry in War of Rebellion, where he lost a leg; Professor of Philosophy, Rhetoric and Library Economy at Lawrence University, Appleton, Wisconsin; Professor at Normal School, Oshkosh, Wisconsin; Professor of English Literature and Social Science, and Acting President of University of the Pacific, College Park, California.

SULLIVAN WHITNEY, M. D., 1861, Harvard Medical School; born in Harvard, December 22, 1808, son of John and Sally Whitney; homeopathic pharmacist at hospital, Boston, and the first to manufacture homeopathic medicines in that city; died at Newtonville, where he had lived for fifty years, January 27, 1891.

JOHN MARSHALL WHITNEY, entered class of 1863, Amherst College, M. D. L. I. Medical College; surgeon in U. S. Navy, drowned at Jacksonville, Florida, August 16, 1864; born in Harvard (?), son of Marshall and Caroline W. Whitney.

ALFRED NEWELL FULLER, A. B., 1871, Harvard College; born in Harvard, son of Newell and Jane (Davis), October 12, 1848; studied in the Yale Theological Seminary, 1874–5, one year; now a teacher in New York city.

CHARLES SIDNEY HAYDEN, L. L. B., 1871, Harvard Law School; born in Harvard, son of James G. and Lucretia Hayden, November 10, 1848; special justice; Mayor of Fitchburg 1889.

WILLIAM CHANNING WHITNEY, A. B., 1872, Massachusetts Agricultural College; born in Harvard, son of Benjamin F. and Louisa Whitney, April 11, 1851; an architect, resident of Minneapolis, Minn.; designer of Harvard library building, etc.

WALDO VERNON HOWE, A. B., 1877, Massachusetts Agricultural College; born in Harvard, son of Dr. George Marshall Howe, Dec. 2, 1855.

EDWARD HERBERT ATHERTON, A. B., 1879, Harvard College; son of Alfred and Abby M. Atherton, born February 11, 1856. Now a teacher of languages in Boston.

EVERETT CHICKERING WILLARD, A. B., 1883, Dartmouth College; son of Alonzo and Sarah E., born May 20, 1867. Now a teacher.

THE INNHOLDERS OF HARVARD.

From the registry of the Middlesex Court of Sessions it is learned that Simon Willard of Lancaster was licensed April 10, 1705 "to be an Inholder in sd Town having entered into Recognizance persuant to Law." His was the first tavern in Harvard. It was located in Still River, and probably in the vicinity of Elisha D. Stone's residence. The entertainment of wayfarers was but a small part of the country innholder's business in Simon Willard's day. The inn was always an ordinary farm-house, one room in it being given to the retail trade in strong drink. Travelers were furnished with farmers' fare, but not obsequiously welcomed. For license fee there was paid to the county treasurer two pence per quart for all distilled liquors sold, and no license was granted until the approval of the selectmen was obtained by the applicant. The innkeeper was required to advertise his business by a sign, and to thrust out of his doors all tipplers at nine o'clock P. M.

Simon Willard's tavern was closed by his death in 1706. Benjamin Bellows was a licensed innholder in 1711, probably at the homestead of Henry Willard, whose widow he had married. Samuel Willard obtained a license in 1718–19 and kept a tavern at the same location until 1726, when he removed to Lancaster, selling his business and real estate to John Wright from Andover. It is probable that Samuel Willard's tavern is standing, being now known as the Haskell house. John Wright kept a licensed ordinary here for a short time, but being unable to pay off a mortgage of eleven hundred pounds held by James Bowdoin, Samuel Willard regained possession of and sold the estate in 1734 to Theophilus Cushing, who transferred it to Joseph Haskell the same year.

The licensed innholders since Wright have been :

John Atherton, 1734-1736.
Eleazar Robbins, 1734-1740.
Ebenezer Sprague, 1737-1747.
Joseph Haskell, 1738-1747.
Samuel Fellows, 1745-1750.
Robert Holland, 1746-1755.
Justinian Holden, 1747-1756.
Samuel Haskell, 1748-1762.
Jason Russell, 1752-1753.
Israel Taylor, 1755-1772.
Eleazar Davis, 1759-1761.
Oliver Whitney, 1762-1773.
Oliver Atherton, 1770-1783.
Amos Fairbanks, 1770-1773.
John Farwell, 1772-1774.
John Priest, Jr., 1776-1777.
John Houghton, 1778-1785.
Silas Parkhurst, 1779-1784.
Lemuel Willard, 1779.
William Saunderson, 1780-1784.
Eleazar Hamlen, 1780-1785.
Nehemiah Ramsdell, 1780-1.
Phineas Farnsworth, 1780-1.
Jonathan Puffer, 1782-1787.
Jonathan Davis, 1788.
Joseph Curtis, 1789-1794.
Thomas Hammond, 1795-1796.
Nathaniel Geary, 1796.
Benjamin Robbins, 1797-8.
Ezra Wetherbee, 1798-1832.
William Stearns, 1802-4.
James Haddick, 1802.
Peter Perham. 1802-3.
Jonas Merriam, 1807-1815.
Zophar Wetherbee, 1832-1861.

The location of the more important among these can be told, at least approximately. Several of the licensees perhaps kept temporary groggeries rather than inns. John Atherton's house was at the southwest corner of the common, where Dr. Herbert B. Royal now lives. Silas Parkhurst of Pepperell bought the place of the Atherton heirs in 1772, and sold it to Jonas Merriam in 1807. When the Union Turnpike was completed and Harvard expected to become a way station on a great thoroughfare between Boston and the upper valley of the Connecticut, Jonas Merriam's tavern was opened in rivalry with Ezra Wetherbee's, which faced it across the common. Neither turnpike nor inn rewarded the owners' hopes, and Merriam removed to Shirley in 1816, selling his estate to Seth Nason. Eleazar Robbins lived on the Groton and Lancaster highway in the southerly part of the Old Mill district. He sold his tavern and farm to Justinian Holden in 1745, and in 1760 it was bought by Jabez Keep, Holden having died in 1756. Ebenezer Sprague, who came to Harvard from Malden about 1736, had a farm on both sides of the same highway at the old Lancaster and Stow Leg line, which he sold to Samuel Hunt in 1744, who transferred it to Elisha Fullam in 1748. Joseph Haskell lived in the old Samuel Willard inn, now owned by William B. Haskell. Samuel

Haskell, the son of Henry, inherited the next farm on the north and probably lived where Elisha D. Stone's house now is; the Haskell heirs sold the place to Rev. George Robinson in 1802. Samuel Fellows owned lands which he bought of Reverend John Seccomb, Jonathan Sawyer, Thomas Wright and others near the south-east corner of the town's common. Jonathan Puffer succeeded him on the same estate, but their inn cannot be exactly located, and is probably not now standing. Oliver Whitney and Joseph Curtis were in the same neighborhood.

When Robert Holland began his career as an innholder he was but twenty-one years of age, and had recently married Experience, the oldest daughter of "Squire" Peter Atherton, a girl of sixteen. His tavern stood on the north side of the road about half way between Still River and the centre of the town, and was removed by Absalom B. Gale a few years ago when he built his house over its cellar. Holland died in 1755, and his wife the next year.

Captain Israel Taylor was for many years the most popular citizen of the town. He was nine times elected to the lower branch of the legislature, and was never free from the cares of one or more town offices. He owned real estate in various parts of the town, but his inn is supposed to have been in Old Mill at the junction of the Shirley and Ayer roads.

Eleazar Davis lived on the farm owned by the Shakers and occupied by the East Family of the Community until within a few years. Oliver Atherton kept a well known public-house in the days of the Revolution, where Oliver H. and Galen Atherton now live, near the Still River Station. Deacon Oliver Whitney's inn was probably somewhere near the south-east corner of the common. William Saunderson's tavern was on the Littleton road at the northern end of Oak Hill. Eleazar Hamlin lived where Charles E. Sprague now dwells. Nehemiah Ramsdell and Phineas Farnsworth were also of the Old Mill district.

The Wetherbee Inn stood where the Free Public Library building now is. The noted landlords Ezra and Zophar Wetherbee, father and son, here served the public for over

sixty years. Zophar Wetherbee having resolved to retire from business, in May, 1866, sold the tavern estate to an association of about thirty individuals formed for the purpose of keeping the house open as a temperance inn. This Union Hotel Company, as it was called, refurnished the house, and sundry landlords successively sought the public favor, of whom Frederick A. Willard was the first. June 4, 1869 Josiah Puffer took charge of the house, and retained it for four years, when he was succeeded by Mark Ray. Abbot A. Jenkins bought the property and thoroughly renovated the buildings in 1875, at a cost of about $3000, increasing the number of rooms in the house to sixty-seven, and gave the inn a new name—the "Elm House." The expected guests did not throng the portals of the refurnished hostelry, and even with the rental of a part of the building for a store, and the income of the postmastership, Mr. Jenkins received scant interest for his outlay. Timothy B. Snow took charge as landlord for Mr Jenkins March 1, 1879. August 25, 1880, a little before midnight, a fire, undoubtedly incendiary in its origin, broke out in the stables, by which the inn and a dwelling adjacent were destroyed. Since that date there has been no public-house for the entertainment of travelers in the town.

Several natives of Harvard have won repute in the difficult role of landlord, and in a much larger field of enterprise than their birth-place afforded. Orsamus Willard, one of the eight sons of William Willard, Jr., who lived in the old house yet standing on the south verge of Shabikin, was for almost twenty-seven years a chief-manager of the City Hotel in New York City, which he entered at the age of nineteen as office boy. He there acquired a wide reputation not only for his energetic and skilful administration of the household economies, but for his urbane and courtly manners, and his never-failing memory of names, persons and events. He was known even across the Atlantic as the landlord who never forgot the face or title of any one who had ever been his guest. He could write with either hand, and possessed in a remarkable degree the power of giving politely prompt and satisfying answers to the multifarious questions of guests, without interrupting the book-keeping or other business de-

WETHERBEE TAVERN.

tails upon which he might be engaged. His geniality was not professional only, but had its source in a kindly heart; for he was a great favorite with children, and loved to have them about him. He returned to Still River in 1849 to spend the closing years of life, and died there April 28, 1876, in his eighty-fourth year.

Of the sons of Zophar Wetherbee two are now landlords in famous New York hotels; Gardner Wetherbee being the junior member of the firm of Hawk and Wetherbee, proprietors of the Windsor, and Charles L. Wetherbee, senior partner of the firm of Wetherbee and Fuller, proprietors of the Buckingham. A third son, Ezra Zophar Wetherbee, had an official position in the management of the Lindall Hotel at St. Louis, Missouri, at the time of his death.

THE "STORE-KEEPERS."

While among the hereditary aristocracy of the city it was held a decided loss of caste to enter trade, in the country town any one who had capital and enterprise enough to become a retailer of merchandise stepped at once near the portal of the circle of gentility. None more likely than he to be chosen in due time to represent the town at the General Court, and ultimately write Esquire after his name. Financial prosperity was reasonably sure if he oiled his tongue with tact, kept the hinges of his back pliant, and resolutely withheld from his own the cup he offered to the lips of others.

An attempt to compile any comprehensive list of the merchants of Harvard during the one hundred and sixty years of the town's life, could only end in failure but for one fact. During the first one hundred years the assortment of goods kept in the country stores embraced everything salable that a customer was likely to call for, and a generous source of profit was the sale of spirituous liquors. But the retailing of spirits was by law restricted to those who were licensed by the county court. From there cords of licenses, therefore, the names of the more prominent retailers can be gleaned. Ebenezer Sprague was the first in Harvard to receive license as a retailer. He obtained an innholder's permit in 1737, when Benjamin Nurse appears as a retailer, holding a license

as such for several years. Samuel Haskell was licensed for fourteen years — 1748–1762 — sometimes as retailer, but often as an innkeeper. Israel Taylor was similarly licensed for the period from 1855 to 1772. In 1762 Elias Haskell and Gordon Hutchins of Still River were licensed "to sell tea and coffee," as well as spirituous liquors; the latter appears as a retailer for four years, the former until 1772. The subsequent retailers recorded are as follows:—

Ephraim Davis, 1763–9.
William Burt, 1767–9.
Joseph Wheeler, 1771–83.
John Munroe, 1773–81.
William Safford, 1776–81.
Lemuel Willard, 1778–80.
William Park, 1782–
Benjamin Kimball, 1783–1800.
Stephen Cleverly, 1783–5.
Nicholas Patterson, 1783–95.
Silas Parkhurst, Jr., 1784–
Samuel Hill, 1785.
Lysias Blanchard, 1787.
David Sampson, 1789.
John Whitney, 1786–93.
Simon Whitney, 1792–7.
Elias Haskell, Jr., 1795–7.
Isaiah Whitney, Jr., 1797–1800.
Josiah Haskell, Jr., 1798–1812.
John Mycall, 1801–
Joseph Harwood, 1801–4.
Ethan Wetherbee, 1805–15.
William Stearns, 1806–8.
Edmund Foster, 1806–8.
Cyrus Whitney, 1807–8.
Joseph Haskell, Jr., 1809–10.
Stevens Hayward, 1809–14.
William L. Foster, 1810.
Joseph Edgarton, 1810.
Thomas Hersey, Jr., 1814–16.
Joseph Stevens, 1814.
Ebenezer Bridge, 1815–23.
Sylvester Richmond, 1815–18.
John Walker, 1817–19.
Calvin Haskell, 1819–1832.
Seth Nason, 1820–1.
Abel Blanchard, 1820.
Enoch Perkins, 1820–35.
John P. Whitcomb, 1822–6.
Jonathan Wheeler, 1826–7.
Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., 1827–1861.

Many, if not all, of the earlier Harvard traders, following the fashion of their times, gave up one of the main rooms of their own dwellings to the display of their little stock of goods. The Haskells, except during the Revolutionary period, almost monopolized the trade at Still River for fully a century. Their last place of business was at the southern corner of the meeting of the two highways leading to Lancaster. In this vicinity were in succession Samuel, Elias, Elias, Jr., Josiah, Jr., and Calvin Haskell. The Calvin Haskell store was also occupied in later years by Thomas Hersey, Henry Lerned, Haines M. Stuart, 1847, Chandler and Charles Lee, 1856–9, and by one or two others for brief periods.

John Munroe, who succeeded Elias Haskell as the Still River merchant in 1773, was located "near the meeting of the county roads," on the east side of the highway, where he purchased of Reuben Dodge, cordwainer, the old house now owned and occupied by Arna Robinson. John Munroe was a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1751; had been the grammar-school master at Concord, and sometimes occupied the pulpit in default of the regular pastor. He died in 1790.

Stephen Cleverly, an eccentric genius, son of Dr. John Cleverly, succeeded Munroe at the close of the Revolution, but his business career was brief and unfortunate. He began the erection of the large dwelling well known as the Mycall or Jerome Gardner house, but his enterprise ended in financial trouble, and he removed to Lancaster with his father. Thereafter he indulged his taste for strong drink, became besotted and insane, and died at the age of seventy-two, A. D. 1832, in the alms-house. He was an educated man, had a talent for rhyming, and in his later years was wont to wander about, half-tipsy, repeating whenever he could find listeners certain scurrilous verses of his own composition, in which he satirized his fellow-men and scoffed at the world in general. His favorite declamation was a lengthy doggerel which he styled "Mobtown," wherein he assailed Lancaster and its aristocracy with spiteful epithets. This, like the less ambitious of his lyrical efforts, is now lost to fame, the first stanza only clinging in a few retentive memories :—

> "Mobtown's a long and narrow strip of land,
> Cussed at both ends and in the middle damned;
> With self-conceited ninnies thickly peopled o'er,
> Fair on the outside, but rotten at the core."

Despite the "bee in his bonnet," and even when half-fuddled, Cleverly rarely came off second-best in encounters of wit with the practical jokers of his time. One day as he was trudging his devious way homeward from the grocery, having as usual a jug for company, he met a crony, familiarly known as Little Breeches, who at once became clamorous for a drink. "No," said Stephen, putting the jug behind him, "I'm only a retailer, and your's is a wholesale gullet." But Little Breeches

had all the eloquence of thirst, and Cleverly after conspicuous reluctance at last consented to spare "one swallow," on condition that he was to hold the jug. The cork was drawn, and just as the dry lips and the nose of the jug were glued together, Cleverly gave the vessel a sudden upward tilt and ran off shouting with laughter, leaving Little Breeches cursing and coughing up the whale oil which he had greedily sucked into his capacious throat instead of the expected Medford rum.

Lieutenant John Whitney bought, in 1786, of Doctor John Cleverly, a house recently built by him—that now owned by William Augustus Parker. Here he was a licensed trader for seven or eight years.

John Mycall, in 1798, bought of Cleverly's creditors the unfinished mansion and lands at the meeting of the highways, and there lived for about ten years. He was a native of Worcester, England, and arrived in America just as the war for independence began, when he was but eighteen years of age. For a time he supported himself by keeping school at Newburyport, but having acquired skill as a printer, he became editor and publisher of the "Essex Journal," which he conducted from 1780 to 1790. While a citizen of Harvard he was highly esteemed, and purchased a considerable landed estate. He was made justice of the peace in 1802. His store was kept in an ell of the house, which has been moved across the highway and made into a dwelling.

Of John Mycall, when publisher at Newburyport, the following story has been more than once printed. The sheriff had been a regular subscriber to the Journal for a long time, but failed to pay the bills presented to him, save in profuse promises. One day, being urgently pressed for the amount due, the sheriff with his usual earnest manner, said: "Mr. Mycall, you shall have your money tomorrow, if I am alive; you may be certain I am a corpse if you are not paid in full." When the sheriff began reading the next issue of the paper he was astounded to find staring him in the face the formal announcement of the "sudden death of Philip Bagley, Esq., Sheriff of Essex County," followed by a flattering obituary, which closed with the sentence: "Alas!

Sheriff Bagley had one grave fault—he neglected to pay the printer." He threw down the sheet in a rage and rushed out to contradict the report. He met several acquaintances, but no one seemed at all surprised to see him in his usual vigor, until he entered the printing office. The publisher put on a look of grave astonishment, ejaculating: "Why, Mr. Sheriff, I thought you a corpse." "Who told you so?" asked the angry official. "Why, you yourself were my authority"—and he recalled the solemn promise. The sheriff drew his wallet, paid the bill, and demanded that the statement be contradicted in the next week's Journal. "O," said Mycall, "that isn't at all necessary; the notice was printed in but one copy of the Journal; that one sent to you." Squire Mycall became entangled in some litigation with Joseph Stone, shook Harvard dust from his feet and returned to Newburyport, where he died.

Nicholas Patterson bought in 1782 the Samuel Mead, Jr., farm upon Oak Hill—that now owned by Honorable Robert Fuller—and stored his merchandise in his residence. Israel Taylor, Ephraim Davis, William Burt, Lysaias and Abel Blanchard and Sylvester Richmond were residents of the Old Mill district. A large majority of the others named in the preceding list of licensees occupied shops on or near the common. The store of Benjamin Nurse was upon the west side of the common. William Safford's was in the same locality, and he transferred his estate to Silas Parkhurst in 1781. Reverend Joseph Wheeler, upon leaving the pulpit, was commissioned a justice, and established a profitable mercantile business in connection with his office. His store was the most important one in the town during the Revolution, and was probably upon his own premises if not in his own house—that now occupied by William H. Savage. He seems to have had no rival for several years at the centre of the town, although in 1771 Doctor Peter Green and Deacon Oliver Whitney petitioned for leave "to Build a Shop for Trade on the Common with Conveniences for that purpose;" but the town denied their request.

Benjamin Kimball, coming from Worcester, in 1778 bought at the south-east corner of the common the estate of the

Reverend Daniel Johnson, deceased, and succeeded to Mr. Wheeler's local offices and trade. "Squire Kimball" was not long in proving himself a valuable acquisition to the town. He had received a good education, was distinguished in personal appearance, and by his ability and energy soon attained leadership in the community. He added to his influence by winning a wife in the daughter of one of Lancaster's wealthiest citizens. Squire Kimball's office was the headquarters of Federalism in Harvard, and though Harvard's majority belonged to the opposite political party, he was five times sent to represent the town in the lower branch of the legislature His store and business passed in succession to Joseph Harwood in 1802; Ethan Wetherbee in 1804; Ebenezer Bridge in 1815; Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., about 1825. The store built by Whitcomb shortly after entering trade stands upon the corner opposite the public library. It took the place there of a long, low building, painted red, which had served the predecessors of Deacon Whitcomb as dwelling and shop.

William Stearns, Edmund Foster, William L. Foster and Joseph Stevens had retail shops in the vicinity of the common for brief periods. Stevens Hayward's place of business was in his own house, that now occupied by Charles A. Hersey.

Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., died in 1861. He was succeeded by Trumbull Bull, who sold to Thomas B. Wheeler in 1866. Mr. Wheeler died in 1873, but had previously sold his stock to Deacon Charles H. Cummings, who continued in business here until 1877. Benjamin F. Whitney and Silas W. Holman (1847–52) also occupied the Whitcomb store as retailers previous to Mr. Bull's purchase of the premises.

Enoch Perkins, who came to Harvard about 1819, purchased the estate adjoining the old red store on the south, and here accumulated in trade a considerable fortune. Seth Nason bought in 1816 the inn of Jonas Merriam, and used the old bar-room a few years for his retail trade. Jonas Bateman, his next neighbor across the way south, had a saddler's and harness shop beside his house.

The site at the north-east corner of the burial ground, now occupied by the building of the Union Hall Company, was in possession of Jason Bigelow in 1816. He sold it to John

Walker the next year. In 1820 it came into ownership of Seth Nason and John P. Whitcomb. In 1821 Nason and Whitcomb asked leave of the town to build a stable between their store and the school-house. Nathaniel Stacy occupied it for his book-store and bindery after Nason and Whitcomb gave up the trade, and was here in 1831. Benjamin S. Farnsworth, Jonathan Hosmer, Benjamin F. Whitney, Churchill and Porter, A. Kendall Porter, and Ebenezer C. Willard in turn were retailers here until the burning of the building, February 28, 1850. The present store house was built in 1851, and has had the following tenants: William Harlow and Ebenezer C. Willard, 1852–3, when Harlow sold to his partner; A. R. Willard and George Wetherbee, 1855; Wetherbee died in 1858; Charles A. and Everett Hussey, 1859–64; John B. Day and Lemuel Whitney, 1866; Day and Whitney sold to Bull and Willard, 1869; Bull and Whitney moved into the store vacated by Charles H. Cummings in 1877. The next year Mr. Bull died and Frederick A. Willard sold to H. H. Gale and Philip O. Dickson in 1881.

Charles Philemon Atherton conducted a retail business in the Elm House from 1877 to the day of its destruction by fire in 1880.

POLITICS.

In the earlier elections for state officials, the first of which was that of September 4, 1780, no grave political questions were at issue. The contest among the voters was that of their personal opinions respecting the fitness of candidates. Harvard usually gave an almost unanimous vote for Governor John Hancock whenever his name was before the people for office. When the Constitution of the United States was accepted by the state convention in Federal Street Church, February 6, 1788, it was by a vote of one hundred and eighty-seven in favor, to one hundred and sixty-eight against it. Harvard's delegate, Colonel Josiah Whitney, voted against it, as did forty-three of the fifty delegates who represented the towns of Worcester County. At the first election for presidential electors, December 18, 1788, when two candidates were to be selected by the district, the recorded vote of Har-

vard was: twenty-four for Henry Bromfield, seventeen for Levi Lincoln, six for Seth Washburn, six for John Fessenden and one for Joseph Stone. In the list of the ten electors actually chosen for Massachusetts, not one of Harvard's candidates appears. Unguided by caucus or convention, or even printed ballots, the rural freemen gratified their preferences and threw away their votes. At the election of November 2, 1792, when the state was divided into four electoral districts, and five electors were to be chosen in the district, which was composed of Berkshire, Hampshire and Worcester Counties. Henry Bromfield, Samuel Henshaw, Thompson J. Skinner and William Shepherd received fifteen votes each, Moses Gill had nine, and Samuel Baker six. These ballots probably indicated the popularity of certain individuals, but had no political significance, for it must have been well understood that whoever the electors were, Washington was to be president.

Before the close of Washington's administration, the people began to range themselves into two parties—Federalist and Republican—under the leadership of Hamilton and Jefferson. After the third election, party feeling rose to a degree of heat and bitterness that has since been rarely equaled. Though centrally situated in the hot-bed of Federalism, Harvard early became aggressively Republican. The intellectual leaders and social aristocrats, like the minister and Esquires Benjamin Kimball and Henry Bromfield, were earnest Federalists—Adams men; but the majority were generally of the Jeffersonians—the French party or Democracy, as their opponents derisively nicknamed them. Though Federalism ranked as the more "gentlemanly" politics, in election squabbles it was hard to tell which party was the most skilful in mud-throwing.

At the election in 1796, which gave the presidency to John Adams, the congressional and electoral districts in Massachusetts were identical and fourteen in number. Harvard's vote was: twenty-nine for Henry Bromfield, twenty-six for James Winthrop, twelve for Elbridge Gerry and nine for E. Breck; apparently more than two to one in favor of the Federal candidate; but in the second year of Adams's administration

the town gave instructions to her representative, Joseph Stone, a Jefferson Republican, requesting him to exert his influence in the legislature to procure a petition for the repeal of the alien and sedition laws passed by congress, and for the preservation of peace with France—although the insolent aggression of the French government made peace impossible except with national dishonor.

In 1800 the electors were chosen by the legislature; but the vote in Harvard for the representative to congress was: seventy-nine for Joseph B. Varnum and twelve for Timothy Bigelow; showing a great change in popular sentiment in favor of the administration. At the election which secured for Jefferson a second term of office—when even Federalist Massachusetts cast her electoral vote for him—one hundred and thirty-three ballots were cast in Harvard for the Republican electors, and fifty-three for the Federalists. In 1808 the legislature a second time chose the presidential electors, but for representative to congress, Moses White had one hundred and twenty-seven votes in Harvard, while his competitor, William Stedman the Federalist, who won in the district, had but sixty-four. The embargo, which went into effect during the closing year of Jefferson's administration, destroying as it did the chief source of New England's prosperity, was stigmatized as sectional legislation, and party rancor passed the bounds of reason. The declaration of war against England brought even the conservative clergy to take part in political discussion. Thus in Harvard a town-meeting majority so fiercely and persistently resented the fast-day arguments of their Federalist minister, that he was forced to resign his pastorate.

The November election showed that the intemperate speech and action of the local radicals had not added to their numerical strength. The rallying cry of "free trade and sailors' rights" was used with effect, but the war was deemed suicidal and awakened no enthusiasm even among its abettors. There were six districts, and district number two, composed of Worcester, Hampshire, Hampden, Franklin and Berkshire Counties, was entitled to six electors. Harvard gave ninety-nine votes for the Federalist and eighty-seven

for the Administration ticket. In 1816 the vote for the national representative was sixty-nine for Solomon Strong and sixty-six for Edmund Cushing, the latter being the Republican candidate. The electors were chosen by joint ballot of the legislature. In the election of 1820, which gave James Madison the presidency for a second term, although but one elector was to be chosen in each congressional district, three candidates were voted for in Harvard, receiving respectively fourteen, thirty and forty votes. The ballot for congressional representative shows that the parties were nearly equally divided; and they remained thus for several years, at least so far as the state elections were concerned; but the nomination of "Old Hickory" in 1824 awakened a popular enthusiasm only before exceeded by that in the days of Thomas Jefferson's candidacy. Both parties united in calling Levi Lincoln to the governor's chair in 1825, and kept him there for nine years, but Harvard annually cast a large minority vote for the regular Jacksonian nominee. In 1831 a third party, the Anti-Masonic, first appeared as an influential factor in politics, and during three years controlled nearly twenty-five per cent. of the votes in Harvard.

With the national election of 1832 began new designations to the two great political parties; those adhering to Andrew Jackson being called Democrats, while the followers of Henry Clay styled themselves the National Republican party. A year or two later the latter name was dropped, and the Whig party absorbed all the opponents of the administration. The Whigs boasted themselves the legitimate heirs of the patriots of Revolutionary days who bore that name, raised liberty-poles on the public squares, and denounced their political foes as Tories, and "loco-focos." The diligent use of epithets seems to have swayed voters, for in 1836 Harrison had a few more supporters in Harvard than Van Buren. With 1840 the Anti-Slavery party appeared, and it gradually won adherents until, in 1856, nearly two-thirds of Harvard's ballots were given to the Free Soil candidate for the presidency, John C. Fremont. The American or "Know Nothing" party the same year had a heavy majority in the town at the state election. Since that date the Democrats have remained in the

minority, except in the state elections of 1869 and 1875. The following is a tabulated exhibit of Harvard's votes for the presidential and gubernatorial candidates :—

HARVARD'S VOTE FOR GOVERNOR.

The first column contains the names of the successful candidates. The election in 1780 was on September 4. Subsequent elections until that for 1832 were on the first Monday of April; since then they have been in November.

1780.	John Hancock, 57.	James Bowdoin, 5	
1781.	John Hancock, 39.	Artemus Ward, 30	
1782.	John Hancock, 9.	James Bowdoin, 1	Oliver Prescott, 1.
1783.	John Hancock, 25.	Thomas Cushing, 13	Scattering, 4.
1784.	John Hancock, 35.	Thomas Cushing, 13	Artemus Ward, 5
1785.	James Bowdoin, 24.	Azor Orne, 5	Oliver Prescott, 1.
1786.	James Bowdoin, 15.	John Hancock, 2	
1787.	John Hancock, 120.	James Bowdoin, 19	
1788.	John Hancock 58.	Elbridge Gerry, 15	
1789.	John Hancock, 56.	James Bowdoin, 5	Benjamin Lincoln, 5. Col. Josiah Haskell, 1.
1790.	John Hancock, 36.	James Bowdoin, 3	
1791.	John Hancock, 50.		
1792.	John Hancock, 55.		
1793.	John Hancock, 48.		
1794.	Samuel Adams, 61.	William Cushing, 25	
1795.	Samuel Adams, 53.	Moses Gill, 1	
1796.	Samuel Adams, 67.	Increase Sumner, 14	Moses Gill, 1.
1797.	Increase Sumner, 24.	James Sullivan, 69	
1798.	Increase Sumner, 27.	James Sullivan, 11	
1799.	Increase Sumner, 62.	William Heath, 91	Samuel Brooks, 1.
1800.	Caleb Strong, 37.	Elbridge Gerry, 117	
1801.	Caleb Strong, 34.	Elbridge Gerry, 106	
1802.	Caleb Strong, 56.	Elbridge Gerry, 106	Edward H. Robbins, 1.
1803.	Caleb Strong, 65.	Elbridge Gerry, 86	Edward H. Robbins, 1.
1804.	Caleb Strong, 54.	Elbridge Gerry, 115	Scattering, 2.
1805.	Caleb Strong, 51.	James Sullivan, 148	
1806.	Caleb Strong, 86.	James Sullivan, 126	
1807.	Caleb Strong, 86.	James Sullivan, 123	Levi Lincoln, 7.
1808.	James Sullivan, 121.	Christopher Gore, 86	Scattering, 4.
1809.	Christopher Gore, 70.	Levi Lincoln, 148	Scattering, 5.
1810.	Elbridge Gerry, 149.	Christopher Gore, 72	
1811.	Elbridge Gerry. 136.	Christopher Gore, 53	
1812.	Caleb Strong, 98.	Elbridge Gerry, 150	
1813.	Caleb Strong, 107.	Jos. Bradley Varnum, 129	William King, 1.
1814.	Caleb Strong, 113.	Samuel Dexter, 122	
1815.	Caleb Strong, 106.	Samuel Dexter, 130	
1816.	John Brooks, 94.	Samuel Dexter, 146	
1817.	John Brooks, 105.	Henry Dearborn, 124	
1818.	John Brooks, 102.	Benjamin Wm. Crowningshield, 123.	
1819.	John Brooks, 99.	B. W. Crowningshield, 106	William King, 8.
1820.	John Brooks, 90.	William Eustis, 104	
1821.	John Brooks, 77.	William Eustis, 83	
1822.	John Brooks, 64.	William Eustis, 55	
1823.	William Eustis, 116.	Harrison Gray Otis, 94	
1824.	William Eustis, 119.	Samuel Lathrop, 111	John Brooks, 1.
1825.	Levi Lincoln, 138.	Samuel Lathrop, 1	
1826.	Levi Lincoln. 107.	Samuel Hubbard, 36	

1827.	Levi Lincoln, 92.	William Charles Jarvis, 43	Elijah Hunt Mills, 1.
1828.	Levi Lincoln, 78	William Charles Jarvis, 25	Scattering, 6.
1829.	Levi Lincoln, 100.	Marcus Morton, 18	Harrison Gray Otis, 11.
1830.	Levi Lincoln, 90.	Marcus Morton, 38	Scattering, 12.
1831.	April. Levi Lincoln, 92.	Marcus Morton, 40	Scattering, 8.
1831.	Nov. Levi Lincoln, 77.	Marcus Morton, 43	Samuel Lathrop, 32.
1832.	Levi Lincoln, 64.	Marcus Morton, 80	Samuel Lathrop, 42.
1833.	John Davis, 54.	Marcus Morton, 67	John Quincy Adams, 52.
1834.	John Davis, 100.	Marcus Morton, 74	John Bailey, 15.
1835.	Edward Everett, 111.	Marcus Morton, 106	Sam. Turell Armstrong, 1.
1836.	Edward Everett, 117.	Marcus Morton, 103	
1837.	Edward Everett, 128.	Marcus Morton, 103	
1838.	Edward Everett, 122.	Marcus Morton, 125	
1839.	Marcus Morton, 160.	Edward Everett, 122	
1840.	John Davis, 139.	Marcus Morton, 159	George W. Johnson, 4.
1841.	John Davis, 129.	Marcus Morton, 159	Lucius Bowles, 12. Wendell Phillips, 1.
1842.	Marcus Morton, 173.	John Davis, 121	Sam. Edmund Sewall, 22. Seth Sprague, 1.
1843.	George Nixon Briggs, 131.	Marcus Morton, 176	Samuel E. Sewall, 20. John Pierpont, 1.
1844.	George Nixon Briggs, 142.	George Bancroft, 163	Samuel E. Sewall, 19.
1845.	George Nixon Briggs, 128.	Isaac Davis, 135	Samuel E. Sewall, 24. Henry Shaw, 9.
1846.	George Nixon Briggs, 108.	Isaac Davis, 121	Samuel E. Sewall, 30. Francis Baylies, 13.
1847.	George Nixon Briggs, 113.	Caleb Cushing, 126	Samuel E. Sewall, 25. Francis Baylies, 9.
1848.	George Nixon Briggs, 95.	Isaac Davis, 91	Stephen C. Phillips, 61.
1849.	George Nixon Briggs, 95.	George S. Boutwell, 116	Stephen C. Phillips, 57.
1850.	George Sewall Boutwell, 107.	George Nixon Briggs, 93	Stephen C. Phillips, 58.
1851.	George Sewall Boutwell, 106.	Robt. Chas. Winthrop, 89	John Gorman Palfrey, 74.
1852.	John Henry Clifford, 86.	Henry Walker Bishop, 108	Horace Mann, 81.
1853.	Emory Washburn, 70.	Henry Walker Bishop, 91	Henry Wilson, 69.
1854.	Henry Joseph Gardner, 56.	Henry W. Bishop, 46 Emory Washburn, 51	Charles Allen, 1. Henry Wilson, 42.
1855.	Henry Joseph Gardner, 2	Julius Rockwell, 78	Erasmus D. Beach, 74. Samuel Hurd Walley, 36.
1856.	Henry Joseph Gardner, 164.	Erasmus D. Beach, 75	Luther V. Bell, 29. Scattering, 4.
1857.	Nath. Prentice Banks, 100.	Erasmus D. Beach, 75	Henry Joseph Gardner, 52. Caleb Swan, 1.
1858.	Nathaniel P. Banks, 113.	Erasmus D. Beach, 104	Amos Adams Lawrence, 4.
1859.	Nathaniel P. Banks, 92.	Benjamin F. Butler, 71	
1860.	John Albion Andrew, 151.	Erasmus D. Beach, 67	Amos Adams Lawrence, 51. Benjamin F. Butler, 7.
1861.	John Albion Andrew, 136.	Isaac Davis, 86	
1862.	John Albion Andrew, 134.	Charles Devens, Jr., 112	
1863.	John Albion Andrew, 110.	Henry William Paine, 90	Edward Everett, 1.
1864.	John Albion Andrew, 163.	Henry William Paine, 106	
1865.	Alex. Hamilton Bullock, 82.	Darius N. Couch, 44	
1866.	Alexander H. Bullock, 109.	Theodore H. Sweetzer, 80	
1867.	Alexander H. Bullock, 136.	John Quincy Adams, 118	
1868.	William Claflin, 149.	John Quincy Adams, 100	
1869.	William Claflin, 101.	John Quincy Adams, 108	
1870.	William Claflin, 95.	John Quincy Adams, 85	
1871.	Wm. Barrett Washburn, 101.	John Quincy Adams, 78	Robert Carter Pitman, 1.
1872.	William B. Washburn, 123.	Francis William Bird, 81	
1873.	William B. Washburn, 85.	William Gaston, 83	
1874.	William Gaston, 97.	Thomas Talbot, 81	Scattering, 1.
1875.	Alex. Hamilton Rice, 90.	William Gaston, 102	Scattering, 2.
1876.	Alexander H. Rice, 128.	Chas. Francis Adams, 106	Robert Carter Pitman, 8.
1877.	Alexander H. Rice, 91.	William Gaston, 90	
1878.	Thomas Talbot, 147.	Benjamin F. Butler, 52	Josiah Gardner Abbott, 34.

1879.	John Davis Long, 140.	Benjamin F. Butler, 42	John Quincy Adams, 30.
1880.	John Davis Long, 149.	Chas. Perkins Thompson, 74.	
1881.	John Davis Long. 78.	Charles P. Thompson, 38	
1882.	Benj. Franklin Butler, 71.	Robert W. Bishop. 119	Charles Almy, 2.
1883.	Geo. Dexter Robinson, 141.	Benjamin F. Butler, 95	Charles Almy, 2.
1884.	George D. Robinson, 123.	William C. Endicott, 96	Matthew J. McCafferty, 8. Julius Hawley Seelye, 7.
1885.	George D. Robinson, 83.	Frederick O. Prince, 60	Thos. Jackson Lathrop, 7.
1886.	Oliver Ames, 89.	John F. Andrew, 64	Thomas J. Lathrop, 12.
1887.	Oliver Ames. 87.	Henry B. Lovering, 59	William Homer Earle, 12.
1888.	Oliver Ames. 145.	William Eustis Russell, 91	William Homer Earle, 4.
1889.	John Q. A. Brackett, 100.	William Eustis Russell, 54	John Blackmer, 12.
1890.	William Eustis Russell, 60.	John Q. A. Brackett, 95	John Blackmer, 7.
1891.	William Eustis Russell, 67.	Charles Herbert Allen, 99	Charles E. Kimball, 4.
1892.	William Eustis Russell, 68.	William Henry Haile, 121	

HARVARD'S VOTES FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

*Those thus marked received the electoral vote of Massachusetts.

Dec. 18, 1788. *George Washington. 24..17..6..6..1. Two electors.
Nov. 2, 1792. *George Washington, 15.15.15.15.9.6. Five electors.

1796. *John Adams, *Federalist*, 29.
Thomas Jefferson, *Republican*, 12.
1800. *Vote for Representative.*
Thomas Jefferson, *Republican*, 79.
*John Adams, *Federalist*, 12.
1804. *Thomas Jefferson, *Republican*, 133.
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, *Federalist*, 53.
1808. *Vote for Representative.*
James Madison, *Republican*, 127.
*Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, 64.
1812. James Madison. *Republican*. 87.
*DeWitt Clinton, *Federalist*, 99.
1816. *Vote for Representative.*
James Monroe, *Republican*, 66.
*Rufus King, *Federalist*, 69.
1820. *Vote for Representative.*
Rufus King, *Federalist*, 40.
*James Monroe, *Republican*, 48.
1824. *John Quincy Adams, *Federalist*, 21.
Andrew Jackson, *Republican*, 97.
1828. Andrew Jackson, *Republican*, 97.
*John Quincy Adams, *Federalist*, 11.
1832. Andrew Jackson, *Democrat*, 72.
*Henry Clay, *National Republican*, 84.
William Wirt, *Anti-Masonic.*
1836. Martin Van Buren, *Democrat*, 108.
*Daniel Webster. *Whig*, 122.
1840. *William Henry Harrison, *Whig*, 139.
Martin Van Buren, *Democrat*, 158.
James G. Birney, *Anti-Slavery*, 4.
1844. James Knox Polk, *Democrat*, 159.
*Henry Clay, *Whig*, 127.
James G. Birney, *Anti-Slavery*, 31.
1848. *Zachary Taylor, *Whig*, 78.
Lewis Cass, *Democrat*, 112.
Martin Van Buren, *Anti-Slavery*, 79.
1852. Franklin Pierce, *Democrat*, 92.
*Winfield Scott, *Whig*, 81.
John Parker Hale, *Anti-Slavery*, 69.
1856. James Buchanan, *Democrat*, 74.
*John Charles Fremont, *Free Soil*, 188.
Millard Fillmore, *Whig*, 24.
1860. *Abraham Lincoln, *Republican*, 156.
Stephen Arnold Douglas, *Squatter Sovereignty Democrat*, 67.
John Cabell Breckenridge, *Pro-Slavery Democrat*, 12.
John Bell, *Union Whig*, 41.
1864. *Abraham Lincoln, *Republican*, 163.
George Brinton McClellan, *Democrat*, 106.
1868. *Ulysses Simpson Grant, *Republican*, 152.
Horatio Seymour, *Democrat*, 98.
1872. *Ulysses Simpson Grant, *Republican*, 130.
Horace Greeley, *Democrat*, 76.
1876. *Rutherford Birchard Hayes, *Republican*, 138.
Samuel Jones Tilden, *Democrat*, 105.
1880. *James Abram Garfield, *Republican*, 149.
Winfield Scott Hancock, *Democrat*, 74.
1884. Grover Cleveland. *Democrat*, 98.
*James Gillespie Blaine, *Republican*, 118.
Benjamin Franklin Butler, *Greenback*, 9.
John P. St. John, *Prohibition*, 8.
1888. *Benjamin Harrison, *Republican*, 144.
Grover Cleveland, *Democrat*, 92.
Clinton B. Fisk, *Prohibition*, 4.
1892. Grover Cleveland, *Democrat*, 69.
*Benjamin Harrison, *Republican*, 130.

SLATE STONE QUARRIES.

The blue slate of Pin Hill was quarried for grave-stone slabs very early in the history of the town, and for many miles around the majority of the memorials in the older burial-grounds probably came from this locality. A deed of land in this vicinity dated 1765, locates a bound "where rocks have been dug for grave-stones." Quarries have been opened from time to time over nearly its whole length on the western face of the ridge. The slabs were detached from the ledge by splitting with wedges, and were usually conveyed in the rough to the yard of the stone-cutter to be wrought. Among those who worked this stone early in the present century were Enoch Kendall, Luther Farwell, Samuel Farnsworth, Major William Park and James Carter of Harvard; Benjamin Morse of Lancaster, John Park and Nathaniel Stone of Groton. There were many others who quarried here at various times in a small way. Some of these workmen kept in stock a collection of head and foot stones, assorted sizes, set up in a grim row by the roadside to attract purchasers. These ready-made memorials were finished, even to the lugubrious willow drooping over "HERE LIES," above the blank space for the inscription; and always had some sententious legend at the base — entirely non-committal and available for any character, saintly or reprobate — such as "An honest man's the noblest work of God," or "Death levels all both the Wicked and the Just."

In 1819 this monumental industry is first mentioned in town-records, when authority was given for cutting down the road over Pin Hill, "north of where stones have been gotten out for grave-stones." At the same date several persons sought and obtained leave "to open the quarry" at that locality. About 1825, Levi Hayden began to cut grave-stones here, and devoted a part of his time yearly to this work until 1855. The partners Benjamin K. Park and Isaac N. Stone were the first to saw stone in Harvard (1839), using for their shop the old fulling-mill which stood where George E. Burt's manufactory now is. They not only worked slate here, but imported marble to keep their saws busy. About 1842 the firm of Winslow, Folsom and Company of Lowell

appeared upon the scene, boldly proposing to revolutionize the process of quarrying in this locality, and lay the foundation of an important and lucrative industry. The chief adventurers in the enterprise were: Edward Winslow, John L. Folsom and Paul Hill. They scouted at the slow method of splitting the stone, and confidently began the use of blasting powder. After throwing down thousands of tons of slate from the side of the hill at sundry points, they were forced to the conclusion that the old-fashioned way was cheaper, as well as better in its results, than the new. Most of the rock torn from its bed by the explosives was so shattered as to be worthless; and upon sawing blocks that seemed homogeneous, seams were often developed, or spoiled the finished product when exposed to the weather for a winter or two. Having wasted considerable capital the firm abandoned the field. Deacon Isaac N. Stone continued the manufacture of slate until 1863. The fashion in mortuary monuments favoring marbles and granite, there has been little use made of the Pin Hill slate since his day.

The Lowell firm had leased the old paper mill beside the highway upon the site of the Turner forge, and had fitted it with machinery for slate-working. After their abandonment of the quarries, Mr. Edward A. Winslow conceived the idea of turning marble urns, vases, and decorative architectural details by machinery, and contrived tools which successfully effected his purpose. His invention did not lead to any large manufacture here, but it was used with great saving of cost to the government, in building the additions to the Capitol at Washington, Calvin Warner, Winslow Bradford and perhaps one or two other Harvard workmen going thither to operate the Winslow machinery.

AQUEDUCT.

The first aqueduct in Harvard dates from 1796. In November of that year the town granted leave to William Emerson, Silas Parkhurst, Thaddeus Pollard, Benjamin Kimball and Jonas Whitney to dig a trench across the highway and the common for the purpose of laying pipes of wood for conveying water into their houses from a spring they had purc-

hased of Colonel Henry Bromfield. This aqueduct remains in use, the bored logs originally laid having, however, been long ago displaced by lead pipe.

POTASH WORKS.

In 1755, Joseph Wilder, Jr., and Caleb Wilder of Lancaster, in a petition to the General Court, set forth "that they have acquired the art of making Potash and Pearlash," and desire to ship their product to Great Britain, but cannot legally do so until it has been assayed, and ask that an assay master may be appointed. This marks the beginning in America of an important industry, which soon extended to all the towns around Lancaster. The Wilders sometimes sent as much as one hundred and fifty tons of pearlash and half that quantity of crude potash to England in a year, and their "acquired art" being a simple one, requiring no plant more complicated than a leach tub and a cast-iron kettle, "potash works" were speedily established in Harvard, The first of which mention is found was that of Gordon Hutchins and associates. It is said this was located on the Atherton farm near the Still River Station. It was in operation as early as 1760. David Sampson and Lieutenant John Whitney built a potash works in the same locality some time after the Revolution, which they sold to John Barnard in 1791. Another potash works is shown on the map of 1794, in the extreme north of Harvard, and is mentioned in the transfer of lands to and from Captain Eleazar Hamlin.

CIDER AND VINEGAR MANUFACTURE.

In the last century many of the wealthier farmers had their own cider-mills, the apples being ground and pressed by horse and hand power. The old style mills have altogether disappeared, and steam and water power are now called upon to do their work. The chief cider and vinegar factory of Harvard is that of William B. Haskell in Still River, built in 1876. Its motive power is steam, and its capacity four thousand barrels of vinegar per annum. The most approved modern machinery is here used to hasten the conversion of the cider to vinegar.

TANNERIES.

The business of currying and tanning, once prominent in the town, has wholly disappeared, and the location of the old tan-yards is known to but few. The last tannery abandoned was probably that of the Shakers. Another that survived into the present century was a few rods south of the residence of Reverend John B. Willard. Among those who made leather at this location were: Flint Davis, Amariah Wood and Deacon Charles Chace. James Stone was the chief tanner of Harvard during the Revolutionary period; he owned lands near and north-east of the common.

BRICK-MAKING.

The brick-yard beside the railway near the Still River station was bought of two Northborough men, Silas Haynes and Albert Goodrich, in 1852, by Jonathan C. Richmond and William Comstock, who came from Southborough. The manufacture begun by them grew under Mr. Richmond's management into a thriving business, but misfortunes came, and about 1880 Frederick Augustus Willard succeeded Mr. Richmond in ownership of the property. He continued the making of brick here until his death. Frank G. Bailey of Danielsonville, Connecticut, purchased the clay right and plant in 1889, and introduced improved machinery. The product of the yard now reaches from two to two and one-half millions of brick per annum, and twenty workmen are employed. Samuel W. Dickinson of Shabikin manufactured brick to the amount of three or four hundred thousand yearly for several years, but has now abandoned the business. Before these yards were opened the brick used in Harvard was brought chiefly from the Burbank and other kilns west of the Nashua.

MILLS, ETC.

The corn-mill built by John Prescott on Nonacoicus Brook in 1668, and given to his son, Jonas, was the first building known upon Harvard soil. It served the town of Groton until the desolation of the border towns by the Indian raids of 1676. Upon the resettlement, under special leave granted at a town-meeting in Groton, June 13, 1681, Jonas Prescott

set up his corn-mill at Stony Brook, and probably removed to the new location such material from his old mill as remained. After that date we find references to the "old mill place," but no hint of a mill there, and when, September 22, 1710, Jonas Prescott deeded all his lands, four hundred and forty acres, between the Cold Spring and Nonacoicus Brooks to Jonathan Farnsworth, there was no mention of buildings thereon.

The first mill built in Harvard after the Prescott grist-mill was the saw-mill of John Daby, which is mentioned in the records as early as 1733, when he provided a part of the material for the meeting-house. Daby was a smith by trade, and lived in Stow Leg, his name standing at the head of the petitioners for the town grant in 1731. His son, Joseph, a joiner, is mentioned as proprietor of a grist-mill in 1748. These Daby mills probably stood on or near the site of the upper mills on the brook. Joseph Daby sold both saw-mill and corn-mill to Jonathan Symonds in 1751.

Joseph Wetherbee, a blacksmith, appears in possession of a grist-mill at the site of the old Prescott dam in 1755, but whether it was built by him or by Nathaniel Farnsworth who preceded him in ownership of the privilege is not discovered. Wetherbee, in 1768, sold the privilege to Jabez Keep of Westford, "gentleman," who established a forge and bloomery here, which he and his son and grandson of the same name managed until some time after the Revolution. The bog ore used in the bloomery was mostly dug in the swamps in Groton. It made a very "hot-short" metal, difficult to weld, which went under the name of Groton iron. The forging done here was chiefly of bars and such articles as plough points and plates for the wooden ploughs then in vogue. Captain Jabez Keep, senior, died in 1774, and Captain Jabez the second in 1784. The other members of the family returned to Westford. The Keeps are supposed to have lived in a house which stood on the site of the large dwelling with brick ends, known as the Blanchard house. The mill privilege has had numerous owners since the forge was abandoned by the Keep family. The various heirs disposed of their rights to different persons, and just before the close of the

eighteenth century Prince Turner—who had married Rachel Keep—Lysaias Blanchard, Asa Cole, a wheelwright of Rindge, and Europe Hamlin appear in possession of the forge or the larger portion of it. Ellis Harlow, a mariner from Plymouth, bought it in 1798, but it is not probable that there was any further attempt at iron manufacture here. Certainly in 1818, when Ellis Harlow transferred his property to William Adams, a grist-mill had taken the place of the forge. Mr. Adams found the flowage too restricted for the economical running of a mill, and built a new dam and mill a short distance below the historic Prescott dam obtaining a larger storage basin. In 1824, Arna Wetherbee bought the mill, but sold it to the Shakers in 1829. The power was employed by them for the pulverizing of herbs, spices, etc. Their purchase of the privilege marks the beginning in the Harvard Community of the herb business, which soon attained large proportions and is their chief industry today. Henry Hapgood was the next owner of the power, which he purchased in April, 1838. He introduced a shingle-mill and some other wood-working machinery. Simon W. Draper, from Dedham, bought the property in 1853, but immediately sold it to Edward A. and George L. Winslow, who called themselves marble workers, and perhaps proposed to develop here their newly-invented process of turning marble for decorative and structural uses, but found no encouragement to do so.

Frederick Copeland, a wheelwright, bought the grist-mill of Edward A. Winslow in 1864, utilized the power here for a few years, and added to the regular exercise of his trade the manufacture of various mechanical devices, such as wagon-jacks, corn-shellers, etc.; but with so little success that about 1870 he abandoned the estate to the mortgagee, William Burt Blanchard, and went to California. William and George Haberly leased the shop for a time and made hammers and a few other tools. The next owner, J. Willard Bacon, in 1873 greatly enlarged the mill and added new buildings adapted to the manufacture of glue. His business, originally established in 1852, had grown to an aggregate of about ten thousand dollars a year, giving employment to six hands, when,

on the night of October 18, 1888, the buildings were entirely destroyed by fire and have not been rebuilt.

The map of the Harvard survey of 1794 shows a fulling-mill where George E. Burt's machine shop now stands, a trip-hammer just south of the highway, and two grist-mills and a saw-mill upon the brook above at dams still in use. The forge occupied the site of the Daby blacksmith shop, which Thomas, the son of John, sold to William Hudson of Bridgewater in 1771. Hudson probably introduced the trip-hammer. In 1783, Prince Turner, a son-in-law of Jabez Keep, bought Hudson's forge and "water-works." He was a soldier of the Revolution, and a blacksmith by trade. It was jestingly said of his numerous descendants that they came honestly by their noses, which were commonly of generous length, for that organ in their progenitor, Prince Turner, was the most "rhinocerostic" ever seen upon a human face in Harvard. Of an earlier patriarch of the tribe it is told that his nose was so protuberant that he had to drink from a bottle even from childhood. The forge was largely employed in the making of axes, scythes and other farmers' tools. Luther, the son of Prince, succeeded him, and the excellent quality of his work brought him plenty of orders.

One night when returning from Boston with a heavy load of steel and iron for the shop, his wagon was upset, and being caught under the load his leg was so badly crushed that it had to be amputated. He lived eight years after this misfortune, but had to relinquish the business to his son Elisha, who, after running the forge for a few years, in 1829 sold the water rights and building to Cyrus Whitney. The shop was replaced by the mill now standing, and the manufacture of paper was undertaken, but met with indifferent success. For a time the paper pulp was made in the Oregon mill, and by a long wooden trough was conveyed to this lower mill for manufacture into sheets, and drying. Mr. Whitney sold the privilege to John W. Patch in 1844, and in 1849 the title passed to George C. Roundy of Lowell, a paper-maker. He at once transferred it to Edward A. Winslow, who used the power for the sawing of slate and marble. The title was constantly changing hands by the foreclosing or transfer of

mortgages, and in 1855 a rope-walk is spoken of as a part of the property sold by Reuben Whitcomb, Jr., to a Mr. Williston of Boston. The rope, cord and twine machinery and the mill fell into the hands of Joseph Palmer in 1865, and his son sold it to James McLaughlin in 1874. The rope and cordage manufacture here was conducted by Thomas Dunham, and for a brief time only, the water-power being often unused for long periods.

The fulling-mill shown on the map of 1794 was built by Seth Gould from Sturbridge, in 1782, the water rights and land for the mill site, dye-house and "tenter-bars" being bought of William Hudson, the owner of the forge near by. Gould retained the property but a brief time. It passed through the hands of Moses Binney, Jonathan Stacy and Daniel Kendall to Asa Warner in 1797. Warner rebuilt the mill and conducted the business of a clothier here until 1816, when he transferred it to Horace Rice and Hollis Freeman. They were succeeded by Lucius Johnson of Petersham in 1821, who sold out to Alden Fuller, a clothier of Acton, within a few months. James Wilson was located here for a time. Fuller and John Whitney deeded the mill to Joseph C. Green in 1830, who was soon succeeded by Olney Eldridge. In 1834 the creditors of Eldridge took possession of the estate, and in 1839 it was bought by Benjamin K. Park, who changed the fulling-mill into a shop for the manufacture of grave-stones, etc. The firm of Benjamin K. Park and Isaac N. Stone here introduced machinery for sawing slate and marble, and conducted business successfully for about fifteen years. The property was deeded to George E. Burt and George Wright, machinists, in 1855. About the same time Mr. Burt acquired from Edward W. Winslow a small batting-mill, or carding-shop, which stood on the north side of the highway by the brookside. Under the title of Burt, Wright and Company the firm carried on the business of manufacturing agricultural machinery for two or three years when Mr. Wright removed to Clinton and entered the employ of the Clinton Wire Cloth Company. In 1864, shortly after graduation at the Lawrence Scientific School, Edwin A. Hildreth became associated with Mr. Burt. Burt, Hildreth and Com-

pany were chiefly engaged in the making of horse-power machines. Since 1880 Mr. Burt has conducted the business by himself, until failing health destroyed his ability to labor, employing from three to five hands. His works have been closed during the past year. He has patented numerous mechanical devices, chiefly improvements in farming implements. His "American hay tedder," manufactured by the Ames Plough Company, has been sold by thousands, and his patent horse-rake and improved horse-power have been widely used. On these he received a royalty, selling the rights of manufacture to others. It is rare that inventive talent is accompanied with those business qualifications that ensure large financial success, and Mr. Burt is not exceptional in this respect.

Edwin A. Hildreth left the firm of Burt, Hildreth and Company in 1881, and with his brother, Stanley B. Hildreth, began the manufacture of horse-power machiney, etc., by a steam-driven plant in a shop built near his residence. The Hildreth Brothers have created a prosperous business, employing six hands, and selling finished products to the amount of about ten thousand dollars annually. The chief articles manufactured by them are saw tables and a "power-axe" or wood-splitter, patented by them.

As has been before stated, the Daby Mills came into possession of Jonathan Symonds in 1751. His widow Judith married Simon Daby, and in 1778 joined with other heirs to sell the estate of eighty-one acres, including the Pin Hill quarries, a dwelling, saw and grist-mills, to Jonathan Wetherbee from Fitchburg. Wetherbee's Mills were a Harvard institution for over forty years. In 1829 he removed to Maine, transferring his estate here to Nathaniel Stacy and Jonathan Sawyer. The description of the property deeded included: a saw-mill, a grist-mill with a shingle-mill attached, a paper-mill and "an old factory." The map of 1831 places the paper factory at the dam of a mill now known as "Oregon," with two grist-mills and a saw-mill higher up the stream. As the canal rights to the paper-mill were sold by Luther Farwell to Cyrus Whitney in 1817, it was perhaps built about that time. The original structure was destroyed by fire about

1830. It received the name "Oregon" many years later—about the date of the difficulty with England in regard to the north-west boundary line—this soubriquet being derisively given it by a workman at one of the upper mills.

Since the Oregon factory ceased to be employed for the manufacture of paper, it has passed through many hands, and been utilized in various ways, though often idle. William Baldwin bought it of mortgagees in 1857, and ten years later sold it to John Bachelder of Groton, who leased it to sundry parties. William J. Scrivener and a Mr. Hazeltine were lessees who ran a grist-mill here. In 1878 Mr. Bachelder sold the privilege to Henry B. Beard, and he, in 1881, deeded it to Joseph A. Coram of Lowell. Edwin W. Trueworthy of Lowell introduced stocking-knitting machinery here in 1881, employing fifteen hands. This business which began so auspiciously ended in November, 1882, and the next year Enos O. Kingsley was in possession, but sold in 1884 to Robert Murphy of Boston, who began preparations for the manufacture of cutlery here. The mill lay idle for several years, when in 1892 Benjamin K. Gallup and James Boland leased it of Mr. Murphy, introduced machinery for the making of cotton batting, and for a brief time turned out a production of about five hundred pounds per day. This enterprise, like most adventures here, has ended in failure.

The firm of Stacy and Sawyer about 1831 built below the upper dam on the brook a large mill, the basement of which was filled with machinery for the making of wrapping paper, while the upper story was used as a lead-pencil factory. Benjamin Ball of Concord was manager of the pencil manufacture. An excellent grade of goods was made and an extensive business was created. The company became embarrassed, however, and in 1839 assigned their property to John P. Whitcomb and Jerome Gardner for the benefit of their creditors. The mills were sold at auction, and the second privilege and mill were bought by Samuel Freeman Stone; John Stacy, Jr., purchasing that on the stream above, including the paper and pencil factory. Mr. Stacy was compelled to place heavy mortgages upon his property, and in 1859 his creditors sold the upper mills to Mr. Stone. In 1860 Nahum

Harwood and Sherman Fletcher bought all Mr. Stone's rights, and by a subsequent agreement Mr. Harwood took the paper-mill, into which was introduced machinery for the making of leather board, while Mr. Fletcher became proprietor of the saw and grist-mills. These last were burned the same year. In 1866, Mr. Harwood disposed of the upper mill and the water rights to the American Machine Company of Newburyport, the consideration named being $14,000. The next year the mill was again transferred to James Blood, William Graves, William H. Brewster and others for $18,000, and in 1868 the Harvard Manufacturing Company was organized with a capital of $40,000, William Graves being president and Nahum Harwood treasurer. The leather-board industry prospered for a time, and the mill was sometimes run night and day, the full capacity of the works being one ton of finished product per diem; but water sometimes failed, the breast wheel was ill adapted to the situation, and the company sold to Charles W. S. Adams of Chelmsford its works, known as the Excelsior Mill, and the water rights for the sum of $3000. The mill was closed in August, 1880, and sold by Mr. Adams to Walter S. Watson of Lowell in 1882. It has been temporarily leased by Mr. Watson for the making of shoddy, wool-scouring, etc., but is now idle.

Sherman Fletcher conveyed the saw and grist-mills to George H. Fletcher of Littleton in 1862, and he, associating with him his brother, Edward E. Fletcher, greatly enlarged the capacity of the machinery and conducted an extensive lumber and manufacturing business. August 8, 1874, these mills were a second time destroyed by fire, when the loss was estimated to be $11,000; including gang and circular saws, a shingle-mill, box-machinery, a stave-mill, and a grist-mill. The following year the firm went into bankruptcy, and the Lancaster Savings Bank took possession of the property, which was sold at auction to Oliver W. Turner. In February, 1877, both saw and grist-mill were at work again under a lease to Edward O. Turner and H. H. Gale. In 1883 the buildings were for the third time consumed by fire, but were at once rebuilt and in operation again September 20 of that year.

An engine was at this time added to supplement the very variable water-power. The firm of Farwell and Dickson bought the mills in 1887, and Arthur S. Bigelow succeeded to possession of them February 29, 1888.

On the Assabet branch near the Boxborough line there were from Revolutionary days small saw and grist-mills in possession of the Whitcombs. On the map of 1794 there are represented two grist-mills and a saw-mill here. James Whitcomb, the earliest landholder in this part of Harvard, when transferring his estate to his sons in 1768, mentions his dam. In 1849, Reuben Whitcomb sold a saw and grist-mill to John A. Withington. These were deeded to Silas Wetherbee in 1868, to William Messire in 1873, and to Philo Clapp in 1882. They were destroyed by fire in 1885, and the other saw-mill upon the brook—that of Peter and Granville Whitcomb—long ago became useless and disappeared. On one of the feeders of this stream, upon the farm of Andrew Fairbank, a dam was built and a small shop with tools for wire-drawing was occupied during the Revolution.

A saw-mill upon Bowers's Brook, built by Joel Bowers before 1830, was standing, though disused and falling into decay in 1857. A dam yet visible upon the Bare Hill Brook—which rises near the No. 7 school house—marks the site of a grist-mill of colonial days. Mention of this is first found as "Houghton's Mill Spot." In 1777 the heirs of Israel Houghton and others sold this privilege to John Priest, and it was for some time utilized by him. The mill probably stood nearly upon the line between Bolton and Harvard.

XI.

HARVARD BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE citizens and natives of Harvard gifted with literary tastes and talents have been many, and of these several have given to the press works entitling them to rank as authors. The names of such as have been discovered, with the titles of their published writings, will be given. The earliest in the list was the first minister of the town—a minor poet, whose muse, singularly enough, seems to have deserted him when he left the classic groves of Harvard College to dwell amid the idyllic landscapes of Harvard township:—

JOHN SECCOMB, 1708–1792; pastor and resident of Harvard, 1733–1763.

1. Father Abbey's Will. To which is now added, A Letter of Courtship to his virtuous and amiable Widow. Cambridge, December, 1731. Sold at the Bible and Heart in Cornhill, Boston, 4to, 1 leaf.

2. Brief Account of the Revival of Religion at Harvard, a letter to Prince's Christian History for February and March, 1744.

3. A Sermon Preached at Halifax, July 3, 1770, at the Ordination of the Rev. Bruin Romcas Comingoe, to the Dutch Calvinistic Presbyterian Congregation of Lunenburg [N. S.] by John Seccomb of Chester, A. M., being the first preached in the Province of Nova Scotia on such an occasion; to which is added an Appendix. Halifax; A. Henry, 1770, 8vo. pp. 31. This discourse was reprinted the same year at Philadelphia, in the Dutch language.

4. A Sermon occasioned by the Death of the Honourable Abigail Belcher, late consort of Jonathan Belcher, Esq., late Lt. Gov. and Com. in Chief, and His Majesty's present Ch. J. of his province of Nova Scotia, del. at Halifax, in the said province, Oct. 20, 1771.....with an Epistle by Matthew Byles, D. D. Boston; T. & J. Fleet, 1772. 8vo. pp. 7, 25.

5. A Sermon, occasioned by the Death of Mrs. Margaret Green, consort of the late Honourable Benjamin Green, Esq., delivered at Halifax, in the Province of Nova Scotia, Feby. 1st. 1778. Halifax, 1778. 8vo. pp. 21.

Father Abbey's Will was reprinted in the *Weekly Rehearsal*, Boston, January 3, 1732, and the Letter of Courtship in the same weekly for February 7, 1732. Governor Belcher sent a copy of these papers to his son Jonathan, Seccomb's classmate, who was then in London, and the rhymes were at once reprinted there; the Will appearing in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *London Magazine* for May, 1732, and the Letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, and in the *London Magazine* for August, 1732. Both were reprinted in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for November, 1794. Reverend John Langdon Sibley published them, with annotations, in the *Cambridge Chronicle*, and printed a small edition in pamphlet form for private distribution, 1854–5. Benjamin H. Hall included these poems in College Words and Customs, 1856. They are also to be found in Duyckink's Cyclopædia of American Literature. The Will has been set to music. The jingling lines were very popular at New England firesides during the eighteenth century, clinging to the memories of the aged, and often repeated for the entertainment of the young. The transcript appended follows the original broadside copy, such variations as are found in other texts being inserted in brackets or placed in foot-notes:—

FATHER ABBEY'S WILL:

To which is now added, A Letter of Courtship to his virtuous and amiable Widow.

Cambridge, December, 1731.

Some time since died here, Mr. Matthew Abbey in a very advanced age: He had for a great number of years served the College in quality of Bedmaker and Sweeper: Having no child, his wife inherits his whole estate, which he bequeathed to her by his last will and testament, as follows, viz.—

"TO my dear wife,
My joy and life.
I freely now do give her
My whole estate,
With all my plate,
Being just about to leave her.

My tub of soap,
A long cart rope,
A frying pan and kettle,
An ashen [ashes] pail,
A threshing flail,
An iron wedge and beetle.

Two painted chairs,
Nine warden pears,
A large old dripping platter,
This bed of hay
On which I lay,
An old sauce pan for butter.

A little mug,
A two-quart jug,
A bottle full of brandy,
A looking-glass
To see your face,
You'll find it very handy.

A musket true,
As ever flew,
A pound of shot and wallet,
A leather sash,
My calabash,
My powder-horn and bullet.

An old sword-blade,
A garden spade,
A hoe, a rake, a ladder,
A wooden can,
A close-stool pan,
A clyster-pipe and bladder.

A greasy hat,
My old ram cat,
A yard and half of linen,
A pot of grease,
A woolen fleece,
In order for your spinning.

A small tooth comb,
An ashen broom,
A candlestick and hatchet,
A coverlid
Strip'd down with red,
A bag of rags to patch it.

A ragged mat,
A tub of fat,
A book put out by Bunyan,
Another book
By Robin Rook, [Cook] [Hook]
A skein or two of spun-yarn.

An old black muff,
Some garden stuff,
A quantity of burrage,
Some devil's weed,
And burdock seed,
To season well your porridge.

A chafing-dish,
With one salt-fish,
If I am not mistaken,
A leg of pork,
A broken fork,
And half a flitch of bacon.

A spinning-wheel,
One peck of meal,
A knife without a handle,
A rusty lamp,
Two quarts of samp,
And half a tallow candle.

My pouch and pipes,
Two oxen tripes,
An oaken dish well carved,
My little dog,
And spotted hog,
With two young pigs just starved.

This is my store,
I have no more,
I heartily do give it,
My years are spun,
My days are done,
And so I think to leave it.

Thus father Abbey left his spouse,
As rich as church or college mouse,
Which is sufficient invitation
To serve the college in his station.

"NEWHAVEN, January 2, 1731.

"Our sweeper having lately buried his spouse, and accidentally hearing of the death and will of his deceased Cambridge brother, has conceived a violent passion for the relict. As love softens the mind and disposes to poetry, he has eas'd himself in the following strains, which he transmits to the charming widow, as the first essay of his love and courtship:

MISTRESS Abbey,
To you I fly,
You only can relieve me,
To you I turn,
For you I burn,
If you will but believe me.

Then gentle dame,
Admit my flame,
And grant me my petition,
If you deny,
Alas! I die
In pitiful condition.

Before the news
Of your dear spouse
Had reached us at Newhaven,
My dear wife died,
Who was my bride
In anno eighty-seven.

That [thus] being free,
Let's both agree
To join our hands, for I do
Boldly aver
A widower
Is fittest for a widow.

You may be sure
'Tis not your dow'r
I make this flowing verse on;
In these smooth lays
I only praise
The beauties [glories] of your person.

For the whole that
Was left my [by] Mat
Fortune to me has granted
In equal store.
[I've] one thing more,
Which Matthew long had wanted.

No teeth 'tis true
You have to shew,
The young think teeth inviting;
But, silly youth! [youths]
I love the mouth [those mouths]
Where there's no fear of biting.

A leaky eye,
That's never dry,
These woful times is fitting.
A wrinkled face
Adds solemn grace
To folks devout at meeting.

[A furrowed brow,
Where corn might grow,
Such fertile soil is seen in't,
A long hook nose,
Tho' scorn'd by foes,
For spectacles convenient.] (1)

Thus to go on
I would [cou'd] put down
Your charms from head to foot,
Set all your glory
In verse before ye,
But I've no mind to do it. [do't.]

Then haste away
And make no stay;
For soon as you come hither,
We'll eat and sleep,
Make beds and sweep,
And talk and smoke together.

But if, my dear,
I must move there
Tow'rds Cambridge, I'll get thee (2)
To touse the hay
On which you lay,
If age and you will let me. (3)

1. This stanza is found only in the *London Magazine.*
2. "Tow'rds Cambridge straight I'll set me," *in Magazines.*
3. "If, madam, you will let me," *in Gentleman's Magazine.*

JOSEPH WHEELER, A. M., 1736–1793; pastor and resident of Harvard, 1759–1781.

A letter dated February 24, 1767, giving a few facts relating to the history and growth of the town of Harvard, printed in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Collections, x. 88.

EBENEZER GROSVENOR, A. M., 1739–1788; pastor at Harvard, 1782–1788.

A Sermon at the Ordination of the Rev. Daniel Grosvenor.... Grafton, October 19, 1774. Boston, 1774, 8vo. pp. 31.

AMOS TAYLOR, resident, 1782–

A Narrative of the Strange Principles, Conduct and Character of the

People known by the Name of Shakers: whose Errors have spread in several Parts of North America, but are beginning to diminish and ought to be guarded against.....by Amos Taylor, Late of their Number, and acquainted with them in five different Governments for ten Months. Number 1. Wherein their whole Constitution is laid open, more particularly the Method used by that People in making their Proselytes. Worcester, printed for the Author, MDCCLXXXII. [Harvard, April 15, 1782.] 16mo. pp. 17. To this is appended a "General Advertisement intended to promote Printing and the manufacture of paper more generally in the United States of America"—being in purport a proposition to buy paper rags of those who would take their pay in Taylor's pamphlets.

WILLIAM EMERSON, A. M., Member Mass. Hist. Soc.; Fellow Am. Acad.; 1769–1811; pastor of First Church in Harvard, 1792–1799.

1. A Discourse delivered in Harvard, July 4, 1794, at the Request of the Military Officers in that place.....who with the militia under their command were then assembled to commemorate the Anniversary of American Independence. Boston, 1794, 8vo. pp. 18.

2. A Sermon preached at the Request of the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company, in Boston, June 3, 1799, the Anniversary of their Election of Officers. Boston, 1799, 8vo. pp. 23.

3. An Historical Sketch of the First Church in Boston, from its Formation to the Present Period. To which are added Two Sermons, one on leaving the old, and the other on entering the New House of Worship. Boston, 1812, 8vo. pp. 259—Also nine occasional sermons and an oration.

SAMUEL MEAD, A. M., native of Harvard, graduate of Harvard College, 1787; ordained at Alstead, N. H., June, 1791; pastor at Danvers, 1797–1803, and at Amesbury, 1804–; died at Walpole, N. H., March 20, 1832.

1. Some Plain Truths delineated and Matters of Fact proposed as a substitute for Groundless Tradition, by Samuel Mead, A. M., Pastor of the First Congregational Church in Alstead. Walpole, 1793, 8vo. pp. 33.

2. A Sermon Delivered December 29, 1799; occasioned by the Death of General George Washington, who Died December 14, 1799. By Samuel Mead, A. M,, Pastor of a Church in Danvers. Salem, 1800, 8vo. pp. 24.

3. A Sermon on the War, delivered at Amesbury, August 20, 1812. [Fast Day.].....Newburyport, 1812, 8vo. pp. 18.

ISAIAH PARKER, M. D., 1752–1848; pastor of the Baptist Church at Still River, 1776–1799, and resident in Harvard several years later.

1. A Funeral Discourse, delivered in the Baptist Meetinghouse, Harvard; at the interment of Mr. Josiah Bowles, who departed this life March 29, 1799, in the 23d year of his age. By the Rev. Isaiah Parker, Pastor of the Baptist Church in Harvard. Published at the repeated request of the Widow and Friends of the deceased—To whom it is most respectfully Inscribed by the Author. Boston: Printed by Luther Parker, 1800. 16mo. pp. 21.

2. Two Discourses upon "The Final State of Humankind considered," Printed at the Harvard Press, by Sewall Parker, son of the

author, 1804. 16m. pp. 59. These two sermons give Dr. Parker's reasons for his conversion to the doctrines of the Universalist Church.

ELIPHALET PEARSON, L. L. D.. Fellow Am. Acad.; Member Mass. Hist. Soc.; Professor and Acting President of Harvard College; 1752–1826; resident in Harvard, 1820–1826. Professor Pearson's great literary powers were waning when he took up his permanent residence in Harvard, and his subsequent writings, if any there were, are forgotten. He had before printed five sermons, and a sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Theological Seminary at Andover.

JONATHAN FARR, A. M., 1790–1844; native of Harvard, graduate of Harvard College, 1818, and of Harvard Divinity School, 1821; pastor of Unitarian Society at Gardner, Massachusetts.

1. Gospel Temperance. A Sermon, delivered in Gardner, Mass., the Sunday Morning after there had been a "Protracted Meeting" in that town. Boston, 1831, pp. 16.

2. Religious Curiosity or the Great Concern, a Sermon delivered in Gardner, Mass., the Sunday Afternoon after there had been a "protracted meeting" in that town. Boston, 1831, pp. 14.

3. These Four Days' Meetings — What are they for? and what will be the cost and the fruit of them? Boston, 1831, pp, 16.

4. Plain Letters on Important Subjects. [Gardner, 1831.] Boston, 1831, 16mo. pp. 230.

5. Sermons designed to teach the doctrines of the Gospel and earnestly to enforce the precepts of Jesus Christ. [Sixteen sermons.] Boston, 1833, 16mo. pp. 280.

6. Counsels and Consolations; Containing Meditations and Reflections on sixty-two Passages of Scripture, with particular Reference to those in Trouble and Affliction. To which are added four Sermons, suited to Persons in distressed and mournful Circumstances. Boston: two editions, 18mo.

7. The Child's Duties and Devotions. Boston, 1835. [Harvard, April 4, 1835.] 18mo. pp. 96.

8. Forms of Morning and Evening Prayer, composed for the use of Families. Boston, 1836, 1843, etc. [Harvard, May 14. 1836.] 18mo. pp. 176.

9. The Death of the Righteous and the Birth of the Saviour. Two Sermons delivered in the First Church of Boxborough, March 27, 1836; being the Sunday after the Interment of Dea. Oliver Mead, who died March 20, aged 84; the first being a funeral Sermon on his death, the second a Sermon on a text selected by the deceased not long before he died. Boston, 1836, 12mo. pp. 24.

10. A Serious and Friendly Address to the Anxious Inquirer. pp. 18.

11. A Pastoral Letter, by a Unitarian Minister. pp. 16.—On Revivals. pp. 16.

12. Dorcas: a Sermon; etc.....

AMOS BRONSON ALCOTT, 1799–1888; resident at Harvard, 1843–1844. While here he contributed articles to the Dial, and probably to other periodicals. His important literary work was all of a later date.

CHARLES LANE, resident in Harvard, 1843. He was a prolific writer for the press, and especially for the Dial, of which he was a diligent contributor while in Harvard. Among his articles was one upon the Shaker Community.

ALONZO HILL, S. T. D. (1851), graduate of Harvard College, 1822, and of Harvard Divinity School, 1826. Overseer, 1851–4; native of Harvard; died at Worcester, February 1, 1871.

1. A Sermon....at the Ordination of Rev. Josiah Moore....in Athol, Dec. 8, 1830. Worcester, 8vo. pp. 39.

2. A Discourse on the Life and Character of Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D. D.....Worcester, 1839, 8vo. pp. 40.

3. A Discourse on the Life and Character of the Rev. Nathaniel Thayer, D. D.....Worcester, 1840, 8vo. pp. 40.

4. A Discourse delivered in the ancient Meetinghouse of the First Congregational Society in Hingham....Boston, 1850, 8vo. pp. 23.

5. The Glory of the Latter House: A Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Second Congregational Society in Worcester, March 26, 1851. Worcester, 8vo. pp. 55.

6. A Discourse on the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of his Ordination in Worcester, March 28, 1852. Worcester, 8vo. pp. 46.

7. A Discourse.....in Worcester on the.....Death of Hon. John Waldo Lincoln, who died Oct. 2, 1852. Worcester, 8vo. pp. 33.

8. The Maine Law: An Address....in Sterling, April 13, 1853..... Worcester, 12mo. pp. 12.

9. A Sermon on the Death of Hon. John Davis.....at Worcester, Mass., April 23, 1854. New York, 8vo. pp. 25.

10. A Discourse commemorative of the Hon. Thomas Kinnicutt, who died January 22, 1858. Boston, 8vo. pp. 28.

11. A Commemorative Discourse on the Rev. Samuel Clarke....Dec. 11, 1859. Boston, 8vo. pp. 36.

12. A Sermon preached in Worcester, August 17, 1862....after the burial of Mr. William Hudson, a private in the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Mass. Volunteers. Boston, 8vo. pp. 23.

13. In Memoriam: A Discourse preached in Worcester, Oct. 5, 1862. ....Lieut. Thomas Jefferson Spurr, 15th Mass. Vols., mortally wounded at the Battle of Antietam, died in Hagerstown, Sept. 27th. Boston, 1862, 8vo. pp. 32.

14. A Discourse preached March 28, 1867....on the Fortieth Anniversary of his Settlement....Cambridge, 1867, 8vo. pp. 66. Portrait.

HENRY BROMFIELD PEARSON, A. M., 1795–1867; resident in Harvard, 1820–1855.

1. A Discourse delivered in the First Congregational Church at Harvard, Worcester Co., Mass., on the day of the Annual Fast, April 6, 1848. ....Published by subscription at the Request of the hearers and others. Boston, 1848, 8vo. pp. 22.

2. Discourse on the Immortality of the Soul, delivered at Harvard, Worcester Co., Mass., on Sunday, April 30, 1848...Boston, 1848, 8vo. pp.31..

3. Letters....to Rufus Choate, on his Letter to the Whig Committee of the State of Maine. [Originally published in the Eastern Mail, Waterville, August and September, 1856.] Portland, 1856, 8vo. pp. 16.

LORENZO DOW GROSVENOR, resident, a Shaker elder.

A Circular Letter in defence of the United Society of Believers commonly called Shakers, with a reply to correspondents. Harvard, 1849. He was a writer of verse, some of which was printed. Stanzas by him called "Mother's Closet" can be found on page 718 of Reverend Seth Chandler's History of Shirley.

GEORGE FISHER, 1796–1853; pastor of the Evangelical Congregational Church in Harvard, 1819–1853.

Mr. Fisher preached two sermons upon the history of the town and church, being centennial discourses — July 11, 1832, and September 8, 1833. These were not printed; but being deposited in the Congregational Library, Boston, are accessible to students.

2. A Sermon preached in Pepperell, July 21, 1840, at the Funeral of the Reverend James Howe....Concord, 1841, pp. 25.

WASHINGTON GILBERT, 1800–1879; pastor of the First Church in Harvard, 1831–1855.

1. A Sermon delivered before the First Congregational Society in Harvard, Sunday, October 23, 1831 — Connexion of Morality with Religion. Lancaster, 1831, 8vo. pp. 15.

2. A Sermon....The Law of Liberty, 1834.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD SAMSON, D. D., native of Still River; graduate of Brown University, 1839, and of Newton Theological Institution, 1843; pastor of East Baptist Church, Washington, D. C., of First Baptist Church at Harlem, N. Y., and the Baptist Church at Jamaica Plain, Mass. President of Columbia College, Washington, D. C., 1859–1871, and of Rutger's Female College, N. Y., 1871–1875, and 1886–

1. Baptist Succession, or Baptist Principles in Church History. A Centennial Discourse delivered June 27, 1876, before the Baptist Church in Harvard, Mass. New York, 1878, 16mo. pp. 93. To the discourse is added an historical appendix. There are numerous errors in the narrative portion of this pamphlet.

2. Sermon on the Death of Sarah Constance Green....August 17, 1849, 8vo. pp. 16.

3. Te Daimonion; or the Spiritual Medium. Boston, 1852, 12mo.

4. The Providence of God in Raising up under our Republican Institutions, Great and Good Men as our Rulers: a Discourse....at Jamaica Plain, Mass., on Thanksgiving Day, Nov. 25, 1852. Boston, 1853, 8vo. pp. 16. This relates to the death of Daniel Webster.

5. Spiritualism Tested; or the Facts of its History classified, and their cause in Nature verified from Ancient and Modern Testimonies. Boston, 1860, 12mo. pp. 185.

7. Outlines of the History of Ethics. 1860. 16mo.

8. Elements of Art Criticism. Philadelphia, 1867, 8vo. The London

Examiner honors this with the criticism: "immoderately ambitious." An abridged edition was printed in 1868. 12mo. pp. 406.

9. Physical Mediæ in Spiritual Manifestations. 1869. 8mo.

10. Memorial Discourse on the Life and Character of Rev. Joel Smith Bacon, D. D., Third President of the Columbian College.... June 27, 1870. Washington, 8vo. pp. 26.

The Atonement viewed as Assumed Divine Responsibility. Philadelphia, 1878, 16mo.—The Divine Law as to Wines. Philadelphia, 1880, 12mo.—The English Revisers' Greek Text shown to be unauthorized except by Egyptian Copies discarded by Greeks. Cambridge, Mass., 1883. 16mo.—Guide to Self Education. 1886.—Guide to Bible Interpretation. 1887.—Idols of Fashion and Custom. 1888.—Also a Memoir of Mary J. Graham, with her Test of Truth. 1859. 8vo.—An Appendix to Daggs' Theology. 1857. 8vo.—Sundry articles in Christian Review, 1849-1862.

GEORGE ELISHA FISHER, born in Harvard; graduate at Amherst, 1846; clergyman.

1. The Church, the Ministry and Slavery. A Discourse, Delivered at Rutland, Mass., July 14, 1850. Worcester, pp. 23.

2. A Farewell Discourse to the Congregational Church.... Rutland, Mass., May 16, 1852. Worcester, 8vo. pp. 24.

3. Historical Address at the Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Congregational Church in South Hadley Falls, Mass., August 9, 1874, etc. Holyoke, 1874, pp, 21. [46.]

4. Historical Discourse at the Second Congregational Church. Amherst, Mass., November 12, 1882—with other addresses, etc. Amherst, 1882, pp. 18. [40.]

FREDERICK ALONZO REED, 1821-1883; pastor of Evangelical Congregational Church in Harvard, 1880-1883; graduate of Amherst College, 1843.

1. Sermon preached at the Rededication of the House of Worship of the Evangelical Church in Harvard, Mass., October 12, 1882. 8vo. pp. 24. This contains a condensed history of the church from 1733.

2. Twin Heroes. A Tale of the Separatists of the Times of Queen Elizabeth. 12mo. pp. 413. Boston, Congregational Pub. Society, 1875.

3. Boy Lollard: a Tale of the Readers of Tyndall's New Testament in the Times of Henry VIII. 12mo. pp. 302. Boston, Congregational Pub. Society, 1884.

JOHN BARSTOW WILLARD, graduate of Brown University, 1842; a clergyman, resident of Harvard from early boyhood. Mr. Willard has been a constant contributor to various journals. His memory is a storehouse of local history, and many of his shorter articles deal with this topic. His Centennial Oration at Harvard, July 4, 1876, was printed in *Turner's Public Spirit*. He has written much upon the theological, political and social questions of the day in a racy, readable style. His fellow townsmen have long hoped for a History of Harvard from his pen—his qualifications for the work being beyond those of any other man—and this volume owes much to his courtesy and knowledge.

WESLEY CALEB SAWYER, A. M., PH. D., Acting President University of the Pacific, native of Harvard, son of Luke, born August 26, 1839.

1. A Practical German Grammar. Chicago, 1883, and 2d ed., 1886.

2. A Complete German Manual. Chicago, 1887, 12mo. pp. 133.

3. The Heroes of Wagner's Operas, *soon to be published.* Professor Sawyer has also contributed articles to various magazines.

WARREN HAPGOOD, native of Harvard, born October 4, 1816, the son of Joel and Sally (Fairbank) Hapgood.

1. Address at Dedication of Harvard Free Library, June 22, 1887. Mr. Hapgood has been an occasional contributor to various journals, and has written much upon subjects connected with gunning and fishing for the columns of *Forest and Stream* and similar periodicals. His articles prove their author to be not only an enthusiastic and successful sportsman, but a true lover of nature, and a keen observer of the habits of wild animals.

ANNIE MARIA (LAWRENCE) CLARK, native of Harvard, born September 21, 1835.

1. Light from the Cross. Boston, 1869, 16mo. pp. 376.

2. Olive Loring's Mission. Boston, 1871, 16mo. pp. 279.

Mrs. Clarke has been a frequent contributor of both prose and poetry to the journals. Her sister, KATHERINE LOUISA LAWRENCE, has also written much for the local newspapers.

EMILY ELIZA HILDRETH, resident of Harvard, born at Chelsea, Mass., May 25, 1839.

1. Lessons from Daily Life. Philadelphia, 1869, 16mo. pp. 120.

Miss Hildreth has contributed both prose and poetry to periodicals.

WILLIAM MARSHALL FITZ ROUND, A. M., son of Reverend Daniel Round, resident at Still River, 1876–1879; born at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, March 26, 1845.

Mr. Round wrote in Harvard: Child Marion Abroad, and Hal, the Story of a Clodhopper. In Rosecroft, a later publication, one or two characters figure, drawn from his memories of life at Still River, when his residence — in which the post-office now is — was known as Rosecroft.

WILLIAM READ, a Baptist clergyman, born at Barrington, Rhode Island, November 10, 1825; resident pastor at Still River, 1879–1885.

1. The Restrung Harp. Poems. Boston, 1889, pp. 98.

JANE MARIA READ, daughter of the last; resident at Still River, 1879–1885; born at Barnstable, Massachusetts, October 4, 1853.

1. Between the Centuries, and other Poems. Boston, 1887, pp. 206. Also a contributor to journals and magazines.

EDWIN LASSETTER BYNNER, the well-known novelist, though not a native of Harvard (born in Brooklyn, New York, 1842), was brought to this town when very young, and received his early education here, 1847–1853.

BENJAMIN WESLEY BALL the poet, was born in Concord, but became a Harvard school-boy when about ten years old, and his home was here until his graduation at Dartmouth, in 1842.

Mr. Ball printed Elfin Land and other Poems, Boston, 1851, and The Merrimack River, Hellenics and other Poems, New York and London, 1892, 500 pp. 12mo.

The Harvard Printing Press has been incidentally mentioned. It was established about 1800 by Luther Parker, son of Dr. Isaiah Parker, the first pastor of the Baptist Society. The business of printing was carried on by him and his brother Sewall at his dwelling-house in the northerly part of Still River village, for about ten years. They were but just of age when they entered upon this enterprise. The first example of their handiwork now known is:—

A Sermon delivered at Harvard, June 3, 1801; at the Ordination of the Rev. Stephen Bemis to the care of the Congregational Church and Society in that place. By Joseph Lathrop, D. D., pastor of the first church in West Springfield. Harvard: Printed by Luther Parker, 1801.

This pamphlet is admirably printed, with neatly engraved and tasteful headpieces. It would do credit to any modern press. The second work found with the local imprint is the pamphlet of Dr. Isaiah Parker's sermons in 1804, already noted, printed by Sewall Parker, the workmanship being good, but inferior to the former. An almanac was issued from this press for several years by Sewall and I. S. Parker. The title of this in 1810 was:—

Trufant's family Almanac and Daily Register, Harvard, printed by SEWALL PARKER, Proprietor of the Patent, sold by him *wholesale and retail*, at his *Printing Office*, and at various other places in the New England States. (Price 9 *dolls.* per gross, 87 *cents* per doz. 12 cents single.)

This annual, besides the usual calendar and astronomical matter, contained ruled and dated blank leaves for a diary, lists of courts and stage routes, and several pages of anecdotes, riddles, arithmetical problems, culinary and medical recipes and letters upon agricultural topics. The last were mostly from the pen of a local wiseacre, Phineas Willard, who claimed that his advice to his brother farmers was prompted by his own successful practice. Having reason to believe that the husbandmen of the present day in Harvard are not all versed in the methods of culture commended by

Phineas, an item or two from his oracular articles will be given: He inveighs against the common practice of applying fertilizers to corn, either in the hill or by spreading upon the field and ploughing in at the time of planting, alleging that the stimulant is then largely appropriated by leaf and stalk; and states that he has secured at least one-third more grain by making the application at the time of "half hilling" about the roots of the corn. He discourses of the salutary lunar influences upon "buggy" peas thus:—

Peas are a profitable esculent, which will not impoverish lands where they are raised. They will be more fruitful in a moderate soil than in a rich one, but a particular time ought to be observed in sowing them to prevent their being buggy, which is the third day after the full moon in April, May or June.

Joseph Trufant, who probably gave name to this almanac and perhaps was its compiler, at this time resided in Harvard, having come thither from Groton in 1800. Luther Parker removed to Michigan and Sewall Parker to New York. Printing has also been done in a very limited way at the Shaker village, *e. .g.*:—

1. Regulations for the Free Schools of the Town of Harvard adopted March 19, 1832, to which are prefixed extracts from the Statute relating to Schools.... Harvard, Mass., Printed in the United Society, 1832. 12mo. pp. 8.

2. Something New, a weekly published by Michael H. Barton. This was at first printed at Exeter, and later in Boston, its purpose being "to improve and perfect the orthography of the English language by substituting an alphabet in place of the present one which shall contain thirty-nine letters, each representing one of the distinct articulate sounds used in our language." It was printed at Harvard, beginning with the number for February, 1832, by Simon Blanchard, the type being of the new alphabet. The characters somewhat resemble those used by short-hand writers. A few numbers of the paper are preserved in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

3. William Leonard. A Discourse on the order and propriety of Divine Inspiration and Revelation, showing the Necessity thereof, in all Ages, to Know the Will of God; Also a Discourse on the Second Appearing of Christ in and through the Order of the Female. And a Discourse on the Propriety and Necessity of a United Inheritance in all Things in order to Support a true Christian Community. Harvard, published by the United Society, 1853, pages 88.

Very little has been written relating to the town's history or that of its people. The maps of Harvard worthy of notice are: 1. The manuscript draught of the survey of 1794, by Silas Holman, the Bolton surveyor. This is deposited in the Massachusetts Archives. The scale is two hundred rods to the inch. 2. The survey by Holman in 1831, also in the state archives. There are serious disagreements between Holman's two surveys. 3. A map of the town based upon Holman's later survey, from the Lancaster press of Carter, Andrews and Company, 1831. This is drawn to a scale of one hundred rods to the inch, exhibits all the roads and locates all the houses, giving the names of the occupants or owners. 4. The map of Worcester County, by Henry F. Walling, published in 1857, following state surveys. 5. A map of Harvard on a scale of one and a half inches to the mile, in F. W. Beers' Atlas of Worcester County, 1870. This gives the location of dwellings and the owners' names. 6. The section maps of the United States Government Geological Survey, and the Atlas of Massachusetts based upon them, published by George H. Walker and Company, 1891. These give contour lines and heights of the principal hills.

The map in this volume is a compilation of the above authorities, with additions and corrections from special surveys and observation by the author of this volume, and Harold Parker of Lancaster, civil engineers.

The following historical or biographical sketches may properly be placed among Harvardiana :—

Reverend Peter Whitney in his History of Worcester County, 1793, devotes ten pages (154–165) to Harvard's history and a description of the town at that date.

Valentine Rathbun, "Minister of the Gospel," published A Brief Account of a Religious Scheme Taught and Propagated by a Number of Europeans who lately lived in a place called Nisqueunia in the State of New York, but now residing in Harvard, commonwealth of Massachusetts, commonly called Shaking Quakers. Worcester, 1682, 16mo. pp. 36. Various editions of this were printed at Boston, Newburyport, etc.

Reverend Abijah Perkins Marvin, in a History of Worcester County published in 1879, of which he was the editor, contributed a historical sketch of Harvard, pages 558–569 of volume II.

Reverend Seth Chandler delivered An Historical Discourse.... before the First Congregational Society in Harvard....October 22, 1882. This

was printed with an Appendix, for Samuel A. Green, M. D. Boston, 1884, 8vo. pp. 88.

Honorable Samuel Abbott Green's several publications upon Groton history contain numerous passages relative to Harvard and its founders. This is especially true of his: The Boundary Lines of Old Groton.

A History of Worcester County published by J. W. Lewis and Co., in 1889, contains an anonymous chapter of one page (1164) upon Harvard!

In The Early Records of Lancaster, Mass., 1643-1725, The Military Annals of Lancaster, Mass., 1740–1865, and The Birth, Marriage and Death Register, Church Records and Epitaphs of Lancaster, Mass., 1643–1850, three volumes printed by Henry Stedman Nourse, 1884–1890, there are many pages which contain facts relating to Harvard's early history, her soldiers of the eighteenth century, and her pioneer families.

Reverend Jacob Ide. A Sermon preached Sept. 12, 1821, at the Ordination of the Rev. George Fisher as pastor of the First Congregationai Church in Harvard. Concord, 1822, 8vo. pp. 31.

Joseph Willard, A. M., in his Willard Memoir, or Life and Times of Major Simon Willard, with notices of....his descendants, gives much genealogical information about Harvard families. Boston, 1858, 8vo. pp. 470.

Reverend Nathaniel Thayer, D. D., preached a sermon, "The Good Man," at the funeral of Henry Bromfield, Esquire, Harvard, February 20, 1820. This was largely biographical. Andover, 1820, 8vo. pp. 14.

Miss Susan Quincy's Memoir of her mother, Eliza Susan (Morton) Quincy, adds to our knowledge of Colonel Henry Bromfield and the people among whom he lived.

In Memoriam. Edward Lawrence. Discourse delivered at The Memorial Service held in the First Universalist Church, Charlestown, Mass., Nov. 8, 1885, and other tributes. Boston, 1886, 8vo. pp. 29. This is an elaborate eulogy by Reverend Charles F. Lee, pastor of the society, in which Mr. Lawrence was a deacon.

Professor Daniel Dennison Slade, M. D. Articles upon the Bromfield Family in the New England Historic Genealogical Register, xxv and and xxvi. A New England Country Gentleman, in the New England Magazine for March, 1890.

Miss Louisa M. Alcott relates the story of Fruitlands in her "Transcendental Wild Oats," a sketch included in her volume entitled Silver Pitchers.

A Chapter in the Life of Father Hecker, by Reverend Walter Elliott, New York, 1891, is also devoted to Fruitlands.

A Memoir of the Hon. Joshua Atherton, by his son, Charles H. Atherton. Printed, not published. Boston, 1852, pp. 57, 8vo.

Proceedings at the Dedication of Harvard Public Library at the Town Hall, June 22, 1887—together with an Historical Sketch of the Town and its Public Institutions, by Selah Howell, A. M., and other Documents relating to the Library and its Benefactors. Boston, 1888, 8vo. pp. 46.

The printed reports of Harvard officials begin with that of the selectmen for the year ending March 6, 1837, which is a broadside from the press of the Concord Gazette. The selectmen continued to print their annual statements of expenditures and receipts, including the reports of the treasurer and overseers of the poor, on single sheets, increasing in size from year to year until 1865. The press work was done sometimes in Boston, sometimes in Fitchburg or Clinton, but more usually in Groton. The report for 1864 and those since 1865 have been in pamphlet form, gradually including more and more statistical information. The first school committee's report made in print is that for the year ending in April, 1855. The Assessors' Inventory and Valuation of Estates were printed in the years: 1866, 1870, 1882 and 1890. The town has no file of these reports in either the town-clerk's office or public library, and anything near a complete set can now be found in but one or two houses in Harvard.

XII.

VITAL STATISTICS.

I. THE BURIAL GROUND.

FOR one hundred and sixty years Harvard had but one public burial place—the field given for that use by the Lancaster proprietors February 5, 1733. Each year the highway surveyors of the olden time were instructed at the annual town-meeting "to mow the brush in the burying ground." May 19, 1766, it was: "Voted to Fence the Burying Place with a Stone wall four Foot and half High," and fifteen pounds were appropriated for this improvement; but every man was given permission to work out his share of the appropriation upon the wall, if he chose to do so, within six months.

The grave-digger was one of the town's officials, chosen at the annual meeting. Thus on March 25, 1754, "the Town appointed Simon Davis for to Dig Graves the year ensuing." In 1808 the town bought a "Hearse and Harness" for eighty-eight dollars. Before that date the coffin was borne to the grave upon a hand bier by the neighbors of the deceased; or, if the distance was great, it was conveyed upon any convenient vehicle to the gate of the burial ground. The little building known as the hearse-house, until moved in 1821, was beside the pound where the meeting-house of the Evangelical Society now stands. In 1846 the present hearse-house replaced the old one upon the present site. March 1, 1886, the town accepted a legacy of one thousand dollars from the estate of Honorable Edward Lawrence, a resident of Charles-

town but native of Harvard, under the provisions of his will given:—

.....to be expended by the selectmen or such committee as may be appointed with all reasonable dispatch after receiving the same, in building a new stone wall or wooden fence, as they may think proper, around the old Burying Ground in said Town, and in planting trees therein, and generally in improving the same so as to make it more in accordance with what such a place should be, and to manifest my affectionate remembrance of those dear to me lying buried there.

With this donation a substantial stone wall was built along the roadside, and other much-needed improvements were effected.

At the formation of the Baptist Society in Still River, it was proposed to locate a second burial place in the rear of their meeting-house, and the fragments of an inscribed stone which lie by a wall in that place indicate that the body of Deacon William Willard, if no other, was interred there. The Shaker Community, about the time of the organization in 1792, set apart a field for their dead in which there have been a little over three hundred burials. An enclosed tomb in the Old Mill district bears the inscription: "Erected in memory of William Park, who died May 15, 1808, and Joseph Munroe, who died July 25, 1847, act. 73 years, 3 mos. 23 ds." Two or three solitary graves are known to exist in orchard and field, probably the resting places of those hurriedly buried after death by contagious disease. One of these, a short distance westward from the alms-house, is marked by a stone inscribed:—

Here Lies | Buried y^e^ Body | of Capt. Benjamin | Stewart of Boston | who died of the | small pox June | 16^th^. 1775 in y^e^ 45 | year of his age.

Other lonely graves—notably that of Israel Reed in 1824—were opened after time and earth had done their disinfecting work, and the relics found were transferred to the family lot in the public burial place.

The old burial ground becoming crowded, a movement began in 1891 looking to the selection and purchase of land for a town cemetery. This resulted in securing about sixteen acres west of Pin Hill, for which the sum of eight hundred

dollars was paid. The land was at once laid out for burial purposes, and named Brookside Cemetery. This burial place, though centrally located, and otherwise suitable for its use, was not distinguished by any picturesque features, nor was it so diversified in surface as to favor the landscape gardener's art. Its selection therefore became the subject of some criticism, and in September, 1892, Henry L. Warner, Esq., who had before given the sum of five hundred dollars "to enhance and extend the beauty and ornamentation of the new cemetery," offered to buy a site better adapted to ornamental treatment, and give one thousand dollars for its improvement if the town would accept the gift and abandon the location at Brookside. At a very full town-meeting, September 24, the town unanimously accepted the generous benefaction.

The new site chosen, to which the name Bellevue has been given, is upon the east side of the road leading from Still River to Harvard, commanding charming views of Bare Hill, the lake and the central village; and when the skill of the engineer, the taste of the gardener and the growth of tree and shrub have perfected their work, it must become one of the most attractive spots in this beautiful town. There had been but a single burial at Brookside, that of Mr. John Hutchinson.

The first burial in the old field, it is said, was that of a young girl, Elizabeth Willard by name, whose unmarked grave is in the north-east corner of the enclosure. The oldest memorial stone is that of Ebenezer Davis, dated May, 1735. The building of the first tombs was authorized in October, 1827; others have been added from time to time until there are now twelve. In 1884 a public receiving tomb was built at a cost of five hundred and twenty-five dollars. During the excavations for the first tombs human bones were unearthed, and at a town-meeting in 1829, Leonard Edgarton and others, being complained against by citizens dwelling near the grounds, were ordered to build their tombs "where they will neither disturb the dead, nor offend the living." At a much more recent date, the desecration of the grave of a citizen famous in the early life of the town, awakened public remonstrance, and the restoration of the crumbling relics to

their rightful resting place was enforced by a town-meeting. Memorials to the earliest dwellers apon Harvard soil are for the most part conspicuous by their absence. The graves of the first Willards, Farnsworths, Athertons, Hapgoods, Houghtons, Warners, etc., were perhaps beside those of their kin in the older fields of Groton, Lancaster and Stow, though in this enclosure a large proportion of the early graves were unmarked, and time has so leveled the mounds that their location is no longer discernible. The head and foot stones here have all been shaped with hammer and chisel. There is not one slab rough as rived from the ledge, such as are common in the oldest burial ground of Lancaster. The near neighborhood of the Pin Hill slate, and the presence of stonecutters having the requisite skill, made regular and decently-inscribed memorials possible. These were all small at first, with no other attempt at decoration than a faintly outlined border, and, until about 1750, the inscriptions were formal and altogether in capital letters of plainest type. Sometimes the mortuary artist attempted a deaths'-head in low relief as the crowning adornment of his work; but his representation was as conventional as a school-boy's first attempts in the same line. After the middle of the century there began to appear more ambitious stones and inscriptions, and the lettering gives evidence that another and more ambitious artist wielded the chisel. The staring deaths'-heads gradually grew into faces, chubby, and meant to be cherubic, as the semblance of wings attached to them makes evident.

There was no variation from the fashion of slate head and foot-stones until public gratitude placed memorials over the ashes of the two ministers, Johnson and Grosvenor. These and that over Peter Atherton's grave are heavy tables of slate resting horizontally upon pillars of brick and stone. A little before the Revolution, quotations from the Scriptures and mortuary rhymes began to appear upon the more pretentious head-stones, and soon the fashion of the day pronounced an epitaph crude that did not close with at least a couplet from the standard works of the anonymous laureate of grave-yards. The cherubim continued through the century to be the favorite symbol, but occasionally a draped urn was substituted.

The weeping willow was rarely attempted before 1800. The examples of the ludicrous or greatly incongruous are few here. The sculptured bas-relief of a mother and babe standing in an arched door-way, which surmounts the epitaph to Martha Green, is the most noteworthy sample of both.

Rows of graves where three or more of the same family died within a few years of each other, or even within a single season, like those of the Bowles and the Cole families, tell of the ravages of epidemics—the scourge of consumption for which Harvard was once held in ill repute, or the fatal endemic dysentery of 1746 and 1756. In the Bowles family there were nine deaths within seven years. The portions of the ground earliest occupied, thickly set with low memorials of native slate, in simplicity present an eloquent contrast to the newer lots, loaded with costly obelisks or elaborate monuments of imported marbles and polished granite.

The burial grounds since 1888 have been in charge of a special Cemetery Committee of three citizens chosen annually, and the sum of one hundred dollars is usually appropriated each year to cover general care and repairs. There is also available for the care of special family lots, the income of three permanent funds: the Abigail Newman Fund of two hundred dollars received in 1888; the Meriam Fund of one hundred dollars received in 1891; and the Hiram Whitney Fund, originally (1884), three hundred dollars, accepted April, 1892.

EPITAPHS IN HARVARD BURIAL GROUNDS OF DATE PRIOR TO 1800.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | ENSIGN JOSEPH | ATHERTON, WHO | DIED AUGUST | THE 16th 1735, | IN ye 43d | YEAR OF HIS AGE.

PETER ATHERTON ESQR closed the | Scene of life at Concord during the Setting | of the General Court there, of which he | was a Member, the 13th of June Anno Dom | 1764 in the 60th year of his Age.

EXPERIENCE the Partner of his life | closed the Scene the 14th Novem. 1775, in the 64rh year of her | Age.

One Solitary Mansion incloses their Remains. | Companions in Life they have the consolation | of not being seperated in death—if indeed Consolation be found in the Grave! This Monument is erected to their Memory which will ever be dear to the sons & daughters of Virtue & Religion.

In Memory of | Mrs Elizabeth Atherton | wife of Mr Peter Atherton, | who died June 10th. | 1793, Aged 62 | years.

IN Memory of | Mr Ephraim Barnard | Junr. son of Mr Ephraim | &

Mrs Hannah Barnard, | who died June 27th. | 1795, Aged 23 years | & 4 months.

Happy exchange to part with all below, | For worlds of bliss where joys unceasing flow.

Here lies Inter'd | the Remains of Mrs | Hannah, Wife of Mr: | Ephraim Barnard, | who departed this | Life Oct. 4th. 1777. In | the 28th. year of | her Age

Here Lies The | Body of Lucy | Barnard ye Dafter | of Mr Beniamin | And Mrs Lucy | Barnard, Who | Died Jan. ye 24. | 1752 aged 9 | Years 2 M. & 11 Ds

In Memory of | Mr Benja Barnerd, | who departed this | Life Octr. 24th. 1791 | in the 79th year of | his age.

In Memory of | Daniel Barnard, son of | Lieut. Samuel Barnard & | Mrs. Hannah his wife, | who died Octr. 5th. 1799, | Aged 14 yrs & twenty 9 days.

With patience Lord I bore thine Hand | 'Till Death did set me free,
Resign'd my Breath at thy Command | Hoping to dwell with Thee.

In | memory of | Mrs. Elizabeth | Bateman, wife of | Mr Jonas Bateman, | who died | Febr 19th, 1798, | in ye 62 yr | of her age.

Long she liv'd a life of pain. | We trust she reaps eternal gain.

In Memory of | Deacon William Bowles | who died July 11th. | 1766, in the 59th. | year of his age.

Hear what the voice from heav'n | For all the pious dead proclaim'd.
Sweet is the savor of their name, | And soft their sleeping bed.

In Memory of | Mrs Sarah Bowles | Relict of Deacn. William Bowles, | who departed this life | Novr. 11th. 1798. | in the 57th year of her age.

Sweet is the Memory of the Just. | His end is lasting Peace;
The pious soul ascends from dust | To dwell in endless bliss.

In Memory of | Mr John Bowles son of | Deacn. William Bowles, | who departed this | Life Sept. 28th. 1795, | Aged 32.

Death is a debt to Nature due | Which I have paid and so must you.

Miss Mary Bowles, | Daugr. of Deacn William | & Mrs. Sarah Bowles | died Novr 25th. 1792, | Aged 27 years.

Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord.

Miss Eliza Bowles | Daugr of Deacn. Willm. | & Mrs Sarah Bowles | died Janur. 9th. 1793. Aged 20 years.

The sweet remembrance of the Just | Shall flourish when they sleep in dust.

Stephen Bowles | son of Deacn William, | & Mrs Sarah Bowles | died Febr. 3d. 1793. | Aged 4 years.

Sleep on sweet babe & take your rest, | To call you home God thought it best.

In Memory of | Mr. Nathaniel Bowles | son of Deacon William | & Mrs Sarah Bowles, | who died Jany. 24th, | 1797. In the 21st year | of his age.

They die in Jesus & are blest, | How kind their slumbers are.
From sufferings & from sin releas'd | And freed from every snare.

In Memory of | Miss Anna Bowles | daugr of Deacn William | & Mrs Sarah Bowles, | who died Febr. 20th. 1797, | in the 17th year of her age.

She's bidden worldly vanity | And mortal bliss adieu,
And gone to sing without a sigh, | The anthem ever new.

In Memory of | MR JOSIAH BOWLES, | who departed this life | March 29th. 1799, | in the 22d year | of his Age.

Here in the Silent Grave is laid. | A Pattern for us all.
His willing Soul with joy obey'd | His Heavenly Father's call.

In Memory of | Mr WILLIAM BOWLES, | who died Octr. 19, 1799, | in the 26 year | of his age.

Sleep on my brother take your rest | To call you home God thought it best.
And at the resurrection morn | I trust he will your soul adorn.

In Memory of | Polly Bridge Daug^{r} | of M^{r} Ebenezer & | M^{rs} Annes Bridge, | who died June 21st | 1788. Aged 16 months | & 26 days.

In memory of | Betsy Brooks | daught^{r} of M^{r} Samuel | & M^{rs} Betsy Brooks | who died | Aug^{t}. 19th, 1797 | Aged 18 months.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Dec^{n} Caleb Brown | Who Died November | 23 A. D. 1758 | In y^{e} 61 | Year of His Age.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Hepsabeth Brown | Dafter of Dec^{n} Caleb | & Mrs Elisabeth Brown | Who Departed This | Life July y^{e} 4 | 1766 & In y^{e} 29 | Year of Her Age.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^{e} BODY OF WILLIAM | BURGES SON OF MR | EBENEZER & MRS | HANNAH BURGES, | WHO DIED SEPTR | 8 A D 1748 | AGE 3 YEARS | 2 M & 25 D.

IN Memory of | M^{rs} Martha Burns, wife of | M^{r} John Burns, | who died | Aug^{t} y^{e} 13th, 1793; | Aged 96.

Death to ye Saints is no surprize, | They view by faith ye heavenly prize.

HERE LIES BVRIED | Y^{e} BODY OF | HANNAH CLARK y^{e} | DAUGHTER OF MR JUDAH & MRS | EVNICE CLARK | WHO DEC^{d} JVLY | y^{e} 18th 1739 AGE | 4 YEARS 6 M | & 5 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | y^{e} BODY OF | MARTHA COLE | DAUGHT^{R} OF MR | JONATHAN & MRS | JUDITH COLE, | WHO DEC^{d} | NOVEMBER 23, | A. D 1746, | AGE 20 YEARS | & 20 DAYS.

HERE LIES BURIED | y^{e} BODY OF MRS | JUDITH COLE y^{e} | WIFE OF MR JON^{A}. | COLE, WHO DEC^{d} | NOVEMBER y^{e} 1st | A. D. 1746 | AGED 46 YEARS.

HERE LIES BURIED | y^{e} BODY OF | JEDEDIAH COLE | SON OF MR JON^{A}. | & MRS JUDITH | COLE, WHO DEC^{d} | OCTOB^{R} y^{e} 21st | A. D. 1746. | AGE 9 YEARS | 7 M. & 11 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | y^{e} BODY OF MARY | COLE DAUGH^{R}. OF | MR JON^{A}. | & MRS. | JUDITH COLE, | WHO DEC^{d}. | OCTOB^{R}. y^{e} 22^{d}. | A. D 1746. | AGE 3 YEARS | & 25 D^{s}.

IN Memory of | Sarah Conant | Daugh^{r} of Mr Will^{m}. | & Mrs Huldah Conant, | who died Sept. y^{e} 16th. | 1778, in y^{e} 14th year | of her | age.

ERECTED in Memory | of M^{rs} MARY CONN | wife of M^{r} | GEORGE CONN who | died May 19th. | 1783; Aged 70 years.

No house of pleasure here bare ground | Did I expect to have;
My bed of rest for sleeping found | I've made the silent grave.

In Memory of | Mrs. Hannah Curtis | wife of | M^{r} Timothy H. Curtis | who died August 10th. | 1798 in the 55th year | of her age

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

HERE LIES BVRIED | y^{e} BODY OF MRS | HANNAH DABY WIFE OF | | MR JOHN DABY, | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE NOVEMBER | 17th A D 1744 | AGE 58 YEARS | & 5 M.

Here lies the Body | of Mr John Daby | who Departed this | Life Jan^{y}. 6th A. D. 1769 | Aged 80 years and | 11 months.

'Tis but a few whose Days amount | To three score and ten;
And all beyond that short Account, | Is Sorrow Toil and Pain.
Our Vitals with laborious strife, | Bear up the crazy Load,
And drag those poor Remains of Life, | Along the tiresome Road.

Here lies y^{e} Body of | M^{rs} Elizabeth Daby, wife | of M^{r} John Daby, who | Departed this Life Septemb^{r}. | y^{e} 9 AD 1767, in the | 62 year of her Age.

My Looks like wither'd Leaves | Appear. And Lifes declining |
Light grows dim as Evening shadows are. | Life's vanisht into night.

IN Memory of | M^{r} JONAS DAVIS | who departed this life | May 30th 1764 | in the 37 year | of his age.

Here lies the | Body of Daniel | Davis son of Mr | Aaron Davis and | Mrs Ruth his wife | who died Decr 12th 1778 Aged | 10 days & 9 hours.

Here lies | Interred the | Remains of Mr | John Davis, who | Departed this life January 29th | 1768 In the 70th | year of his | age.

In Memory of | Abigail Davis | daugr of Mr Flint | & Mrs Abigail Davis, | who died Octr. 29th | 1800, aged 5 years | & 6 months.

EBENEZER ye SON OF EBENEZER & SARAH | DAVIS DYED MAY ye 23. 1735. AGD 20 DAYS

HERE LIES BURIED—ye BODY OF MRS | SARAH DAVIS | ye WIFE OF MR | ELEAZER DAVIS, | WHO DIED | FEBRUARY ye 3d | A. D. 1746 | AGD 31 YEARS | 9 M. 23 D.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Mrs Abigail Davis | Consort of the late | Mr Eleazar Davis, | Decd. Who Departed | this Life July ye | 29, 1762 Aged 58 | years, 11 Months & | 13 Days.

Here Lies Buried | the Body of Mr | Eleazer Davis who | Departed this Life | March ye 26 | A. D. 1762, | Aged 59 years | & 10 Days.

IN Memory of | Mrs. Mary Dickinson | wife of | Mr Francis Dickinson, | who departed this life | April 13th, 1790, Aged | 40 years, 3 months | & 6 days.

Here lies ye Body | of a Daughter | of Lieut Isaac | Dodge and Mrs | Elizabeth his wife | who was Born April 21st | and died 23d 1782.

Here are deposited the Remains | of Deacon Josiah Fairbank, | who departed this Life | Dec. 6. 1772 in the 79th year | of his Age.

In him were hapily united those Graces and Virtues which are the | distinguished Ornament of the | Christian Life. He was a tender | Husband, a kind and instructive | Father. a generous Friend & good | Neighbour. Having served his | Generation, yielding to the Will of | God. he fell asleep in a well | grounded Hope of a blessed Resurrec | tion to Immortal Life thro the | Merits of the Redeemer. Mark the Perfect Man and behold | the upright for the End of that Man is Peace.

HERE lies | Interred the Body of | Mrs Mary Fairbank | Relict of | Deacn. Joseph Fairbank | who departed this Life | Novr. 14th, 1791, | Aged 91 years, 11 mon. | and 6 days.

ERECTED | In Memory of | Abigail Fairbank | Wife of | Capt. Joseph Fairbank, | who departed this Life | April 12th, 1798, Aged | 76 years, 10 months & | 6 days.

Here lies Interred ye | Body of Thomas | Fairbank Son of Mr | Joseph & Mrs Abigail | Fairbank, who Deceas'd | Octobr. ye 10 A. D. 1756 | Aged 5 years 11 | months & 17 Days.

Here lies Interred ye | Body of Ephraim Fairbank, | Son of Mr Joseph & | Mrs Abigail Fairbank | who Decesd. Octobr. | ye 15, A. D. 1756. | Aged 2 years 11 | months.

In Memory of Lydia | Fairbank daughter of Dea. | Phinehas & Mrs Sarah | Fairbank, who departed | this life Octor. ye 1, 1782, | in ye 22 year | of her age

When on my Grave you turn your Eyes, | Remember you were born to Die.
Dear youth take care, beware, | Prepare to follow after me.

In Memory of | DEAN PHINEHAS FAIRBANK, | who departed this life | | Augt. 22d, 1800. in the | 82d year of his age.

By long experience I have known | Thy sovereign power to save;
At thy command I venture down | Securely to the grave.
When I am buried in the dust, | My flesh shall be thy care,
These withering limbs with the I trust | To raise them strong & fair.

In Memory of | Miss Mary Fairbank, | Daughter of | Lieut. Amos Fairbank | and Mrs Lucy his wife | Decd: who departed | this Life Novr: ye 1st: | AD. 1784, aged 18 | Years, 7 months & 4 D.

Retire my Friends. dry up your Tears,
Here must I lie 'till Christ appears.

Here Lies buried | the Body of | Mrs Lucy Fairbank, | Wife of Mr Amos | Fairbank, Deceased | November 12, | 1767, Aged 28 | Years & 12 Days.

Here are deposited the | Remains of Mr Jabez | Fairbank, who departed | this Life May ye 18 | AD. 1774 | Aged 30 Years 2 | months & 10 days.

Behold and see as you pass by, | As you are now, so once was I
As I am now so will you be, | Prepare for Death and follow me.

Here lies ye body of | Mary Fairbank, Daftr | to Mr Jabez & Mrs. | Keziah Fairbank, | who Died October | 11, AD. 1777, | Aged 5 years 5 months | and 20 Days.

Here are deposited ye | Remains of Manasseh | Fairbank son of Mr | Jabez & Mrs Keziah | Fairbank, who was Born | October 3th: 1767, | & departed this life | the same Day.

HERE LIES BURIED | ye BODY OF CYRUS | FAIRBANK ye SON | OF MR PHINEHAS | & MRS SARAH | FAIRBANK WHO | DECd OCTOBr ye 5th | A. D. 1746 | AGED 5 YEARS | 6 M & 13 Ds.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF | ELIZABETH FAIRBANK | THE DAUGHTER OF | Mr JOSEPH & MARY | FAIRBANK WHO DIED NOVEMBER | THE 19th. 1736 | AGED 2 YEARS | & 19 DAYS

HERE LIES | BURIED Ye BODY OF | CYRUS FAIRBANK | SON OF MR JOSEPH | & MARY FAIRBANK | WHO DIED | SEPTEMBER THE | 3d 1736 AGED 10 YEARS | 6 M | & 11 DAYS.

Here lies Interred ye | Body of Mrs Mary | Fairbank Wife of | Mr Joseph Fairbank Jun; | who departed this | Life August ye 26 | AD 1748 | Aged 25 years | 10 months | & 17 Days.

ERECTED | in Memory of | Mr Joseph Fairbank Junr. | who departed this Life | May 12th 1784 Aged | 40 years 5 months | and 18 days

Tho' I am dead & in my grave | & all my bones are rotten I
When this you see remember me, if not yet quite forgotten.

In Memory of | Mrs Eunice Farnsworth, | Relict of Mr | Nathaniel Farnsworth, | who departed this life | Augt. 6th. 1799 in the | 79th year of her age.

In Memory of Mr | Nathaniel Farnsworth | who departed this | Life March 7th. 1784, | Aged 70 years.

Memento mori. | HERE lies the | Body of Mr Jonathan | Forbush son of Mr | John Forbush & Mrs | Eunice his Wife. | he died May 26th, 1777 | Aged 20 years 1 month and | 26 days.

Memento mori. | Here lies Buried | the Body of Mr | John Forbush | who departed this Life Decr. | 6th, 1775, Aged | 65 years & 23 ds.

Here lie the Remains | of Mrs EUNICE FORBUSH | Wife of | Mr JOHN FORBUSH, | who departed this Life | March 14th, 1788, | Aged 74 years, | 9 months & 14 days.

HERE lies buried | ye Body of Mrs Sarah | Fullam wife of Lieut | Elisha Fullam, | who died May 15th | 1776 In ye 53d | year of her age.

HERE LIES BURIED | Ye BODY OF MRS | ELIZABETH GATES | ye WIFE OF INSIGN | JACOB GATES WHO | DEPARTED THIS | LIFE JANUARY ye | 24th A. D. 174$\frac{2}{3}$, | AGE 37 YEARS | 9 M. & 15 D.

Here lies | the Body of | Abraham Gates son of Mr | Jonathan Gates | and Mrs Mary | his wife, who died Novr 1st 1770 Aged 2 months & 6 days

Here lies | Interr'd the Body of | Ensign Jacob Gates | who departed | this Life | August 22, 1769, | In the 71st year | of his age.

The wise the just the pious & the Brave, | Live in their death, & flourish from ye grave.
Grain laid in earth repays ye Peasants care, | And evening suns but set to rise more fair.

ERECTED | In memory of | CAPT ISAAC GATES | who departed this Life | Oct^r. 30^th, 1796 | In the 68^th year | of his age

In Memory of | Mr Nathaniel Geary | who departed this life | Jan^r. 29^th. 1791. | In the 59^th year of his age.

Forbear my friends to weep. | Since death has lost its sting
Those Christians that in Jesus Sleep, | Our God will with him bring

Here lies Intered | the Remains of | Mr JOHN GOLDSMITH: | who was Killed by the fall | of a stick of timber at | Acton on the 22^d day of | Septemb^r. 1798, aged 28 | years, 5 months & 5 days.

This Monument is erected | In memory of | Mr Sherman Goldsmith | Son of M^r Richard & | M^rs Sarah Goldsmith | who departed this Life | at the Island of Tobago | Jany. 1796 in the | 23^d year of his age.

What though in foreign lands remote from home,
The dying stranger gently sinks to rest.
Yet man's vast brotherhood shall build his tomb,
And the lorn pilgrim lodge on Nature's breast.

In memory of Mrs Martha | Green (& Infant Babe) the | Amiable and virtuous Consort | of Doct. Peter Green, who | departed this Life June 8^th, | 1770, In the 25^th year ætats.

To the deep Regard of those who | were so happy as to be nearly | allyed to her, and the Great Grief | of numerous friends whose | Esteem her affable and | oblidging Deportment had | justly merited.

How charming all, how much she was ador'd
Alive; now dead how much's her loss deplor'd.

This stone | marks the grave of miss | Lucy Grosvenor | eldest daughter of the late rev. | Ebenezer Grosvenor and M^rs | Elizabeth his relict. She | died the 8^th. day of febr^r. | 1795, in the 29^th year of her age.

Who would resemble this young | lady must fly the noise and notice of the | gay, and seek in retirement the hallowed | pleasures of sobriety, sympathy & devotion.
Each lovely scene shall thee restore. | For thee the tear be duly shed.
Endear'd till life can charm no more. | And mourn'd till pity's self be dead.

ERECTED | In Memory of | Miss NANCY GROSVENOR, | Daughter of the | Rev. EBENEZER GROSVENOR, | and ELIZABETH his wife. | She died In the 16^th year of her | age.

The bloom of youth with all the charms, | Which make fair virtue dear,
Must yield alas! to deaths cold arms; For these lie buried here.

ERECTED | to the Memory of | M^r EBENEZER GROSVENOR son | of the Rev. EBENEZER GROSVENOR, | and Elizabeth his wife; | a student at the University of Cam | bridge, & would have compleated his | accadimecal studies the Commence | ment following; but death summoned | him to the world of spirits, & blasted | the expectations of his admiring friends | He died May 15, 1788 aged 20,

The tears that bountifully flow at the | memory of the deceased are but a | tribute due to virtue.
See death invades the sacred ties of love. | Bands of parental tenderness dissolve,
And calls from earth the soul to virtue form'd | To leave this lump of clay it once adorn'd.
When rais'd to more substantial joys on high | How great the change, how pleasing 'tis to die.

The epitaph upon the memorial placed by the town over the grave of Reverend Ebenezer Grosvenor has been given on a previous page.

Memento mori. | In Memory of Miss | Mary Hale, Daughter | of Mr Benjamin Hale | and Mrs Mary his wife, | who departed this Life | April y^e 12^th, 1782. | Aged 19 years 4 | months & 6 days.

Here lies the | Body of Mr | Benjamin Hale | who departed this | Life Sep^t. 20^th 1771. | In the 43^d year | of his age.

Here lies Buried | ye Body of Mr Timothy Hall, | Who Died Septemb^r 13^th: | A. D. 1751. | Age 32 Years | 7 M & 10 D.

Here lies the | Body of William Hall | Son of Mr | John Hall & Mrs | Sarah his Wife, | who died April | 15^th: 1781 Aged | 1 Year, 9 months 12 days.

Here lies the body | of Sally Hall | Daughter of Mr. | John Hall & Mrs | Sarah his wife. She | died Aug^{t}. 24, 1778, | Aged 3 years 3 M 2 D

Happy ye babe who priveleg'd by fate, | To shorter labour & to lighter weight.
Receiv'd but yesterday ye gift of breath, | Ordered tomorrow to return to death.

IN Memory of | Mrs Sarah Hamlen wife of | Capt Eleazar Hamlen, | who departed this life, | Nov. y^{e} 15th: 1788, | In the 45th year of | her age.

Here lies the | Body of ASIA | HAMLEN son | of Capt Eleazer | Hamlen & Mrs | Sarah his wife, | who died Nov | y^{e} 2, 1778 Æ 4 | years 5 months & 21 D.

IN Memory of | Mr Nathan Hartwell | who died | Dec. 8, 1768. | in the 49 year | of his age.

IN Memory of | Mrs Mary Hartwell | wife of | Mr Nathan Hartwell, | who died | Oct. 21, 1800, | aged 77 years.

ERECTED | in memory of | Lieut Shadrach Hapgood, | who departed this Life | Oct^{r}. 6th 1782, Aged | 77 years & | 11 months.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^{e} BODY OF | ASA HAPGOOD Y^{e} | SON OF LIEUT. | SHADRACH & MRS. | ELIZABETH | HAPGOOD WHO | DIED AUGUST Y^{e} | 16th, A$^{\cdot}$ D. 1743. | AGED 3 YEARS | 2 M. & 2 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | THE BODY OF MRS | MARY HASKELL WIFE | OF DEACON JOSEPH | HASKELL DYED FEB. y^{e} 23 1744-5 | AGED 43 YEARS | & 9 MONTHS.

Here lies the Body | of Mrs Abigail Haskell, | wife of | Deacon Joseph Haskell, | who died Jany 27th. 1775, | Aged 71 years & 2 M.

In Memory of | Deac^{n} Joseph Haskell | who departed this life | Aug^{t}. 7th, 1791. | In the | 93 year of his | Age.

Memento mori. | IN Memory of | Miss Eunice Haskell | Daughter of Mr Moses | & Mrs Anna Haskell | who departed this | Life July 16th, 1782, | Aged 28 years.

In Memory of | Mr Asa Haskell | son of Mr James | Haskell and Mrs | Anna his wife, | who died Nov. | 22^{d}, 1777, Aged | 24 years and | 21 days.

Here lies Interr'd | the Remains of | Capt. Samuel | Haskell who Departed this Life | October 13th, 1770, | Aged 55 years | And 29 days.

In Memory of | MRS SYBEL HASKELL | Relict of | CAP SAMUEL HASKELL | who departed this life | July 9th, 1799, in the 77th. | year of her age.

In Memory of | Sarah Haskell, daug^{r} | of Mr Samuel & | Mrs Ruth Haskell, | who died July 1, 1800 aged 7 years | & 3 months.

Here Lies Buried | y^{e} Body of Mr HENRY HASKELL, | who Departed | this Life | April y^{e} 17th | A. D. 1739 | About y^{e} 62 | year of | His Age.

Here lies Buried | ye Body of y^{e} Widow | RUTH HASKEL | Relic^{t} to Mr | Henry Haskel, | Who Dec^{d} | June y^{e} 16th | A. D. 1749 | About y^{e} 67 | year of | Her Age.

In Memory of | MRS. MARY HASKELL | wife of Col^{o} JOSIAH HASKELL, | who died Jany. 5, 1798, | aged 53 years

In Memory of Mr John | Hill, Died May y^{e} 30; 1764. | Aged 27 Years, 3 Months | & 10 D^{s}.

Behold And | See You That Pass By As | You Are Now So Once was I,
As I Am Now So You Must Be, Prepair For | Death And Follow Me.

In Memory of | CAP SAMUEL HILL | who departed this Life | Sep^{r} 21st 1797 in the 63^{d} year of his age.

So sleep the saints & cease to groan. | When sin & death have done their work,
Christ hath a glory like his own | That waits to clothe their sleeping dust.

Elizabeth; Daughter | of Mr John, & Mrs | Esther Houghton, | died ye 20th: of Sept^{r}: | 1771, Aged 1 Year | 1 Month & 26 Days.

Eunice, Daughter of | Mr John & Mrs | Elisabeth Houghton, | died ye 30th: of March, | 1769, Aged 4 years, | 8 Months & 14 Days.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mr Thomas Houghton | Who Departed This | Life March ye 9 | A. D. 1764, Aged | 67 years 11 | Months & 9 Days.

In Memory of | Mrs Moriah Houghton | wife of | Mr Thomas Houghton, | who died May 2d 1790 | Aged 91 years & 10 | months, | 13 days.

Here Lies ye Body of | Olive Houghton Daftr of | Mr Asa & Mrs | Elizabeth | Houghton Who Decd. Octr ye 22 | 1757 Aged | 4 years 7 Months | & 20 Days

Here Lies ye Body | of Asa Houghton | son of Mr Asa & Mrs Elisabeth Houghton | Was Born August | ye 1, 1756 & Died ye 7 Day.

JONATHAN | HOUGHTON SON | OF MR ASA & | MRS ELIZABETH HOUGHTON | WAS BORN ye 10th | DIED OCTOBR ye 13, 1750. | AGE 3 Days.

HERE lies Buried | ye Body of Mr Samuel | Hunt who depart | ed this Life July | 4th. 1775 In ye 68th | year of his | Age.

Here lies Buried | the Body of Mrs | Tabitha Hunt wife | of Mr Samuel Hunt | who died Novr. 2d | 1762 In ye 68th | year of her | Age.

Memento mori | In memory of | ENSN WILLM HUTCHINS, | who departed this | Life March 7th 1772, | In ye 77th year | of his Age.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Bethiah Hutchins | Wife of Mr William | Hutchins, Who Departed | this Life Octr. ye 21 | A. D. 1750 In ye | 59 year of Her Age.

The epitaph upon Reverend Daniel Johnson has been before given.

Here lies the | Remains of Capt. | Jabez Keep, who | departed this Life | Augt. 19th, 1774, Aged | 68 years' 4 months | and 28 days.

Nahum Kimball, | a promising & amiable | child of | Benjamin Kimball Esq. & Mrs Nancy | his wife: died Dec. | 9th, 1798, aged 4 years.

So fades the lovely blooming flower, | Frail s—— solace of an hour;
So soon our transient comforts fly, | And pleasure only blooms to die.

In Memory of | Mr Ebenezer Kingman | who departed this life | March 25th, 1781 | Aged 77 years | 2 months and | 2 days.

In | Memory of | Mrs Content Kingman, | who departed this life | Augt. 29th, 1791 | Aged 71 years & 7 days.

Memento Mori. | Here lies the | Body of Mr Daniel | Knight, who | Departed this | Life October 18th. | 1769, Aged 33 | years 5 months.

Here Lies ye body of | Deacn. Jeremiah Laughton | who departed this | Life August ye 11 | AD. 1775 | Aged 49 years 11 | months & 27 Days.

Here lies ye body of | Olive Laughton | Daftr of Deacn Jeremiah | & Mrs | Rachel Laughton Died | Novembr ye 25 | 1768 aged 6 | years.

In Memory of | Mr John Laughton | Who departed this Life | May 25th, 1791, | Aged 35 years | 10 months | and 28 days.

Happy exchange to part with all below, | For worlds of bliss where joys unceasing flow.

Here lies ye body of | Mrs Sarah Laughton | wife of Deacn John | Laughton, who departed this Life | February ye 4 | A. D. 1772 Aged 90 years, 11 months 24 Days.

Here lies ye Body of | Deacn John Laughton, | who Died March | ye 5th A. D. 1768 | aged 86 years | 1 month & 17 Days. and he Lived with ye | Wife of his youth | 61 Years and 18 Days

Here lies ye | Body of Phebe | Lawrence Daftr of | Mr Abel & Mrs | Phebe Lawrence | Who Died Oct. ye 31, | 1756, Age 12 | years 6 M. & 9 D.

Here Lies y^e | Body of Tryphena | Lawrence Dafter | of Mr Abel & Mrs | Phebe Lawrence | Died November y^e | 12, 1756, Aged | 7 M^s & 20 D^s.

IN Memory of | Benjamin Lawrence, | who died Aug: | 26, 1775, | Æ. 23, | Adopted son of Mr. Nathan | and Mrs. Mary Hartwell.

Here lies | the body of Mr. | BENJAMIN LAWRANCE, | he died July y^e 5^th, | 1767 | Aged 53 years.

Here | Lies the body of | Mr Jonah Maynard | who died | Oct^r: y^e 21^st: 1785 | In the 29 year | of his age.

ERECTED | in memory of | DOCT. EPHRAIM MUNROE | who died | Dec. 8, 1795, | in the 51^st year of | his age.

The Almighty spoke nor durst the power reply
A revrend horrour silenc'd all the sky.
Trembling they stood before their father's look,
At length his best belov'd the power of Wisdom spoke.

ERECTED | in Memory of | Mrs MERCY MUNROE | wife of DOCT. EPHRAIM MUNROE, | who died Nov. 10, 1788, | In the 36^th. year of | her age.

Friends and physicians could not save | My mortal body from the grave,
Nor can the grave confine me here | When Christ shall call me to appear.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Meriam Neeland | Wife of Mr Joseph | Neland who | Died March ye | 15, 1763, In ye 54 year of | Her Age.

Though of a date later than included in the plan of this record, the following epitaph is inserted as of especial interest. The slate stone upon which it is inscribed stands in the extreme north-western corner of the cemetery:

OTHELLO | The faithful Friend of | Henry Bromfield. | Came from Africa about 1760, died 1818, | Aged about 72.

IN Memory of | Mrs Alice Park | wife of | Mr Joseph Park, | departed this life | Feb: ye 9^th, 1788 in the | 32^d year of her age. | She was Daughter of | Capt. Eleazer Hamlen, | and Mrs Lydia his wife.

Memento Mori. | Here lies y^e Body of | Andrew Park son of Mr | John & Mrs Joan Park, who | departed this Life July 6, | 1775 In the town of Cam | bridge in his Country's | Service Aged 18 years | 1 month and 17 days.

My fellows and Brothers dear | And sisters that to me was near,
Come view the Place where I do lie | And think of your Eternity.
A Plasent youth a Loved Son, | And God that made him called him home.

Here lies the Body | of Mr John Park who | departed this Life | September 20 | 1768 | Aged 67 years.

Mourn not for me my Family, | But Live in Unity.
Remember you must quickly come, | To lie in dust with me.

In Memory of | MRS JANE PARK Relict of | MR JOHN PARK | who departed this life | Feby 6^th 1800 in | the 87^th year of her age.

Lord I commit my soul to Thee | Accept the sacred trust.

Here lies ye body of | Mrs Margaret Parker, | Wife of Mr Moses | Parker, | who departed this Life May y^e 3. 4. | A. D. 1750 aged 77 | Years & 12 Days.

GAD PEARCE | SON OF MR WILLIAM & MRS | MARCY PEARCE, | WHO DIED | JVLY y^e 19^th | 1739 AGE 2 YEARS 2 M. | & 2 D

Here Lies y^e | Body of Jonathan | Peirce Son of Mr | Jonathan & Mrs Sarah | Peirce Who Died | Oct^r y^e 19, 1759, | Aged 11 Months | & 19 Days.

Here lies y^e body | of Mrs Sarah Peirce | Wife Mr Jonathan | Peirce, Who departed | this Life March | y^e 3^d AD 1771 | Aged 36 Years & | 23 Days.

CAPT WALTER POLLARD | died Feb. 5, 1790. | Æt. 80.

DOROTHY | His wife | died June 22 1791 | Æt. 76.

In Memory of | 2 children of Cap | Thad. & Mrs Submit Pollard | Nathan died Nov^{r} 14th, | 1786. Aged 4 | years 7 months | & 28 days. | Nabby Died Jan^{r} 20th | 1790 Aged 17 | months & 22 days.

Early in life our God hath call'd us home | To sound his praise & bow before his throne.

In | Memory of Miss Eusebia Pollard | daug^{r} of Capt. Thad^{s} & | Mrs Submit Pollard | who died March 23^{d}, | 1790, Aged 21 years | 5 months & 15 days.

My days are spent, my race is run; Remember me though dead and gone.
Cease my beloved's to complain | My sleeping dust shall rise again.

In Memory of | Mrs Submit Pollard | wife of | Capt. Thaddeus Pollard, | who died Jan 26th | 1790 Aged 41 years | 6 months & 17 days.

When Christian meekness, truth & love, | Are ripened for the world above.
How great the privilege to rise, | Snatched in a moment to the Skies.

ERECTED | In Memory of | MR EPHRAIM POLLARD | who departed this Life, | April 15, 1799, | In the 32^{d} year | of his age.

Sleeping in Death, lies buried here, | A tender Parent, Husband dear;
With strict integrity of Heart, | He acted well his mortal part.
Just as the grass is withered, | Beneath the scorching sun,
His glory in the dust is laid, | His usefulness is done.

In Memory of | Mr Israel Pollard | son of Mr James | & Mrs Molley Pollard, | who died Jan^{r}. 1st. | 1788 | Aged 19 years | and 5 months.

IN memory of | James Pollard | son of Mr James | Pollard & Mrs | Molley his wife, | who died July 19, | 1779, Aged 19 | years & 6 months.

In memory of | Sarah Pollard Daugh | ter of Mr James | Pollard & Mrs Molly | his wife, who died | April y^{e} 7th. 1782, | Aged one year, 3 | months & 18 | days.

Cally Pollard | Daug^{ht}. of Mr David | & Mrs Patty Pollard, | died May y^{e} 7th. 1783, | Aged 2 Years | & 5 months.

In Memory of | MRS RACHEL POLLARD | wife of MR EPHRAIM POLLARD | who departed this life | Aug^{t} 10th 1793, In the | 28th Year of her age.

The Bride lies in the silent Tomb, | Like a rose, cropt in perfect bloom;
Death Crowns her life in virtue spent, | And gives her soul its full content.
We living, than the virtuous dead, | A greater loss sustain;
The pious soul to bliss is fled, | While we with vice remain.

HERE LIES THE BODY | OF MRS ELIZABETH PRIEST | THE RELIKS OF MR DANIEL PRIEST | WHO DIED SEPTEMBER | THE 6th, 1737 IN | THE 53 | YEAR OF HER AGE.

In Memory of | Oliver Priest son of | Mr Jacob & Mrs Mary | Priest, who died | Dec^{r} 11th, 1791 | Aged 1 month | and 10 days.

In Memory of | Mrs Mary Priest | wife of | Mr Jacob Priest | who died Nov^{r}. 7th | 1791, aged 33 years | 5 months & 19 days.

Death thou has conquer'd me, | I by thy dart am slain;
But Christ has conquer'd thee, | And I shall rise again.

In Memory of | Miss Sarah Priest | daug^{r}. of Capt. Philemon | & Mrs Lois Priest, | who died March 2, 1800, | Aged 21 years.

Fresh in the morn the summer rose | Hangs withering ere 'tis noon;
We scarce enjoy the balmy gift, | But mourn the pleasure gone.

HERE LIES THE | BODY OF MRS | HAZADIAH PRIEST | WHO DIED JULY | THE 1, 1736, | IN THE 19 | YEAR OF | HER AGE.

HERE LIES | THE BODY OF | THE WIDOW | RACHEL PRIEST | WHO DIED MAY | Y^{e} 17th: 1737: | IN THE 81ST: | YEAR OF HER AGE.

Here lies y^{e} body of | Sarah Priest Daft^{r}. of | Mr John & Mrs | Mary Priest, who | Died January y^{e} | 7, 1772 aged | 10 months & 27 days.

Here Lies y^{e} | Body of Mary | Priest Daft^{r}. of Mr | John & Mrs Mary | Priest, Who Died | June y^{e} 9, 1767, | Aged 2 Years | & 4 Months.

Here Lies y^e^ | Body of Calvin | Priest son of Mr | John & Mrs Mary | Priest who died | Oct. y^e^ 2, 1762. | Aged 3 Weeks & 4 Days.

Here Lies y^e^ | Body of Mary | Priest Daft^r^ of Mr | John & Mrs Mary | Priest who died | Sept y^e^ 29 | 1756 Age 1 | Year & 27 D.

Here Lies y^e^ | Body of a Son of | Mr John & Mrs | Mary Priest, Born | July y^e^ 19, 1749 | & Desecesed | y^e^ Same Day.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^E^ BODY OF MRS | SARAH PRIEST Y^E^ WIFE OF MR JOHN | PRIEST, & THEIR CHILD | BORN 3^d^ DEC^d^. Y^E^ 4^th^ OF Y^E^ SAME | MONTH, WHO DEC^d^ | DECEMB^R^ Y^E^ 6^th^, A. D. | 1744 | AGE 24 YEARS | 7 M. & 19 D.

Here lies y^e^ body of | Mr John Priest, | who departed this | Life April y^e^ 4^th^. | A. D. 1772, aged 54 years | 4 months & 2 Days.

Here lies y^e^ body of | Mrs. Mary Priest, | wife of Mr John | Priest, who departed | this Life June | y^e^ 17^th^. AD. 1772. | aged 43 years.

In Memory of | Miss Relief Priest | Daughter of Mr John | & Mrs Mary Priest, | who died Sept. 11^th^. | 1794, Aged 26 years | 9 months & 28 days.

In Memory of | Mr JABEZ PRIEST. | son of Mr JOHN & | Mrs MARY PRIEST, | who departed this Life | Nov^r^: 23^d^: 1789: Aged | 25 years & 10 months.

Just in my prime & noon of day, | The Lord hath call'd, I must away,
Down to the dust till Christ returns, | And Summons all before his throne.

Here lies y^e^ body of | Mr Jeremiah Priest | who departed this | life December y^e^ 28, | AD, 1781 aged 60 | Years & 8 Months.

Dear friends for me pray do not | weep, for here I lye in dust and | Sleep,
And here indeed I must | Remain till Christ shall rais me up again.

Here lies Buried | The Body of | JOB PROCTER | y^e^ Son of Mr Jonathan | & Mrs Elizabeth | PROCTER Who | Departed This Life | October y^e^ 7^th^ | A. D. 1751 AGE | 21 years 1 M. & 14 D.

Here Lies Buried | y^e^ Body of | AMOS PROCTER | Son of Mr Jonath | & Mrs Elizabeth | Procter who | Dec^d^ Septemb^r^ 5^th^ | A D 1749 | Age 10 years | 6 M. & 17 D^s^.

In Memory of | Mr Jonathan Puffer | who died November 1^st^ | 1782 Aged 71 years.

So Sleep the Saints & cease to groan | When sin & death have done their worst,
Christ hath a glory like his own, | Which waits to clothe their sleeping dust.

ERECTED | In Memory of Lieut. | JONATHAN PUFFER | who departed this life | Sept. 1789 | Aged 36 years.

Behold and see as you pass by, | As you are now so once was I,
As I am now so you must be, | Prepare for death and follow me.

Here lies the | Body of Molly Puffer, | Daughter of Mr | Jonathan Puffer Jun^r^. | & Mrs Abigail his | wife, who died May | 8^th^, 1776, Aged 1 Year | 4 month and | 22 days.

HERE LIES | THE BODY OF | SILAS RAND | THE SON OF MR JONATHAN | RAND & ABIGAIL | WHO DIED | DECEMBER THE 26, | 1736 | & WAS 11 YEARS | & 7 M. & 26 D. OLD.

Here lies y^e^ body | of David Randal | Son to Mr Stephen | & Mrs Sarah Randal, | who died March | y^e^ 18, AD. 1776, | Aged 5 years 1 | month & 29 Days.

Here lies y^e^ Body of | Sarah Randal Daft^r^ | of Mr Stephen & | Mrs Sarah Randal, | who died March | y^e^ 21 AD. 1776, | Aged 5 Years | & 14 Days,

In Memory of | James Robins | Son of Capt. Benj^a^ | & Mrs Lydia Robins, | who died Sep^t^. 25, | 1794 | aged 5 months | & 23 days.

In Memory of | Suky Robins | Daug^r of Lieutenant | Benjamin and Mrs | Lydia Robins, | who died May 5^th | 1791, Aged 10 days.

In Memory of | James Robins, | Son of Capt. Benj^a. | & Mrs Lydia Robins, | who died Sep^r. 13^th 1794 | aged 2 years | 2 months | & 24 days.

In Memory of | Miss Sally Robins daug^r. | of Capt. Benjamin and | Mrs Lydia Robins, | who departed this life | May 25, 1797 aged 18 | years & 5 months.

In Memory of | Peter Robins | Son of Mr Jacob | Robins and Mrs | Anna his wife | who died March | 20^th 1770 | Aged 5 years.

In Memory of | Susannah Daughter | of Mr Jacob | Robins and Mrs | Anna his wife, | who died March | 12^th. 1776, Aged | 3 years | 3 months & 5 days.

In Memory of Ephraim Whitcomb | Robins, Son of Mr | Jacob Robins & Mrs | Anna his wife, who | died March 23^d | 1770 | Aged 13 months | and 5 days.

Memento mori, | In Memory of | Lieut Jacob Robins | who departed this | Life Nov^r. 25^th, | 1778 In | the 50^th year | of his Age.

Here Lies Buried y^e | Body of Mrs Abigail | Rugg who Dec^d. Sept^m. | y^e 30, A. D. 1746. | Age 31 years 1 M. & 19 Days. Also their child, | Releaf Rugg, died Sept^m | 30, 1746. Age 11 M. | & 14 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^e BODY OF MR^S | DEBORAH RUSELL | Y^e WIFE OF MR | AMOS RUSELL | WHO DEC^d | SEPTEM^br Y^e 14^th: | A. D. 1745. | AGE 17 YEARS | 11 MONTHS & 28 DS.

Here Lies Buried | y^e Body of | Parker Russel Son | of Mr Jason & Mrs | Elisabeth Russel, | Who Dec^d Nove^r. | 16^th, A. D. 1750 | Age 4 years | 6 M.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^e BODY OF | PARKER RUSSEL Y^e | SON OF MR JASON | & MRS ELISABETH | RUSSEL WHO | DEC^d MAY Y^e 7^th | 1745, AGE 3 YEARS | 10 M & 16 D.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Mr John Sampson | Who Died April | y^e 29, 1759, | Aged 62 Years. | 7 Months & 1 Day.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^e BODY OF | ABIGAIL SAWYER | DAUGHTER OF MR | JOSEPH & MRS | ABIGAIL SAWYER | WHO DEC^d | MAY | Y^e 15, 1740, | AGE 4 YEARS | 6 M & 15 D.

In Memory of | Mr Joseph Sawyer | who departed this life | May 9, 1775. | In the 66^th year | of his age.

In Memory of | Mrs Abigail Sawyer | Relict of | Mr Joseph Sawyer, who | died March 30^th 1793 | in the 85^th year | of her age.

HERE LIES | BURIED y^e BODY | OF JOHN SAWYER | SON OF | JOHN & | MARY SAWYER WHO | DEC^d AUGUST | y^e 17, 1739. | AGE 16 YEARS | 10 M. & 10 D.

Here Lies Buried | ye Body of | Mrs Sarah Sawyer | Wife of Mr Caleb | Sawyer Who | Departed this Life | November the 15, | A. D. 1757. In | y^e | 90 year of Her Age.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mr | Caleb Sawyer | Who Died February | y^e 12, 1755, Aged | 98 Years, 10 Months. | & 2 Days.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Relief Sawyer Wife | of Mr Caleb Sawyer | Who Died December | y^e 2, 1764 | Aged 24 years | 10 Months & 20 | Days.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mr | Seth Sawyer Who | Died March ye 29, | 1768, Aged 63 Years 2 Months | & 29 Days.

Here lies the Body of Mille | Stone Daughter | of Mr Joel Stone & | Mrs Eunice his | wife who died | Dec^r. 17, 1771, | 1 Year, 6 M. 23 D.

In Memory of | Mr James Stone | son of Mr James & | Mrs Deborah Stone | who died May 21st. | 1789 Aged 40 years.

In Memory of | Mr James Stone | who departed | this Life June 24th: | 1788 Aged 60 years | and 10 months.

Also in Memory of | Mrs Deborah Stone | wife of | Mr James Stone, | who departed this | Life Novr: 2d: 1774 | Aged 46 years | and 33 days.

In Memory of | Mrs Mary Stone | Wife to Mr Micah | Stone. She died | Augt. ye 21st. AD. 1764 | Age 26 years | & 1 Month.

HERE LIES BURIED | Ye BODY OF ANNA | STONE DAUGHTER | OF MR OLIVER & | MRS HANNAH STONE | WHO DECd FEBRY: | 25th. 1749 | Age 7 Years | 9 M & 12 Ds.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Mrs Moriah Stone | Wife of Mr Oliver | Stone, Who Died | June ye 13, 1754, | Aged 32 Years | 11 M & 20 D.

Here Lies Buried | ye Body of Eunice | Stone Daughter of | Mr Simon & Mrs | Eunice Stone | Who Decd: June ye | 7; A. D. 1752, | Age 12 Years | 1 M. & 25 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | ye BODY OF DEACn | SIMON STONE | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE OCTOBR | 22, A; D. 1746. | AGE 60 YEARS | 2 M. & 21 D.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Sarah Ston Wife of | Deacn Simon Ston, Who | Departed This Life | May ye 30 1767 | In ye 78 Year | of Her Age.

In Memory of | Mrs Abigail Stow | wife of | Mr Benjamin Stow | who died March 15th | 1791 Aged 32 years | and 6 months.

ERECTED | in Memory of | Mr BENIAMIN STOW | who departed this Life | June 19th. 1790, In the | 72d year of his age.

The memory of the just is blessed.

Here lies the Body | of Mr Jonathan Symonds who de | parted this life Jan'y. | 24th A. D. 1770 | In the 55th year of his Age.

Death like an overflowing Flood, | Doth sweep us all away,
The Old, the Young, the Middle age | To Death become a prey.

Here lies the | Body of Ephraim | Taylor, son of Mr | Charles Taylor | and Mrs Mercy | his wife, who | died Sept. ye 7th: A. D. | 1778, Aged 1 year | 9 months & 2 days.

Memento mori. | HERE lies the | Body of | Israel Taylor Esq. | who departed this Life | Sept. the 2d, A. D. | 1779 | Aged 69 years | And 3 months.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Mary Taylor ye | Wife of Doctor | John Taylor, Who | Departed This | Life November ye | 29 A. D. 1764, | Aged 27 Years, | 9 Months & 22 Days.

Memento mori. | IN Memory of | Mrs Bethiah Turner, | wife of Mr Simeon Turner | who Departed this | Life Jan. 13th, 1773, | In the 50th year of | her age

HERE LIES BURIED | ye BODY OF | AARON WARNER | SON OF MR SAMLL. | & MRS HANNAH | WARNER, WHO DECd | OCTOBr Ye 12th | A. D. 1746 | AGE 24 YEARS | 8 M & 28 D.

HERE LIES BURIED Ye BODY OF MR | SAMUEL WARNER. | AS YOU ARE SO WERE WE AS | WE ARE SO YOU WILL BE. | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE JULY 17th | A. D. 1744, | IN ye 65 YEAR | OF HIS AGE

ERECTED in memory of | Mr Clark Warner, | who departed this life | March 25, 1792, | in the 39th year | of his age.

He suddenly was snatched away, | By death, that conquering foe,
But Christ shall brake the bars of death, | And let his prisoner go.

Memento mori. | In Memory of | Mrs Hannah Warner | wife of Mr | Samuel Warner | who departed | this Life April | 22d 1775 in ye 98th | year of her age.

In Memory of | Mr Aaron Warner | who departed this life | Feb. 12 1779. | Aged 25 years & | 7 months.

Memento mori. | In Memory of | Miss Sarah Warner | Daughter of Mr | Samuel Warner & | Mrs Hannah his | wife. She departed | this Life March 6th, | 1777, In ye 65th | year of her Age.

Memento mori. | In Memory of | Mrs Dorathy | Warner wife of | Mr Nathan | Warner, who | departed this | Life March 31st. | 1777, In ye 65th | year of her age.

ERECTED | to the memory of Mr Nathan | Warner, who died Jan.y 9th | 1792, in the 82d year of his age.

Economical Industry | managed his own concerns | & strict integrity his dealings with | mankind. Regular in his atten | dance on the public worship | of God & conscientious & exact | in the habits of sobriety, he | sought in private life the happi | ness which flows from "guiltless competency."

Here lies ye body of | Mr Josiah Wetherbee | who departed this Life | April ye 5 AD 1783 in ye 77 year | of his age.

Behold and see as you pass bv | As you be now so once was I,
As I am now so you must be. | Prepare for death and follow me.

HERE LIES BURIED | ye BODY OF MR | JOHN WETHERBEE | WHO DEPARTED | THIS LIFE MAY 30th | A D 1746 | AGE 44 YEARS | 11 M & 4 D.

Here Lies ye | Body of Micah Wetherbee son of | Mr John & Mrs Anna | Wetherbee, who | Died Sept. ye 10 | 1756 In ye 12 | Year of his Age.

Here Lies ye | Body of Anna | Wetherbee Daftr | of Mr John & Mrs | Anna Wetherbee | Who Died Sept. | ye 22, 1756. | In ye 15 year | of Her Age.

DELIVERANCE | WHEELER SON | OF MR THOMAS | WHEELER JUNR. & MARY HIS | WIFE, WHO DECd. OCTOBER Ye 7th. | 1748, AGE 8 YEARS | 6 M. & 9 D.

Here lies Buried | The Body of Mrs | Sarah Whitcomb | Wife of Mr James | Whitcomb Junr Who | Died October ye | 30 1766, In ye | 23 year of Her | Age.

Here lies ye body of | Molley Whitcomb | Daftr. to Lieu. James | Whitcomb & Mrs Lucy Whitcomb his | Wife, Deceased October | ye 15, 1778, Aged | 5 Years, 4 Months | & 15 Days.

Here lies ye body of | Mrs Sarah Whitcomb | wife of Mr Abel | Whitcomb who | Departed this Life | June ye 20 AD. 1772, | Aged 22 years, 7 | Months & 1 Day.

HERE LIES | BURIED Ye BODY | OF LOIS WHITCOMB | DAUGHTr OF MR | JAMES & MRS | HANNAH WHITCOMB WHO | DECd MAY Ye 16 | 1739 AGE 8 YEARS & 3 Ds.

HERE LIES BURIED | Ye BODY OF | LYDIA WHITCOMB | DAUGHTER OF MR | JAMES & MRS HANNAH | WHITCOMB WHO | DECd APRIL Ye 24 | 1739 AGE | 2 YEARS | 5 M & 28 D.

HERE LIES BURIED | Ye BODY OF | PETER WHITCOMB | SON OF MR JAMES | & MRS HANNAH | WHITCOMB WHO | DECd APRIL Ye 10 | 1739 AGE 5 YEARS 18 M & 24 D.

HERE LIES | THE BODY OF | MARY WHETCOMB | THE DAUGHTER | OF MR JAMES WHETCOMB & | HANNAH, | WHO DIED | NOVEMBER THE | 25, 1736, AND | IN THE 8 YEAR | OF HER AGE.

Here Lies Buried | The Body of | Lieut. Elijah Whitney | Who Departed | This Life February | ye 19, A. D. 1755 | Aged 47 | Years, 6 M & 14 Ds

Here Lies ye | Body of Elias | Whitney, Son of Lieut. | Elijah & Mrs Rebekah | Whitney, Who | Died April ye 12 | 1755 Aged | 14 Years & 9 | M & 21 D.

ERECTED in Memory of | Mrs HANNAH WHITNEY | wife of | Lieut. ISRAEL WHITNEY, | who died Augt. 14th. | 1788. Aged 34 years |

With serious joy th' enlightened soul, | Surveys a part, admires the whole,
Nor always silently surveys, | But fir'd with gratitude to praise,
In holy confidence is blest, | And calmly waits eternal rest.

In Memory of | Luke Whitney | son of Deacn Israel | & Mrs Naby Whitney, | who died May 2d 1795. | aged 2 years, 2 months, | 24 days.

In Memory of | Mrs Sarah Whitney 'wife of | Mr Abraham Whitney | who died July 4, 1800. | Aet. 82.

Here lies ye body of | Mr Abraham Whitney | who departed this Life, | May ye 19, A. D. 1784 | Aged 75 years, 3 | months & 9 Days.

Behold and see as you pass by, | As you be now so once was I,
As I am now so you must be, | Prepare for Death and follow me.

In Memory of | Mr RICHARD WHITNEY | who departed this life | May 4, 1798, in the | 73 Year of his | age.

Here lies the Body | of Hannah Whitney | Daughter of Mr. | Richard Whitney | & Mrs Mary his wife, | who died October | 14th. 1767, Aged 4 | Years 11 months | and 26 days.

In Memory | of Mr Wetherbee | Whitney who | departed this | life October. | 14th, 1775. Aged | 29 Years and | 5 months.

Here lies the | Body of Mrs Anna | Whitney wife | of Mr Aaron | Whitney, who departed this | Life July 16th | 1773 Aged 30 | years, 11 months & | 27 days.

Here lies the | body of Moses Whitney ye | only son of Mr Aaron | Whitney & Mrs Anna his wife, | who died April 25, 1773 | Aged 11 month & 21 days.

Here lies ye body | of Mr Jonas Whitney | Departed this life | Sept. ye 18th AD 1770 | Aged 71 Years 7 | Months & 7 Days.

Memento mori. | HERE lies the | Body of Miss MERIAM WHITNEY | Daughter of Mr | Jonas Whitney & | Mrs Zebudah his | wife who depart | ed this Life April | 30th. 1773 Aged | 22 years 8 months | & 11 days.

In Memory of | Mr JOHN WHITNEY | who departed this life | Dec. 25. 1781. in the | 65 year of his age.

Behold & see all that pass by, | As you are now so once was I,
As I am now so you must be, | Prepare for death & follow me.

In Memory of | Mrs Asena Whitney | Consort of | Mr Cyrus Whitney | who closed this scene of life | March 22, 1800 Aged 27 ys.

Shall we with faith's steady eye, | View thee thy kindred angels join;
An inmate of thy native sky, | While Heavens eternal years are thine.

In Memory of | Asena Whitney, | daughter of Mr Cyrus | & Mrs Asena Whitney | who died in her 8th | month, Nov. 4. 1800.

In memory of | Mrs Alice Whitney | Relict of | Deacn Jonathan Whitney | who departed this life | Feby. 19th, 1792, Aged | 92 years & 2 months.

Here lies ye Body of | Deacn Jonathan Whitney | who departed this | Life November ye | 8 A. D. 1773 | Aged 78 years | 8 months & 12 Days.

HERE LIES BURIED | Ye BODY OF SARAH WHITNEY | DAUGHr OF DEACn JONATHAN | & MRS ALAS | WHITNEY WHO | DECd DECEMBER | 26th A. D. 1746. | AGE 6 YEARS | 6 M & 26 DS.

Here lies ye body of | Jonathan Whitney | son of Capt. Hezekiah | & Mrs Lucy Whitney | who died May ye 5, 1776, | Aged 1 year & 2 months.

Here lies ye | Body of Joshua | Whitney, son of Mr | Caleb & Mrs Anes | Whitney who | Died January ye 24, 1750, Age | 3 Weeks & 4 D.

Here Lies y^e^ | Body of Anes | Whitney Daft^r^ of | Mr Caleb & Mrs | Anes Whitney Who Died January | y^e^ 13, 1758. | Age 1 Year 8 | M & 22 D.

Abel Whitney | died Dec. 2. 1799 | aged 8 Years 1 | Month & 11 Days, | Son of Mr Abraham | & Mrs Rebekah Whitney.

Joseph Whitney | died May 16. 1799. | Aged 4 Years | 4 Months | & 10 Days | Son of Mr | Abraham & Mrs | Rebekah Whitney.

The lines upon a memorial to Salmon Whitney, who died in 1844, are much admired:

"As for me I will behold thy face in righteousness;
I shall be satisfied when I awake in thy likeness."

In Memory of Mr | JOSEPH WILLARD; | he died July y^e^ 30^th^ | A. D. 1761. Aged 76 years.

In Memory of Mrs | ELISABETH WILLARD. | Wife to Mr Joseph Willard | She died Dec^r^. y^e^ 23^d^ | 1763 | Aged 72 Years.

IN Memory of Mr | William Willard | Who died March 17^th^ | 1797 aged 84 years | and 6 months.

In Memory of | Mrs Ellen Willard | Wife of Mr William Willard | who died Sept^r^. 21^st^. 1796: | Aged 81 years 4 mon. | & 9 days.

Here lies the | Body of Naby | Willard Daughter | of Simeon Willard & Mrs | Elizabeth his wife, | who died Sept. 9 | 1779, aged 4 years.

Memento mori | Erected in | Memory of Mr | Simeon Willard | who departed this | Life April 9^th^, 1777, | Aged — years — months.

Here lies the | body of Betsy | Willard, Daughter | of Mr Timothy Willard & Mrs | Elizabeth his wife, | who died Sept. 3^d^ | 1779, Aged 1 year | 9 months & 27 days.

HERE LIES | BURIED Y^e^ BODY OF | MR JOHN WILLARD | JUN^R^. ONLY CHILD | OF MR JOHN & | MRS ANN WILLARD | WHO DEC^d^ MAY | y^e^ 6^th^, A. D. 1739 | AGE 23 YEARS | 11 M & 30 D.

The lines which close the epitaph of Deacon Lemuel Willard, who died in 1821, have been much admired:

When present usefull; | Absent, wanted. | Lived, respected: Died, Lamented.

Memento mori | HERE lies the Body of | Mrs Abigail Wood | Wife of Mr Eliphelet Wood | she departed this Life | Jan. 23. 1780, in the | 48^th^ year of her age.

Behold and see all that pass by, | As you are now so once was I.
As I am now so you must be, | Prepare for death and follow me.

IN Memory of | MISS LUCY WOOD | daugh^r^ of MR ELIPHELET | & MRS ABIGAIL WOOD | who died Nov^r^ 5^th^, 1800, | Aged 32 years 4 m & 11 d.

Lament no more dear friends for me, | Under the dust you soon must be.
Cut down at noon my fate arrives, | Yet know that my Redeemer lives,
When the last trumpets joyful sound, | Opens the graves and saints are crown'd.
O then my friends we meet again | Dwelling in bless when time shall end.

In memory of Mrs Nancy | Worster. wife of Mr Samuel | Worster, who Died in | Childbirth Sept. y^e^ 21. | 1776, Aged 24 Years | 8 months & 21 Days.

Though she was fair while she had breath, | And on her cheeks the Rose did bloom,
Yet her Dear Babe became her Death, | While she became the Infants Tomb.

Here lies y^e^ Body of Rebekah Worster | Wife of Mr Jonathan | Worster, Who died. | January y^e^ 20 | AD 1772. | in y^e^ 58 year | of her age.

Here lies Buried y^e^ | Body of Mr Jonathan | Worster Who Died | April The 12 A. D. | 1754, Aged 46 | Years And 5 Months.

Dear Friends For Me | pray do Not Weep, | I Am Not Dead but | here do Sleep
And here | In Deed I Must Remain til | Christ Shall Rais Me Up Again.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^e^ BODY OF JOHN WORSTER | SON OF JONATH^N^ | & REBEKAH | WORSTER WHO DEC^d^ OCTOB^r^ Y^e^ | 26, A. D. 1746. | Age 5 YEARS. | 7 M & 18 Days.

HERE LIES BURIED | Y^e BODY OF | JONATHAN WORSTER | SON OF JONATHAN | & REBEKAH | WORSTER WHO | DEC^d OCTOB^r Y^e | 10^th, A. D. 1746, | Age 3 YEARS | 10 M & 4 DS.

HERE LIES THE | BODY OF MARY | WORSTER DAUGHTER | OF JONATHAN WORSTER | & REBEKAH, WHO | DEC^d NOVEMBER | THE 1, 1736, IN | THE 2 YEAR OF HER AGE.

HERE LIES | BURIED Y^e BODY | OF JONATHAN | WORSTER SON OF | JONATHAN & | REBEKAH WHO | DEC^d MAY 8, | 1739. AGE 2 | YEARS 1 M & 14 D.

HERE LIES | BURIED Y^e BODY | OF REBEKAH | WORSTER Y^e DAUGHTER OF. | JONATHAN & REBEKAH | WORSTER WHO | DEC^d MAY Y^e 13, | 1739 AGED 5 YEARS | 3 M, 12 D.

Here lies y^e body of | John Worster, Son | of Mr Jonathan & | Mrs Rebekah Worster, | Who died August y^e — | A. D. 1755 | in y^e 4 year of his | age.

Here lies y^e body of | Lemuel Worster Son | of Mr Jonathan & Mrs | Rebekah Worster, | who died April | 20 AD. 1773 | in y^e 20 year of | his Age.

In Still River.

In Memory of | Deac. WILLIAM WILLARD | who died March 7. 1793, | Æt. 55 years and 4 months.

Lord we thee thank, we sing thy praise,
For calling thus thy children home,
And shortning tribulation days
To hide them in the peaceful tomb.

SHAKER BURIAL GROUND.

Susannah Willard, Died Oct. 3. 1792, aged 62.
David Crouch, Died July 20. 1793 aged 68.
Eunice Lathe, Died Jan. 27. 1794. Aged 60.
Ruth Keep, Died April 19. 1794, aged 23.
Sarah Bemis, Died May 26. 1795. age 75.
Rachel Adams. Died June 21, 1796, aged 70.
Meriam Powers. Died July 23. 1796, aged 74.
Elizabeth Mixter, Died Dec. 25. 1797 aged 56.
Hannah Williams, Died July 10, 1798, aged 12.
Elizabeth Shattuck, Died Oct. 7. 1798 aged 72.

II. MARRIAGES, DEATHS AND BIRTHS.

1732—1800.

In the year 1890 Harvard appropriated fifty dollars to pay for copying the records of Births, Deaths and Marriages to the year 1840. The work has been completed, but the following lists have been made without reference to this transcript. Those of Marriages and Deaths copy the order of entry and the spelling of names in the original registry. The dates—which were irregularly abbreviated and placed by the

various scribes—are here made uniform. The words "of Harvard" have been omitted, it being understood that all are of this town unless otherwise noted. Words in brackets give information derived from other sources than the clerks' entries, or point to discrepancies between the church and town registers.

The clergyman's record of marriages usually has appended to each entry the fee received. These are not here printed. John Seccomb, during the earlier years of his ministry, generally had five shillings from each couple joined by him, though some generous grooms gave him double that sum. About 1750 the marriage fee became "one pound old tenor." Towards the close of his pastorate the entries were mostly "a dollar" or "half a dollar." On one occasion he sets down in his very plainest chirography a "pistareen." Reverend Joseph Wheeler from 1760 commonly records "2£ 5^{s}" as the fee received. This was of course in depreciated currency. During the Revolution the usual fee was six shillings legal money.

. Mr. Seccomb's record of deaths is probably the more complete because, at the time of his coming to the pastoral duties, the custom had grown somewhat general in the country of inviting the minister to offer a prayer at the dwelling before the body was borne to the grave. To the earlier New England such ceremony would have seemed to favor Episcopalianism. The classic but much abused custom of offering refreshments to the watchers over the corpse, and to the visitors on the day of the funeral, was deemed obligatory even by the poorest family. The death rate of 1778 surpassed that of every other year, the register noting forty-eight funerals. Three-fourths of the deaths were of young children, and nearly half of them were in the month of September.

The list of Births here given is a labored compilation from various records found scattered through the early town-books and elsewhere. For convenience of reference and to economize space, the disorderly entries of the clerks have been arranged by families and alphabetically.

Marriages by Reverend John Seccomb.

1734.	May 9.	Samuel Rogers and Sarah Houghton.
1735.	Sept. 18.	John Wetherbee and Anna Houghton.
"	Octo. 16.	Joseph Blood and Rebeccah Warner.
1736.	Jany. 8.	Abraham Rugg and Abigail Warner.
1737.	Jany. 17.	Nathan Warner and Dorothy Goodenough.
"	May 24.	Hezekiah Willard and Lydia Haskell.
"	June 23.	Ebenezer Taylor and Beulah Sawyer.
"	July 4.	Joshua Moore and Eliz: Sawyer.
"	July 22.	Josiah Butterfield and Hannah Farnsworth.
1738.	Jany. 13.	Wilson Rawson and Abigail Temple.
"	Feby. 23.	William Willard and Ellen Davis.
"	April 20.	Abraham Whitney and Sarah Whitney.
"	June 8.	Joseph Dâby and Eliz: Nurse.
1739.	May 16.	Moses Sawyer and Ruth Robbins.
"	"	Eleazar Robbins and Lydia Powers.
"	Novem. 29.	Tarbell Willard and Rachel Haskell.
1740.	May 13.	Benjamin Nurse and Widdow Hannah Atherton.
"	June 11.	Phineas Fairbank and Sarah Stone.
"	Sept. 5.	Joshua Nurse and Mary Sampson.
"	Sept. 30.	Jonathan Sawyer Junr and Betty Whitney.
1741.	March 5.	Phineas Wetherbee and Betty Whitney.
"	May 11.	Samuel Whitcomb and Submit Atherton.
"	June 25.	Justinian Holden and Ruth Sawyer.
"	Novem. 26.	Wm Bennet and Mary Atherton.
1742.	June 3.	Jonathan Beaman and Widdow Deborah Farnsworth.
"	Novem. 11.	Joseph Fairbank and Mary Willard.
"	Decem. 29.	Jonathan Crouch Junr. and Eliz: Worster.
"	"	Ebenezer Worster Junr. and Mary Crouch.
1743.	April 21.	Ephraim Robbins and Hannah Blanchard.
"	August 2.	Thomas Wheeler Junr. and Mary Daby.
"	Octo. 19.	John Wood Junr and Lydia Davis.
1744.	April 6.	Wm Whitcomb and Hannah Daby.
"	"	Isaac Stone and Kezia Pierce.
"	May 10.	Samuel Haskell and Sybil Willard.
"	May 28.	Simeon Farnsworth and Martha Hall.
"	August 7.	Joseph Whitney and Hannah Chandler.
"	Sept. 25.	Asa Harris and Eunice Kent.
"	Novem. 22.	John Peirce and Hannah Stone.
"	"	Daniel Page and Ruth Haskell.
1745.	Jany. 2.	Wm Farmer and Ruth Willard.
"	Octo. 29.	Robert Holland and Experience Atherton.
"	"	Ephraim Willard and Azubah Atherton.
"	Decem. 5.	Benjamin Willard and Hannah Goodfry.
1746.	April 2.	Abraham Willard and Mary Haskell.
"	May 1.	David Crouch and Mary Brown.
"	May 14.	John Farnsworth and Sarah Davis.
"	May 19.	Daniel Albert and Sarah Peirce.
1747.	Feby. 17.	John Wetherbee and Sarah Brown.
"	June 24.	Jonathan Cole and Sarah Holt.
"	Novem. 26.	Lemuel Willard and Hannah Haskell.
1748.	Octo. 12.	John Priest and Mary Fairbank.
"	"	Samuell Mead and Hannah Willard.
1749.	March 2,	Phineas Brown and Anna Willard.
"	May 24.	Jonathan Farnsworth Junr and Rachel Nutting.
"	June 28.	John Warner Junr and Phebe Whitney.
"	Novem. 16.	Samuell Haseltine and Amy Willard.
"	"	Caleb Whitney and Anise Church.

1750.	Jany. 4.	Joshua Harris and Rebeccah Mead.
"	"	Asa Houghton and Elizabeth Rand.
"	Jany. 17.	Nathanael Warner and Rachel Sampson.
"	March 14.	Benjamin Stow and Dorcas Stone.
"	March 22.	Ebenezer Warner and Abigail Sampson.
"	June 20.	John Crouch and Hannah Brown.
"	Sept. 6.	John Frost and Mindwell Bigelow.
"	Sept. 13.	Jonas Whitney and Zebudah Davis.
"	Novem. 8.	John Nichols and Mercy Warner.
1751.	Feby. 7.	Nathan Brooks and Mary Bigelow.
"	May 1.	Jonathan Cole Jun^{r} and Edith Davis.
"	Novem. 28.	John Goodridge and Abigail Hale.
"	Decem. 3.	Jonathan Read Jun^{r} and Betty Farnsworth.
1752.	Jany. 9.	Ebenezer Houghton and Susannah Farnsworth.
"	Feby. 11.	Jonathan Hildreth and Phebe Davis.
"	Feby. 19.	Henry Willard Jun^{r} and Phebe Atherton.
"	"	Grover Scolly and Lois Atherton.
"	Feby. 20.	Uriah Holt and Anise Willard.
"	May 20.	Timothy Whitney and Alice Whitney.
"	June 24.	Aretas Houghton and Anna Rand.
"	Novem. 16.	Oliver Whitney and Abigail Hutchins.
"	Novem. 28.	John Davis and the Widdow Hannah Johnson.
1753.	Jany. 25.	Benjamin Bridge and Ann Haskell.
"	Feby. 14.	Joseph Willard Jun^{r} and Elizabeth Hapgood.
"	June 14.	Jonathan Simons and Judith Cole.
1754.	Jany. 9.	Josiah Davis and Elizabeth Willard.
"	Feby. 27.	Amos Stone and Adna Hale.
"	August 8.	James Reed and Ann Con.
"	Decem. 3.	James Burt and Beulah Mead.
1755.	Feby. 12.	Samuell Corey and Sarah Chamberlain.
"	April 8.	Joseph Wetherbee and Hannah Forbush.
"	April 21.	Joseph Farnsworth and Hannah Flint.
"	Novem. 25.	David Whitney and Sarah Hill.
"	Decem. 16.	Samuell Harper and Mary Wheeler.
1756.	Feby. 18.	Manasseh Sawyer and Lydia Fairbank.
"	March 31.	Nathaniel Marble and Abigail Houghton.
"	July 7.	Moses Whitney and Elizabeth Hutchins.
"	Decem. 9.	Samuel Corey and Dinah Fowler.
1757.	March 9.	Clark Brown and Lucy Davis.
"	March 31.	Adam Rand and Elizabeth Randal.
"	April 5.	Benjamin Hutchins and Lucy Davis.
"	May 4.	Ephraim Reed and Elizabeth Peirce.
"	May 11.	Daniel Albert and Rachel Warner.

MARRIAGES BY REVEREND JOSEPH WHEELER.

1760.	Jany. 8.	Thomas Farwell and Sarah Davis.
"	March 22.	John Wetherbee and Martha Harris.
"	April 23.	Amos Fairbank and Lucy Gates.
"	May 22.	Joseph Willoughby and Lois Ball.
"	Octo. 21.	Deliverance Davis and Dorothy Wood.
"	Novem. 20.	Moses Stickney and Sybil Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 9.	Caleb Sawyer and Relief Fairbank.
1761.	Feby. 4.	John Sawyer and Elizabeth Gates.
"	Feby. 11.	Timothy Kneeland and Moriah Stone.
"	April 23.	David Sampson and Lucy Warner.
"	May 21.	Jonathan Gates and Mary Shed.
"	"	William Burt and Hannah Gates.

1761.	Novem. 26.	Peter Edes and Anna Haskel.
"	Decem. 15.	Tilly White and Keturah Somes.
1762.	Feby. 24.	John Wright and Elizabeth Houghton.
"	March 4.	John Conn and Ruth Davis.
"	March 8.	Nathaniel Willard and Elis: Haskel.
"	April 21.	Ebenezer Burges and Rachel Farnsworth.
"	May 11.	Caleb Church and Tamer Warner.
"	May 13.	Stephen Randal and Sarah Fairbank.
"	June 2.	Solomon Sampson and Rebecca Blood.
"	Sept. 30.	Peter Willard and Mary Stone.
1763.	Feby. 22.	Silas Rand and Sarah Farwell.
"	March 24.	Samuel Fellows and Mary Blodget.
"	Sept. 26.	Ephraim Davis and Sarah Farnsworth.
"	Octo. 4.	Joseph Kneeland and Abigail Bigelow.
"	Decem. 6.	Abel Farnsworth and Elizabeth McFarling.
"	Decem. 15.	Josiah Haskell and Mary Gates.
1764.	Jany. 25.	Deacon Joshua Whitney and the Widow R. Whitney.
"	Feby. 16.	Isaac Gates and Submit Lawrence.
"	March 1.	Paul Fletcher and Abigail Willard.
"	March 29.	Charles Taylor and Mercy Starnes.
"	May 29.	Oliver Willard and Lucy Haskell.
"	Sept. 6.	Thomas Daby and Mary Holt.
1765.	Jany. 17.	John Daby and Sarah Hapgood.
"	Jany. 31.	Ebenezer Nutting and Sybel Stickney.
"	"	John Safford and Mehitable Farnsworth.
"	"	James Haskell and Lydia Whitcomb.
"	Feby. 28.	Abel Davis and Martha Potter.
"	March 26.	Timothy Powers and Martha Sampson.
"	April 11.	Matthias Farnsworth and Mary Preston.
"	Octo. 31.	Phineas Whitney and Keziah Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 5.	William Farwell and Sybel Farwell.
"	Decem. 16.	Aaron Whitney and Anna Lawrence.
"	Decem. 26.	Josiah Starnes and Abigail Emerson.
1766.	Jany. 8.	Elijah Houghton and Mercy Whitney.
"	Jany. 15.	James Whitcomb and Sarah Gates.
"	March 18.	John Little and Margaret Parkes.
"	June 19.	John White Junr and Lydia Jeffs.
"	Sept. 2.	Nehemiah Phillips and Patience Bennett.
"	Sept. 25.	Simeon Willard and Elizabeth Darby.
"	Sept. 30.	John Darby and Dinah Willard.
"	Octo. 29.	Micah Stone and Elizabeth Lawrence.
"	Decem. 24.	John Laiten and Lowis Worster.
1767.	Jany. 1.	Silas Stone and Eunice Fairbank.
"	March 25.	Charles Bailey and Abigail Safford.
"	Sept. 17.	Samuel Cleland and Hannah Hale.
1768.	Jany. 12.	Lemuel Farnsworth and Hannah Daby.
"	Feby. 18.	Moses Richards and Ruth Willard.
"	March 23.	Jonathan Priest Houghton and Sarah Priest.
"	May 3.	Thomas Park and Rosanna Conn.
"	"	Thomas Willard and Sarah Farwell.
"	July 12.	Joseph Russell and Sarah Russell.
"	July 25.	Ambrose Hale and Mercy Daby.

Marriages by Reverend Daniel Johnson.

1769.	Novem. 16.	Josiah Willard and Eunice Farnsworth.
"	"	Nathaniel Whittemore and Martha Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 22.	Leonard Proctor of Westford and Mary Keep.

1769.	Decem. 23.	Abel Whitcomb and Sarah Whitney.
1770.	Jany. 25.	Joshua Holden and Huldah Samson.
"	March 8.	Thomas Holt and Dina Corey.
"	"	Ezra Atherton and Ame Willard.
"	July 23.	Shadrach Hapgood Jur and Elizabeth Keep.
"	July 26.	Samuel Worster and Nancy Wizel.
"	July 29.	Simon Daby and Judith Symonds.
"	August 29.	John Keley Jur. and Molly Park.
"	Sept. 11.	Oliver Saunderson and Eliz: Wintworth.
"	Sept. 13.	Nathan Night and Susannah Putnam.
"	Octo. 11.	Jonathan Crouch Jur. and Dorithy Law.
"	Octo. 26.	Ephraim Barnard and Hannah Fairbank.
"	Decem. 4.	John Farewell and Lydia Taylor.
"	"	Wm Henry Jur. and Mary Conn.
"	Decem. 6.	Danl Zwear Jur and Abigail Willard.
"	"	Samll Haskell and Ruth Safford.
1771.	Jany. 31.	Ruben Witherbee and Hannah Burges.
"	Feby. 14.	Phinehas Sawyer and Hannah Whitcombe.
"	Feby. 20.	George Leason and Betty Saunderson.
"	April 16.	Joshua Kendal and Dorithy Warner.
"	August 26.	John Meads and Sarah Whitney.
"	August 27.	Samuel Willard and Molly Stearns.
"	Sept. 10.	Jona. Peirce and Anne Hyle.
"	Octo. 15.	Francis Wright and Anne Harper.
"	Novem. 12.	Titus Coburn and Peggy Whittemore.
"	Novem. 21.	Joseph Atherton Jur and Hannah Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 5.	Coleman Saunderson and Submit Adams.
"	Decem. 26.	Elijah Wilder Jur. and Eunice Safford.
1772.	Jany. 22.	Amos Lawrence and Sarah Witherbee.
"	March 19.	John Priest ye third and Hannah Stow.
"	March 30.	Samll Garfield and Sarah Cole.
"	May —.	Israel Whitney and Hannah Mead.
"	May 25.	John Park and Rhoda Cooper.
"	"	Jacob Whitney and Lois Hapgood.
"	Sept. 17.	Levi Whitney and Sarah Lawrance.
"	Sept. —.	—— Eager and Dinah Sawyer.
"	Octo. 20.	Abner Sampson and Lucy Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 15.	Richard Whitney Jur and Mercy Willard.
1773.	March 9.	John Farnsworth and Hannah White.
"	March 15.	Samuel Finney and Sibel Wright.
"	March 16.	Isaac Gibson Jur. and Lois Sampson.
"	July 15.	Edmund Farewell and Mary Russell.
"	July 19.	Aaron Hodgkins and Phebe Wintworth.
"	August 26.	John Knight and Elizabeth Davis.
"	Octo. 20.	John Richards and Margret Conn.
"	Novem. 25.	David Farewell and Hannah Taylor.
1774.	Feby. 3.	Capt Josiah Whitney and Sarah Dwelly.
"	April 21.	Aaron Whitney and Sally Pollard.
"	"	Solomon Haskell and Betty Davies.
"	April 26.	Ward Safford and Priscilla Randal.
"	April 28.	Abel Whitcomb and Jemima Keep.
"	"	Daniel Witherbee and Mary Stone.
"	May 3.	Michael Sawtel and Sarah Fowler.
"	May 12.	Isaac Whitney and Lucy Mead.
"	May 17.	Samuel Cooper Junr and Sarah Willard.
"	July 3.	John Hall and Sarah Willard.
"	July 7.	Witherbee Whitney and Abigail Warner.
"	July 13.	James Willis and Molly Willard.

1774.	August 18.	Zacheriah Whitney and Elizabeth Witherbee.
"	Octo. 6.	Simeon Turner and Anna Bridge.
"	Octo. 13.	Benjamin Robins and Lydia Haild.
"	Decem. 15.	Thomas Atherton and Betty Whitney.
1775.	Jany. 3.	Reuben Willard and Catherine Parkhurst.
"	March 22.	John Burges and Betty Witherbee.
"	March 30.	Elijah Willard and Mary Atherton.
"	April 4.	Abraham Munroe and Lydia Hapgood.
"	Octo. 25.	Oliver Gates Jur. and Patience Meriam.
"	Novem. 19.	Joseph Chandler and Elizabeth Dopson.
"	Decem. 5.	Prince Turner and Rebecca Keep.
"	Decem. 19.	Thomas Chamberlain and Anna Brown.
1776.	Jany. 30.	Josiah Whitney Junr and Anna Scollay.
"	Feby. 2.	Matthias Farnsworth and Azuba Farnsworth.
"	March 21.	Philemon Priest and Lois Hartwell.
"	April 10.	Moses Hale and Molly Farwell.
"	April 18.	Eben^{z} Wood Jur. and Phebe Brooks.
"	April 23.	Reuben Garfield and Lydia Symonds.
"	"	Aaron Warner and Mary Stow.
"	April 30.	Abraham Densmore and [Widow] Mindwell Wintworth.
"	August 7.	Samuel Barret Jur and Abigail Houghton.
1777.	———	Timo Willard and Elizabeth Farnsworth.
"	———	Josiah Hartwell and Hannah Willard.
"	———	Willis Seccombe and Mary Brown.
"	———	Elisha Fullam and Elizabeth Knight.
"	———	David Crouch Jur. and Sarah Stearns.
"	April 16.	James Robins Jur and Anna Warner.
"	June 22.	Oliver Mead and Anna Whitney.

Marriages by Reverend Ebenezer Grosvenor.

1783.	Jany. 23.	Benjamin Hazzan and Elizabeth Gates.
"	March 11.	Jonathan Crouch Jun. and Anna Hill.
"	April 2.	Simeon Turner and Lucy Cox.
"	May 1.	Reuben Conant and Lydia Dudly.
"	May 15.	Samuel Barnard and Hannah Laughton.
"	June 10.	Joseph Willard Jun^{r}. and Susa Kingman.
"	June 24.	Francis Farr and Sarah Laughton.
"	June 26.	Jonathan Houghton and Rachel Hale.
"	Sept. 10.	Jacob Phelps of Marlboro' and Prudy Dudley.
"	Sept. 11.	James Bowers and Lydia Sawyer.
"	Octo. 7.	Phinehas Warner and Widow Elizabeth Willard.
"	Decem. 30.	Edward Macklene and Sarah Parker.
1784.	Jany. 22.	Phineas Whitcomb and Abigail Wethington of Stow.
"	Feby. 25.	David Dickinson and Lydia Munroe.
"	June 18.	Ezra Baker of Stoddard and Dorcas Whitney.
"	June 22.	Elnathan Darbey and Lucy Chaffen of Acton.
"	Novem. 25.	Joseph Parks of Groton and Alice Hamlen.
"	Decem. 9.	Oliver Divol of Leominster and Abigail Hill.
1785.	Jany. 2.	John Whitney and Hannah Atherton.
"	Jany^{r} 13.	Ebenezer Bridge and Annis Stone.
"	Feby. 17.	Jacob Houghton of Bolton and Olive Houghton.
"	March 22.	Isaac Whitney Jun^{r}. and Susanna Fletcher.
"	April 7.	Daniel Knight and Esther Fairbank.
"	"	America Hamlen and Sarah Parkhurst.
"	April 12.	Ephraim Fairbank and Lucy Nurse of Bolton.
"	May 3.	Ebenezer Davis and Sarah Wheeler of Concord.

1785.	May 10.	Samuel Sampson and Mary Farnsworth.
"	June 1.	Jabez Keep and Lydia Parkhurst.
"	June 2.	John Warner and Mary Piper. (he took her without any estate.)
"	June 26.	Onesimus Newell of New Ipswich and Sally Knight.
"	July 7.	Levi Worster of Littleton and Sarah Whitney.
"	Sept. 29,	Eliphalet Pearson of Andover and Sarah Bromfield.
"	Octo. 11.	Jonathan Haskel and Hannah Robbins.
"	Decem. 15.	Oliver Barnard and Martha Atherton.
"	Decem. —	Jonas Hosmer of Walpole and Betsey Willard.
"	Decem. 29.	William Knight and Lydia Cleverly.
1786.	Feby. 6.	Peter Atherton and Zilpah Pollard.
"	April 13.	Europe Hamlen and Dorcas Stow.
"	May 3.	Ephraim Chaffin and Sarah Hill.
"	June 11.	David Atherton and Esther Atherton.
"	July 2.	Jonathan Stone Junr. and Catharine Willard.
"	Decem. 19.	Warren Kent and Bethiah Turner.
1787.	Jany. 2.	Silas Parkhurst and Sarah Merriam.
"	April 5.	Caleb Sawyer of Bolton and Relief Fairbank.
"	May 22.	John Wilder of Templeton and Mary Holland.
"	July 3.	Phinehas Houghton and Sarah Knight.
"	Novem. 29.	Abel Houghton and Sarah Fairbank.
"	Decem. 10.	Jason Meeds and Silence Atherton.
1788.	March 30.	Israel Whitney and Susanna Garey.

MARRIAGES BY REVEREND WILLIAM EMERSON, ETC.

1792.	Octo. 2.	Nathaniel Page and Anne Wetherbee of Boxboro.
"	Novem. 6.	Isaiah Davis and Sally Hamlen.
"	"	Samuel Stearns of Leominster and Sarah Daby.
"	Novem. 3.	Benjamin Sampson and Molly Atherton of Bolton.
"	Decem. 18.	Elijah Houghton Jun and Lucy Haskell.
"	Decem. 26.	William Walcott of Stow and Mary Whitney.
1793.	Jany. 1.	Jacob Priest and Rhoda Warner.
"	April 8.	Asa Cole and Anna Goldsmith.
"	June 25.	Ephraim Pollard and Rachel Phelps.
"	July 9.	Nathaniel Butler and Dorcas Adams of Bolton.
"	August 11.	Joshua Davis of Groton and Sibyl Patterson.
1794.	Jany. 1.	Joseph Sawtell Jun. of Groton and Lucy Farnsworth.
"	April 3.	Benjamin Atherton of Bolton and Miss Lucretia Hudson.
"	May 22.	Phineas Stone and Sarah Mead.
"	July 2.	Jonathan Sawyer and Mary Priest.
"	Octo. 2.	Kiah Bayley, A. B., and Abigail Goodhue.
1795.	Jany. 12.	Nathaniel Allen of Weston and Mary Garfield.
"	Feby. 1.	Israel Reed and Anna Park.
"	Feby. 19.	Amory Pollard and Phebe Atherton.
"	March 22.	Samuel Dudley and Patience Atherton.
"	April 26.	Amos Fairbank Jun and Rebecca Whitney.
"	June 18.	Simon Daby and Betsey Whitcomb.
"	July 2.	Reuben Whitcomb of Boxborough and Mercy Priest.
"	August 4.	John Geary and Sarah Meriam.
"	Sept. 22.	Joel Stone of Waterford and Lucinda Parkhurst.
"	Octo. 6.	Thomas Legate of Sterling and Polly Farwell.
"	Decem. —	John Dennison Huse and Rebecca Parker.
1796.	Jany. 11.	Daniel Forbush and Ruth Forbush.
"	Jany. 20.	John Conn and Lucy Sawyer of Boxborough.
"	Jany. 26.	Abel Wetherbee and Sylvia Pollard.

1796.	March 20.	Francis Nurse and Abigail Puffer.
"	April 13.	Henry Parker and Mary Grosvenor.
"	April 14.	Benjamin Stow and Lucy Emerson.
"	June 19,	Cyrus Whitney and Asenath Harris.
"	June 23.	Ephraim Warner and Mercy Houghton.
"	June 27.	Josiah Haskell Jun., and Rhoda Fairbank.
"	June 28.	Phineas Barnard and Eliza Willard Whitney.
"	July 3.	Asa Daby and Eliza Houghton.
"	Octo. 10.	Elias Haskell Jun. and Lucy Priest.
"	Decem. 15.	James Haskell Jun. and Mercy [Sarah] Pollard.
"	Decem. 20.	James Richardson of Sterling and Lucy [Phebe] Meriam.
1797.	March 14.	Francis Dickenson and Mary Bowers.
"	June 11.	Leonard Whitcomb of Boxborough and Hannah Sawyer.
"	July 3.	Willis Sampson and Mariah Houghton.
"	August 24.	Timothy Wood and Sarah Hapgood of Acton.
"	Sept. 13.	Josiah Stone and Sally Daby.
"	Novem. 23.	Oliver Hill and Molly Goldsmith.
"	Novem. 28.	Elijah Dwinel and Hannah Cutting.
"	Novem. 30.	Luther Sawyer and Achsah Burnam.
"	"	Thaddeus Pollard of Bolton and Achsah Atherton.
"	Decem. 6.	John Hapgood and Molly Haskell.
1798.	Jany. 1.	John Munroe Dodge and Mehitable Dwinel.
"	Jany. 18.	Samuel Sprague and Lydia Whitney.
"	Feby. 5.	Jonathan Worster of Henneker and Mary H. Whitney.
"	April 22.	Thomas Davis and Mary Gates.
"	May 3.	Nathaniel Turner of Leominster and Susanna Baker.
"	Sept. 1.	Theodore Goldsmith and Mercy Hapgood.
"	Octo. 4.	Luther Turner and Abigail Geary.
"	Novem. 28.	Aaron Pollard of Lancaster and Anna Taylor.
1799.	March 14.	Jabez Wood and Abigail Stone.
"	April 4.	Cyrus Houghton and Sarah Gates.
"	May 9.	Thomas Hammond and Patty Laughton.
"	May 16,	John Pierce and Dinah Sawyer.
"	August 4.	Ethan Wetherbee and Betsey Robbins.
"	August 18.	Luther Stearns of Leominster and Lucy Warner.

MARRIAGES BY REVEREND ISAIAH PARKER, M. D.

1780.	April 24.	Samuel Finney and Rhoda Park.
"	June 29.	Peter Atherton of Lancaster and Phebe Daby.
"	Decem. 5.	Peter Stickney of Shirley and Eunice Carlton.
1782.	June 18.	Jonathan Atherton and Nancy Bridge.
"	Novem. 28.	Thomas Williams of Hancock and Sarah Reed.
1784.	March 21.	Joseph Buffum of Fitchburg and Sarah Haskell.
"	August 21.	Tubal Stone and Pegg Colburn of Lancaster.
"	Decem. 12.	Jonathan Lewis and Hannah Turner.
1785.	Decem. 13.	Thomas Willard and Sarah Fletcher of Concord.
1786.	August 24.	Michel Richards of Lunenburg and Lydia Davis.
"	Sept. 28.	Jonathan Davis and Sarah Warner.
"	Novem, 30.	Jonathan Willard of Lancaster and Lydia Munroe.
1787.	April 12.	Joshua Phelps of Lancaster and Elizabeth Whittemore.
"	Decem, 21.	William Willard of Lancaster and Sarah Haskell.
1788.	May 28.	John Pratt and Rebecca Darby.
1789.	Jany. 1.	Jonathan Rand and Mercy Taylor.
"	June 16.	Reuben Baker of Shrewsbury and Betty Maynard.
"	Decem. 10.	Jonathan Reed Jr and Lois Conant.

1789.	Decem. 30.	Gladwin Chaffin and Eunice Farwell.
1790.	April 22.	David Foster of Attleboro' and Sabra Atherton.
"	May 19.	John Gibson and Lucy Reed.
"	May 23.	Simon Hartwell of Littleton and Rachel Atherton.
"	June 20.	Levi Buttrick and Rebecca Willard.
"	Sept. 8.	Francis Meeds and Molly Crouch.
"	Decem. 16.	James Hill of Stoneham and Elizabeth Crooker.
1792.	Jany. 2.	Joel Willard and Polly Haskell.
"	Feby. 23.	Samuel Worster and Relief Johnson of Lancaster.
"	March 31.	Ephraim Stone and Ame Haskell.
"	June 20.	David Barnard and Polly Emerson.
"	Sept. 6.	Moses Haskell and Sarah Willard.
"	Octo. 20.	Benjamin Wyman and Hannah Boynton.
"	Novem. 16.	Elisha Knight and Lydia Farnsworth.
"	Decem. 27.	John Goldsmith and Moriah Houghton.
1792.	May 22.	Simon Whitney and Polly Welch.
"	Sept. 26.	John Crouch Jr of Boxboro' and Lucy Willard.
"	Decem. 2.	William Merriam and Ruth Fletcher.
"	Decem. 18.	Paul Willard and Martha Haskell both of Lancaster.
1793.	Jany. 24.	Silas Willard and Hannah Hawks both of Lancaster.
"	March 7.	John Joy of Ashby and Eunice Godfrey of Lancaster.
"	Sept. 18.	Benjamin Locke and Eunice Bardean.
"	Sept. 16.	Abel Morse and Polly Park.
"	Novem. 7.	Salmon Willard and Rachel Whitney.
1794.	March 5.	Israel Longley of Shirley and Lucy Conant.
1795.	May 26.	Thomas Hammond and Betsy Hapgood.
"	July 2.	David Lesson and Louisa Robbins.
"	August 23.	Daniel Bardean and Nabby Cooper.
"	Sept. 15.	Scripture Frost of Shirley and Sarah Sprague.
"	Novem. 2.	Aaron Davis and Hepsibeth Priest.
1796.	April 7.	Nathaniel Williams and Dinah Davis.
"	July 3.	Moses Wares and Polly Foster.
1797.	Jany. 8.	Joseph Ballard of Andover and Sally Parker.
"	Feby. 23.	Joel Cutting of Fitchburg and Eunice Carlton.
"	April 5.	Ivory Longley of Shirley and Lydia Munroe.
"	Octo. 15.	James Willard of Lancaster and Ame Atherton.
"	Novem. 5.	Samuel Walker of Leominster and Betty Farrington.
"	Decem. 11.	Samuel Stillman Parker and Rebecca Thomas of Lancaster.
"	Decem. 17.	Abel Willard and Eleanor Bowles.
1798.	Jany. 14.	Stephen Farrar and Lucy Davis.
"	Jany. 23,	Francis Barnard and Sarah Hammond.
"	April 5.	Levi Hill and Sabra Barnard.
"	May 27.	Josiah Brooks and Eunice Willard.
"	Sept. 30.	John Haskell and Lucy Harris.
1799.	Jany. 2.	Jesse Willard of Lancaster and Nabby Farnsworth.

MARRIAGES BY PETER ATHERTON, ESQ.

1746.	Novem. 27.	Jonathan Whitney and Sarah Holt.
1747.	August 25.	David Whitney and Olive Sawyer.
1748.	March 31.	Isaac Willard and Hannah Farnsworth.
"	Novem. 24,	Oliver Atherton and Rachel Goodfrey.
1749.	Octo. 31.	Benjamin Mead and Abigail Willard.
1750/1.	March 5.	Daniel Houghton of Bolton and Experience Willard.
1751.	May 29.	Moses Warner and Unice Whitney of Stow.
"	Sept. 26.	Joseph Houghton and Ame Haskell of Bolton,
1752.	May 26.	Robert Powers of Littleton and Anna Wetherbee.

1752.	Novem. 16.	Joseph Atherton and Sarah Hutchins.
1753.	Feby. 6.	Stephen Gates and Dinah Mead
"	August 2.	Joseph Moffett of Ipswich Canada and Dorathy Priest of Stow.
1754.	June 4,	Elisha Coolidge and Sarah Boutelle both of Leominster.
"	Octo. 24.	John Pratt and Mary Hall.
1755.	May 21.	Thomas Wright and Moriah Houghton.
1756.	May 26.	Peter Atherton Junr and Betty Atherton of Bolton.
1757.	Jany. 17.	George Peirce of Lincoln and Deborah Tarbell.
"	Octo. 6.	Benjamin Hale and Mary Taylor.
"	Octo. 12.	Jonathan Clark and Mercy Hapgood.
"	"	Gording Hutchins and Dolly Stone.
"	Novem. 17.	Asa Robbins of Petersham and Hannah Russell.
"	Decem. 8.	Richard Holden and Dorathy Adams.
1758.	Jany. 8.	Edward Hazen of Shirley and Sarah Willard of Lancaster.
"	Feby. 2.	Abijah Frost of Shirley and Sarah Laughton.
"	"	John Atherton and Hannah Cole.
"	March 14.	Jonathan Sampson and Mary Oak.
"	April 20.	Richard Harris and Phebe Atherton. [widow of John.]
"	May 30.	Nathaniel Haseltine and Patience Whitcombe.
"	June 28.	Jonathan Farwell and Eunice Hazen of Stow.
"	Octo. 19.	Ebenezer Knight of Lancaster and Prudence Church,
"	Novem. 23.	Benjamin Cutter of Lexington and Elizabeth Buttrick.
1759.	Jany. 11.	Elkanah Keyes and Elisabeth Warner.
"	Feby. 22.	Benjamin Barnard and Mary Hunt.
"	March 24.	Samuel Nichols and Lydia Willard.
"	March 3.	Abijah Cole and Sarah Kent.
"	March 17.	Micah Stone and Mary Whitney.
"	Decem. 19.	Jotham Houghton and Esther Taylor, both of Petersham.
1760.	Jany. 15.	Silas Farnsworth and Lydia Platts.
"	Jany. 29.	Nathaniel Wheeler and Mary Taylor, both of Westminster.
"	Jany. 17.	Timothy Haild and Elizabeth Byham both of Narragansett No. 6.
"	Decem, 11.	William Willard and Mary Whittemore.
1761.	March 31.	Jeremiah Bridge of Lexington and Sarah Buttrick.
"	Decem. 31.	Ephraim Houghton and Lois Rogers of Boxford.
1762,	Jany. 18.	John Farewell and Eunice Snow.
"	March 11.	Oliver Wetherbee and Rachel Willard.
"	April 26.	Jonathan Oak and Abigail Rand.
"	April 29.	Silas Parkhurst of Pepperell and Sarah Atherton.
"	Sept. 8.	Ephraim Farr of Westminster and Elisabeth Cobleigh of New Braintree.
"	Sept. 13.	Thomas Sawyer of Templeton and Prudence Carter of Bolton.
"	Decem. 30.	Oliver Stone and Lucy Willard.
1763.	Decem. 6.	Elisha Jackson and Bulah Taylor, both of Westminster.
"	Decem. 21.	Josiah Houghton and Abigail Godfrey, both of Lancaster.
1764.	Jany. 19.	Samuel Hunt and Lydia Willard.

MARRIAGES BY ISRAEL TAYLOR, ESQ.

1768.	April 5.	Thomas Gould of Lunenburg and Elizabeth Willard.
"	May 5.	Simon Whitney and Patience Haseltine.

1768.	June 28.	Timothy Phelps and Sarah Farnsworth.
"	Octo. 18.	Nahum Daby and Susanna Worster.
"	Decem. 1.	Richard Harris Jr and Lydia Atherton.
1769.	Feby. 2.	Jonathan Page of Fitchburg and Esther Willard.
"	April 11.	Ebenezer Burges Jr and Anna Fairbank.
"	August 14.	William Miles and Sarah Sanderson.
"	Sept. 27.	Josiah Wetherbee and Lucy Haskell.
1770.	Feby. 22.	William Farmer and Hannah Holt.
"	April 23.	Nathaniel Hastings and Jemima Bennett.
"	April 30.	Abram Carlton of Lunenburg and Eunice Willard.
"	Octo. 25.	Gibson Willard and Mary Hall.
1773.	June 7.	Isaac Holden and Sarah Hale.
1774.	May 5.	Jonathan Puffer and Abigail Fairbank.
"	"	Hezekiah Whitney and Lucy Pollard.
"	July 27.	Elisha Fullam and Mary Willard.
"	Decem. 19.	John Overlock and Molly Bigelow.
1776.	March 13.	Francis Dickerson of Shelburn and Mary Fairbank.
"	March 14.	James Willis and Alice Adams.

Marriages by Joseph Wheeler, Esq.

1777.	August 10.	Jonathan Davis and Alice Whitney.
"	Sept. 14.	Francis Farr and Abigail Haskell.
"	"	Joshua Bowers and Mary Whitney.
"	Novem. 20.	James Farmer and Deborah Stone.
"	"	Lemuel Stone and Martha Fullam.
"	Sept. 23.	Marlboro' Kingman and Sybil Haskell.
1778.	Jany. 11.	Gideon Sanderson and Hannah Dodge.
"	March 12.	Harbour Farnsworth and Lucy Haild.
"	March 19.	Phineas Taylor of Stow and Sarah Haseltine.
"	Jany. 23.	Barzillai Willard and Silva Kingman.
"	April 29.	William Safford and Sarah Scollay.

Marriages by Josiah Whitney, J. P.

1782.	Octo. 14.	Simon Blanchard and Elizabeth White of Littleton.
"	Novem. 12.	Israel Hale and Esther Taylor.
1783.	Jany. 3.	Thaddeus Brown and Molly Pollard.
"	May 27.	James Whitney and Rachel Laughton.
"	Sept. 25.	Josiah Whitney and Lois Hill.
"	Novem. 27.	Josiah Maynard and Betty Woodbury.
1784.	Feby. 17.	Daniel Daby and Abigail Sawyer.
"	May 27.	Jonas Davis and Abigail Sampson.
"	June 16.	Jonathan Atherton and Mary Welsh of Bolton.
"	Sept. 23.	John Welsh and Ruth Corley of Bolton.
"	Octo. 25.	Elijah Priest and Lois Gates.
"	Decem. 14.	Elias Warner and Abigail Priest.
1785.	Feby. 9.	Jeremiah Bacon Jr. of Dover and Betty Davis.
"	March 7.	Eli Longley and Mary Whitcomb.
"	"	Abel Priest and Zerviah Whitcomb.
"	August 21.	Jeremiah Richardson of New Fane and Triphena Whitcomb.
"	June 6.	Joseph Pratt and Elizabeth Sawyer.
"	Sept. 26.	John Blanchard of Sutton and Huldah Carol of Groton.
"	Octo. 24.	Nathaniel Geary Jr and Betty Farnsworth.
1787.	April 10.	Ebenezer Davis and Sarah Whitney.
"	July 31.	John Conn and Molly Farwell.
1788.	Feby. 12.	William Flood and Sybil Clark both of Lancaster.

1788.	June 1.	Simon Daby and Joanna Hale.
"	Octo. 10.	Elnathan Polley and Rebecca Warner.
1789.	May 12.	John Laughton and Patty Pollard.
"	May 21.	Oliver Haskell Jr and Mary Atherton.
"	Novem. 17.	Benjamin Hoar of Littleton and Abigail Whitney.
1790.	Jany. 27.	Josiah Davis and Susanna Stone.
"	Feby. 8.	Stephen Lawrence and Lucy Stone.
"	Feby. 15.	John Falls of Dublin and Flora Whitney.
"	June 10.	Edward Baker of Littleton and Betsy Reed.
"	Octo. 12.	Oliver Davis and Sarah Pollard.
"	Octo. 17.	Hezekiah Hildreth of Tyngsboro' and Sarah Davis.
1791.	Febv. 1.	Charles Warner and Rhoda Sawyer.
"	Feby. 15.	Jabez Fairbank and Betsy Houghton.
"	April 19.	Israel Taylor and Sarah Rand.
"	May 11.	Jeremiah Laughton and Sarah Sawyer of Boxboro'.

1732.	Novem. 29.	Eleazar Davis and Sarah Willard, by T. W., J. P.
1740.	Octo. 2.	John Sampson juner and Martha Sawyer, by John Martyn, J. P.
[1742.	June 3.	John Priest and Sarah Whitney.]
1756.	Sept. 23.	John Taylor and Mary Bouker....by Joseph Blanchard of Dunstable, J. P.
1792.	March 20.	Jacob Fairbank and Sarah Goldsmith, by Rev. Edmund Foster of Littleton.
1792.	Decem. 4.	Thomas Reed and Ame Parkhurst, by Rev. Moses Adams of Acton.
1799.	Octo. 27.	Jonas Merriam and Rachel Parkhurst, by Rev. Edmund Foster of Littleton.

MARRIAGES OF HARVARD CITIZENS CONSUMMATED IN OTHER TOWNS.

ASHBURNHAM.

1788.	August 21.	—— Marrett and Sarah Shed of Ashburnham, by Samuel Wilder, Esq.

BERLIN.

1788.	Octo. 29.	Phillip Cooledge of Bolton and Mary Bennett, by Ephraim Fairbank, Esq.

BEDFORD.

1746.	Feby. 6.	Amos Brooks and Lydia Bacon of Bedford, by Rev. —— Bowers.
1794.	June 16.	Levi Conant and Abigail Davis of Bedford, by Rev. Ezra Ripley.

BILLERICA.

1754.	Sept. 17.	Silas Farnsworth and Elizabeth Bowers of Billerica by Rev. Jno. Chandler.
1761.	May 14.	Elias Haskell and Sarah Kidder of Billerica, by Rev. Samson Spaulding.
1796.	Octo. 25	Rev. William Emerson and Ruth Haskins of Billerica by Rev. Sam[l]. Parker.

BOLTON.

1759.	Sept. 19.	Paul Whitcomb of B. and Rebecca Whitney, by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1760.	Octo. 21.	Rev. Joseph Wheeler and Mrs. Mary Greenleaf of B. by Rev. Thomas Goss.

1763.	Novem. 28.	Phineas Houghton of B. and Eunice Rogers, by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1764.	Octo. 2.	Abraham Scott of B. and Mary Kent, by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1765.	Decem. 23.	Dr. Nathaniel Martyn and Mrs. Anna Townsend of B. by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1767.	July 2.	Jacob Holmes of Worcester and Elizabeth Gates of H. by John Whetcomb, Esq.
1768.	Novem, 30.	Elisha Houghton and Meriah Pairs of B. by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1769.	Jany. 12.	Moses Worcester and Sarah Witt, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	Feby. 27.	Phineas Warner and Lydia Whitney of B. by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	June 14.	Abel Farwell and Hannah Daby, by Rev. Thomas Goss.
"	June 29.	Samuel Burnam and Hannah Pearce of B., by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1770.	——	Stephen Wilder of Lancaster and Betty Sawyer, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
1771.	Jany. 9.	John Whitney and Sarah Atherton, by John Whitcomb, Esq,
"	——	Jeremiah Priest Jr. and Rebecca Houghton of B., by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1772.	April 14.	Elijah Whitney and Sarah Stearns of B., by Rev. Thomas Goss.
1773.	May 20.	Silas Houghton and Sarah Wyman of B., by John Whitcomb, Esq,
1774.	March 24.	William Burgess and Elizabeth Richardson of B., by Rev. John Walley.
"	Decem. 15.	Jacob Davis and Ruth Atherton of B., by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	——	Job Priest and Martha Butler of B., by John Whitcomb, Esq.
1776.	April 30.	Ebenezer Warner Jr. and Deborah Ball of B., by Rev. John Walley.
1777.	Feby. 13.	James Stone and Susanna Fosgate of B., by Rev. Thomas Goss.
"	Sept. 12.	Daniel Laughton and Lucy Dutton, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	Decem. 24.	David Stearns and Lois Crouch, by Rev. John Walley.
1779.	April 8.	Simon Meriam of Bolton and Phebe Lock, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	Novem. 10.	Cyrus Fairbank and Mercy Hale of Stow, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	Decem. 9.	Asa Houghton Jr. and Dorcas Moore of Bolton, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
1780.	July 5.	Nathan Priest and Mary Bacon of Bedford, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	August 28.	Zaccheus Dudley and Mary Conant, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
1781.	Jany. 11.	Samuel Forbush and Mary Warner, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	Feby. 22.	John Warner Jr. and Susanna Barrett of Leominster, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	March 5.	Nathaniel Longley and Keziah Fairbank, by John Whitcomb, Esq.
"	"	Thaddeus Pollard and Mary Fairbank, by John Whitcomb, Esq.

1781.	August 29.	Jonathan Barrett and Phebe Warner, by Rev. John Walley.
"	Octo. 31.	Jacob Houghton of Bolton and Lucy Houghton, by Rev. John Walley.
1783.	August 11.	Daniel Robbins and Elizabeth Townsend of Marlboro' by Rev. Reuben Puffer.
1786.	Jany. 12.	Phineas Samson and Rachel White of Bolton, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
1787.	Novem. 29.	Calvin Warner and Anna Houghton of Bolton, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
1788.	Octo. 2.	Joseph Atherton 3d and Anna Wheeler of Bolton, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
"	Novem. 13.	David Stone and Lucy Samson, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
"	Decem. 23.	Manasseh Sawyer and Mercy Mead, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
1789.	April 22.	Israel Whitney and Abigail Puffer. by Rev. Phineas Wright.
1790.	Decem. 26.	Capt. Thaddeus Pollard and Mrs. Elizabeth Atherton, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
1791.	May 19.	Thomas Sawyer Jr. and Hannah Whitney, by Rev. Phineas Wright.
"	Sept. 19.	Abel Sawyer and Polly Cutting of Boylston, by Rev. Phineas Wright.

BOXBOROUGH.

1794.	Decem. 11.	David Nurse and Lois Brown of Boxboro', by Rev. Joseph Willard.

CAMBRIDGE.

1776.	August 5.	Isaac Haild and Sarah Bowers of Cambridge, by William Kneeland. Esq.

CONCORD.

1764.	Jnne 19.	William Stearns of Littleton and Elizabeth Burt, by T. Whiting, Esq.
1776.	Feby. 28.	Josiah Whitney Jr. and Mary Wheeler of Concord, by Ephraim Wood, Esq.
1798.	Decem. 20.	Jonas Bateman and Abigail How of Concord, by Rev. Ezra Ripley.

DEDHAM.

1783.	Novem. 13.	Seth Gould and Margaret Craige of Dedham, by Rev. Jabez Chickering.

FRAMINGHAM.

1787.	June —	David Kendall to Hannah Rider, by Rev. David Kellogg.

GROTON.

[1737.	July 5.	Joseph Bridge and Elizabeth Atkinson of Groton.]
[1742.	July 15.	John Farwell and Sarah Sawtell of Groton.]
[1747.	April 20.	John Darby and Elizabeth Holden of Groton.]
[1749.	Octo. 4.	Joseph Fairbanks and Abigail Tarbell of Groton.]
1759.	March 1.	John Dudley of Groton and Sybil Russell. by Caleb Trowbridge, Esq.
1760.	March 11.	John Houghton and Esther Tarbel of Groton, by Caleb Trowbridge, Esq.
1767.	May 5.	Jonathan Farnsworth and Hannah Farwell of G., by Rev. Samuel Dana.
1772.	May 11.	Jonathan Weatherbee and Abigail Farwell of Groton, by Rev. Samuel Dana.

1773.	March 18.	Jonathan Stone and Jemima Longley of Groton, by Rev. Samuel Dana.
1778.	Feby. 19.	Nathaniel Whittemore and Lydia Stone of Groton, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1780.	July 4.	Ebenezer Farnsworth of Groton and Martha Haild, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1781.	Novem. 1.	William Park Jr. and Eunice Stone of Groton, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1782.	Novem. 27.	John Hill and Sarah Davis of Groton, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1785.	Octo. 18.	Africa Hamlen and Susannah Stone of Groton, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1789.	April 16.	Richard Briant and Mary Whitney, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
"	August 20.	Moses Stone of Newburyport and Polly Hayden, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1792.	Jany. 3.	Nehemiah Ramsdell of Groton and Polly Farnsworth, by Rev. Daniel Chaplin.
1794.	May 27.	Timothy Stone of Groton and Lydia Farwell, by Rev. Daniel Chapliu.

HOPKINTON.

1784.	Novem. 24.	Zadock Barnum and Sarah Haven of Hopkinton, by Rev. E. Fitch.

LITTLETON.

1760.	March 3.	Joseph Worster Jr. of L. and Mrs. Sarah Adams, by Rev. Daniel Noyes.
1769.	Feby. 16.	Mathias Farnsworth of Groton and Sarah Farnsworth, by J. D. Noyes, Esq.
"	June 7.	Ephraim Proctor of L. and Dorothy Burt, by J. D. Noyes, Esq.
1780.	Feby. 5.	William Farr and Lucy Hadley of L., by Jonathan Reed, J. P.
1781.	August 21.	James Daniels and Betty Robbins of L., by Jonathan Reed, J. P.
1783.	Feby. 27.	Mannasseh Stow and Molly Whitcomb of L., by Rev. Edmund Foster.
1786.	May 18.	Peter Wright of L. and Esther Reed, by Rev. Edmund Foster.
1787.	Jany. 9.	Lysias Blanchard and Esther Warner of L., by Rev. Edmund Foster.
1790.	April 4.	Simon Hartwell of L. and Rachel Atherton, by Rev. Edmund Foster.
1794.	June 29.	Jacob Whitney and Mary Patch of L., by Rev. Edmund Foster.

LANCASTER.

1732.	Octo. 12.	Seth Sawyer and Hepsibah Whitney, by Rev. John Prentice.
1732/3.	March 9.	Joseph Sawyer and Abigail Foskett, by Joseph Wilder, J. P.
1739.	Novem. 29.	Oliver Stone and Maria Priest of Bolton, by ———
1758.	Feby. 2.	Elijah Woods of L. and Mrs. Mary Godfrey, by Rev. Timothy Harrington.
"	Jany. 5.	Phineas Willard and Rebecca Willard, by Joseph Wilder, J. P.
"	Octo. 5.	Simon Willard of L. and Elizabeth Willard, by Rev. Timothy Harrington.

1763. July 21. Samuel Hancock and Abigail Snow of L., by William Richardson, J. P.
1765. July 25. Ephraim Robbins of Petersham and Joanna Holden, by Joseph Wilder, J. P.
1767. May 19. James Godfrey of L. and Mrs. Mary Pratt, by Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1769. Octo. 12. Lemuel Haskell and Lucy Green of L., by Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1776. May 2. Abijah Warner and Elsea Fuller of L. Josiah Wilder, J. P.
1778. Jany. 12. Ephraim Munroe and Mrs. Mary [Mercy] Atherton of L. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1780. April 23. Benjamin Kimball and Anna Wilder of L. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1783. May 13. John Munroe and Lucy White of L. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1785. Jany. 17. Levi Page and Martha White of L. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
" Decem. 21. Thomas Houghton Jr. and Betsy White of L. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1788. Octo. 14. Orsamus Newell of New Ipswich and Lydia Meed. Rev. Timothy Harrington.
1797. Jany. 2. Sampson Worcester and Phebe Wilson of Sterling, by Timothy Whiting, J. P.
1797. March 17. Tristam Sanborn and Abigail Knight, by Timothy Whiting, J. P.
1798. Octo, 25. Caleb Willard and Rachel Perry, by Timothy Whiting, J. P.

LEOMINSTER.

1746. Octo. 3. Aaron Brown of L. and Rachel Reed, by Rev. John Rogers.
1770, Octo. 7. John Colburn of L. and Anna Daby, by Rev. John Rogers.
1773. Octo. 28. Jephtha Richardson and Abi Nichols of L. ——
1777. Feby. 13. Nathaniel Farnsworth and Mary Collins of L. ——

LUNENBURG.

1747. June 15. James Johnson of L. and Susanna Willard, by Thomas Prentice, Esq.
1755. Jany. 28. William Dodge of L. and Elizabeth Salmon, by Rev. Daniel Stearns.
1764. May 9. Jacob Gates and Elizabeth Gibson of L., by Edward Hartwell, Esq.

MANCHESTER.

1770. May 1. Rev. Daniel Johnson and Betsy Lee of M., by Rev. Benj. Toppan.

PEPPERELL.

1758. Jany. 19. Isaac Woods of P. and Anna Houghton, by Rev. Joseph Emerson.
1785. June 9. Shubael Conant of P. and Rhoda Boynton, by Rev. Joseph Emerson.
1786. June 1. John Park Jr. of Groton and Lydia Hamlin, by Rev. John Bullard.
1791. Jany. 18. Jacob Haskell and Sally Boynton of P., by Rev. John Bullard.

RUTLAND.

1747/8. March 17. Edward Powers and Mary Nourse of R., by Rev. Joseph Buckminster.

SHIRLEY.

1763.	June 16.	Joshua Peirce of S. and Eleanor Safford, by Rev. Phineas Whitney.
1794.	Sept. 25.	William Longley Jr. of S. and Rebecca Munjoy, by Joshua Longley, Esq.
1798.	March 24.	Thomas Hazen of S. and Nancy Crooker, by Joshua Longley, Esq.
"	May 9.	Silas Rand Jr. and Betsy Farnsworth of S., by Joshua Longley, Esq.

SHREWSBURY.

———		Nathan Taylor of S. and Sarah Hale. Rev. Ebenezer Morse.

STONEHAM.

1762.	Decem. —	Charles Willard and Mrs. Sarah Scollay of S., by Rev. John Searl.

STOW.

1766.	March 25.	Hezekiah Willard and Azubah Wood of S., by Henry Gardner, Esq.
1767.	July 16.	Abraham Whitney of S., and Sarah Shed, by Henry Gardner, Esq.
1771.	July 25.	Jacob Willard and Rhoda Randall of S., by Henry Gardner, Esq.
1778.	Feby. 3.	John Whitney of S. and Mary Farnsworth, by Rev. Jona. Newell.
"	Feby. 16.	Jonathan Crouch and Elizabeth Skinner of S., by Rev. Jona. Newell.
1780.	Decem. 7.	Peter Conant of S. and Elizabeth Fairbank, by Rev. Jona. Newell.
"	"	Ephraim Whitney of S. and Sarah Burgess, by Rev. Jona. Newell.
1782.	April 4.	Jacob Priest and Mary Stone of S., by Rev. Jona. Newell.
"	July 27.	Peter Houghton and Marcy Whitney of S., by Rev. Jona. Newell.
1787.	Jany. 30.	Jonathan Fairbank and Hannah Hale of S., by Rev. Jona. Newell.
1792.	Feby. 6.	Thomas Fairbank and Lydia Wolcott of S., by Rev. Jona. Newell.
"	April 20.	Nahum Smith of S. and Mary Stone, by Jonathan Wood, J. P.

TOWNSEND.

1778.	March 26.	John Farwell and Sarah Warner of T., by Reverend Samuel Dix.

WESTFORD.

1733.	July 12.	Benjamin Robbins of W. and Ann Johnson, by Rev. Willard Hall.
1747.	June 25.	Amos Russell and Sarah Hildreth of W., by Jonas Prescott, J. P.
1789.	June 3.	Eleazar Hamlin and Mrs. Hannah Fletcher of W. Rev. Matthew Scribner.

WESTON.

1736/7.	March 7.	Rev. John Seccomb to Mrs. Mercy Williams of W., by Rev. W^{m} Williams.

WILMINGTON.

1741.	Decem. 23.	Daniel Peirce and Sarah Buck of W. ———

RECORD OF DEATHS.

REVEREND JOHN SECCOMB'S REGISTRY OF DEATHS: WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS FROM TOWN AND OTHER RECORDS.

[1728. March 17. Mary Farnsworth, Daughter of Jonathan and Mary.]
[1732. Decem. 11. Keziah Atherton, Daughter of Peter and Experience.]
[1732/3. Feby. 14. Ebenezer Houghton, son of Stephen and Abigail.]
[" Feby. 19. Samuel Rogers Senior.]
[1733. Octo. 5. Elizabeth Willard, Daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth.]
" Octo. 22.[23] Peter Atherton, Son of Peter and Experience.
1734. May 30. A Child of W^m. Buttrick and his wife Elizabeth.
" June 16. Ephraim Stone, Son of Dea: Simon [and Sarah] Stone. Ætat. 18.
1735. Jany. 10. Elizabeth Wetherbee, wife of John Wetherbee. Ætat. 33.
" May 23. Ebenezer Davis, Son of Ebenezer [and Sarah] Davis. Ætat. 3 Weeks.
" August 16. Joseph Atherton. Ætat. 43.
" Octo. 20.[18] A Child of W^m Buttrick, age a fortnight. [Ezra.]
1736. July 19. Hezekiah Priest. Ætat. 35 years.
" July 10. Caleb, Son of Thomas and Abigail Wright. Ætat. 3 years.
" August 5. Thomas Houghton, Son of Thomas Houghton, aged 4 years and 10 months.
" August 25. Oliver Davis, Son of Eleazer and Sarah Davis. Ætat. 1 year and 10 months.
" Sept. 3. Cyrus Fairbank, Son of Dea: Jos. [and Mary] Fairbank. Ætat. 10 years, 3 months.
" Sept. 21. John Robbins, Son of George Robbins, aged 11 months.
" Sept. 30. Miriam Davis, Daugh. of John Davis. Ætat. 2 years & half.
" " A Child of Jonathan Farnsworth's.
" Octo. 13. Mary Willard, Daugh^r of Phineas Willard. Ætat. 6 years, 8 months.
" Novem. 1. Mary Worster, Daugh^r of Jonathan and Rebecca Worster. Ætat. 1 year and 4 months.
" Novem. 19. Elizabeth Fairbank, Daugh^r of Dea. Joseph Fairbank. Ætat. 2 years and half.
" Novem. 24. Mary Whitcomb, Dr. of James Whitcomb. Ætat. about 7 years and half.
" Decem. 26. Silas Rand, Son of Jonathan Rand. Ætat 11 years.
1737. Feby. 18. Ephraim Farnsworth. Ætat. 35.
" April 9. Susannah Priest, Daugh^r of Joseph Priest. Ætat. 15 years.
" May 17. The Widow Mary [Rachel] Priest. Ætat. 82 years. [81]
" May 18. Thomas, Son of W^m. and Elizabeth Buttrick. Ætat. 2 months.
" July 16. Mary, Daugh^r of Joseph Priest. Ætat. 16 years.
" July 17. Josiah Knight. Ætat. about 24 years.
" August 9. Isaiah Whitney. Ætat. 38.
" August 11. Phinehas, Son of Shadrach Hapgood, few days old.
" Sept. 4. Sarah Wheeler. Ætat. 78.
" Sept. 6. The Widdow [of Daniel] Elizabeth Priest. Ætat. 53.
[" Sept. 24. Ruth Procter, Daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth.]
" Octo. 1. Jedediah, Son of Eleazer and Ruth Robbins, aged about 22 years.
" Octo. 9. A Child of Nathan Warner's in delivery.

1738.	April 25.	Benjamin, Son of Joseph Priest. Ætat. 18 years and 2 months.
"	July 10.	Hannah Meeds, Daug^r. of Samuell and Dinah Meeds. Ætat. 9 years.
"	August 23.	a Child of Joseph and Rebeccah Blood. [Joseph.]
"	Sept. 29.	Mary Harper, Wife of Andrew Harper. Ætat. 39 years.
"	Octo. 13.	A Negro Servant Child of John Forbush's.
1739.	April 13.	A Child of Phineas Willard's, a day old.
"	April 16.	Peter, Son of James Whitcomb. Ætat. 5 years, 7 months.
"	April 17.	Henry Haskell. Ætat. 63.
"	April 23.	Lydia, Daug^r. of James Whitcomb, 2 years, 6 months.
"	May 8.	Jonathan, Son of Jonathan and Rebeccah Worster. Ætat. 2 years.
"	May 13,	Rebeccah, Daug^r. of Jonathan and Rebeccah Worster. Ætat. 4 years.
"	May 16.	Lois, Daug^r of James Whitcomb. Ætat. 8 years and 2 days.
"	May 29.	Elisabeth, Wife of Benj^a Nurse, aged about 50.
["	June 25.	Mary, Daughter of Peter and Experience Atherton.]
"	July 18.	Hannah, Daug^r. of Judah and Eunice Clark. Ætat. 4 years and half.
"	July 19.	Gad, Son of W^m. and Mercy Pierce. Ætat. 2 years.
"	August 10.	Mary, Daughter of Jonathan and Rebecca Worster.
"	August 11.	Elisabeth, Daug^r. of Abraham and Sarah Whitney, aged about 4 months.
["	"	Ensign Joseph Atherton.]
"	August 16.	Jonathan, Son of John Wetherbee. Ætat. 5 years and half.
"	August 17.	John Sawyer. Aged 16 years.
"	August 24.	Elisabeth, Daug^r. of John [and Anna] Wetherbee, aged about 2 years.
"	August 26.	Anna, Daug^r. of John [and Anna] Wetherbee. Ætat. 4 years.
"	August 30.	Hannah, D^r. of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gates, Ætat. 6 years.
"	Sept. 6.	Deliverance, Son of Thomas and Elisabeth Wheeler, age 2 years, 2 months.
"	Sept. 14.	Mary, Daug^r. of John [and Anna] Wetherbee, about 2 months old.
"	Novem. 7.	Silas, Son of Samuell and Dinah Meeds, about 18 months old.
"	Novem. 29.	Hulda, Daug^r. of Henry and Hulda Haskell, near 2 years old.
"	Decem. 17.	Hannah, Daug^r. of Henry and Hulda Haskell, 2 weeks old.
1740.	Feby. 3	A Child of Stephen [and Betty] Gates, 3 days old. [John.]
"	March 29.	John, Son of Joseph and Mary Haskell, aged 12 months.
"	May 7.[9.]	A Child of Peter Atherton's, lived a few hours. [John.]
"	May 15.	Abigail, Child of Joseph and Abigail Sawyer, Aged 4 years and half.
"	June 11.	Abiel Barran, wife of Nathan Barran of Groton.
"	August 21.	Ezra, Son of John Davis, about 2 years old.
"	Sept. 24.	Elias, Son of Jonathan [and Mary] Farnsworth, Junr. 3 years old.

1740. Octo. 26. Lydia Houghton, Daughter of Simon and Jerusha.]
1741. Jany. 14.[9.] A Child of Peter Atherton's lived about an hour. [Isaac.]
" [Feby. 6. Sarah, Daughter of Nathaniel and Eunice Farnsworth.
" April 27.[6.] Hannah, a Child of Jonathan and Elizabeth Procter, 6 months old.
" May 6. Daniel, a Child of the body of Elizabeth Warner, aged 5 years.
[" June 30. Jonathan, Son of Jonathan and Elizabeth Procter.]
" July 23. Mary, the Wife of Thomas Wheeler, Ætat. 40.
1742. Jany. 24. Elisabeth, Wife of Jacob Gates. Ætat. 40.
" Feby. 6. Nathanael, Son of Nathanael [and Eunice] Farnsworth.
[" Feby. 11. Joseph Blood, Son of Joseph and Rebeckah.]
" June 11. A Female Child of Mr. Stinson's, aged 11 years.
" June 13. Lucy, a Child of Tarbell and Rachel Willard, aged 1 year and 9 months.
" June 18. Stephen, a Child of Stephen and Abigail Houghton, aged 3 years.
" July 26. Stephen. Son of Thomas and Sarah Willard, aged about 4 years.
" Sept. 1. Cato, a Negro Man Servant of John Martyn Esq. Ætat. 35.
[" Decem. 4. Amos, Son of Nathaniel and Eunice Farnsworth.]
1743. Jany. 30. A Child of Joseph and Rebecca Blood, one day old. [Joseph].
" Feby. 13. Hannah Atherton, Ætat. 57.
" March 2. A Child of Shadrach and Elisabeth Hapgood. [Israel].
" June 10. Eunice, a Child of Jonathan and Elisabeth Gates.
" August 13. Joseph, Son of W^m. and Elisabeth Buttrick, about a week old.
" August 15.[16.] Asa, Son of Shadrach and Elisabeth Hapgood, 3 years old.
1744. March 26. A Child of Nathan and Dorothy Warner.
" " Another, a Twin Child of s^d. Warner.
" " A Still-born Child of Thomas and Mary Wheeler.
" June 6. A Child of Simon and Mercy Daby^t's was buried.
" June 26.[25.] A Child of Nathaniel and Eunice Farnsworth's. [Daniel].
" July 8. Eleazer, Son of Eleazer and Lydia Robbins, age 3 years.
" July 18. Samuel Warner, in 65^th year of his age.
" Sept. 5. Jemima Sprague, choaked with dry beans—the Daug^r. of Ebenezer Sprague.
" Sept. 10 [9]. A Child of Peter and Experience Atherton's, a few hours old. [Sarah].
" Octo. 29 A Child of Abraham Ruggs.
" Novem. 17. Hannah Daby, Æt. 59. [Wife of John].
" Decem. 5. A Child of John and Sarah Priest.
" Decem. 6. Sarah Priest. Wife of John Priest, in 25^th year of her Age.
1745. Feby. 23. Mary, the Wife of Dea: Joseph Haskell; Age 43 years, 9 m^s.
" Feby. 28. Joel Brooks, age 3 years.
" March 26. A Child of John Farewell's.
" " Another, a Twin Child, very young.
" May 8 [7]. Parker Russel, age about 4 years.
" May 22. Job Warner, about 4 months old.
" July 8. A child of Simon and Mercy Daby, a day old.

1745, July 15. Abigail Reed was drowned, aged about 28.
" August 12. Dole Johnson, aged about 43 years.
" Sept. 14. Elisabeth Wetherbee [Dau. of John and Anna], in 2d year of her age.
[" Sept. 11. Ephraim Procter, Son of Jonathan and Elizabeth.]
" Sept. 14. Deborah Russell, Wife of Amos Russell. Æt. 18.
" Sept. 21. Sarah Fellows, age 4 years [Daughter of Saml. and Eunice].
" Octo. 1. Joseph Fellows, age 1 year, 8 months [Son of Saml. and Eunice].
" Octo. 3. Silas Mead, age nine weeks.
" Octo. 21. Hannah Peirce, about 2 months old.
1746. Jany. 10. Anna Willard, Æt. 56.
[" Jany. 3. Jacob Procter, Son of Jonathan and Elizabeth].
" March 28 [29]. Olive Gates, aged 15 years [Daughter of Jonathan and Elizabeth].
" May 29 [30]. John Wetherbee, age about 45.
" June 14 [20]. A Child of Peter Atherton's, few hours old [John].
" July 9. a Child of Dr Philip Fowler's.
" July 23. Ebenezer Brown, about a year old.
" August 1. A Child of Dr. Fowlers, very young.
" Sept. 6. A Child of Daniel Peirce's, about 2 years old [Abigail].
" Sept. 10. Samuell Willard, age 4 years, 2 months.
" Sept. 11. Gibson Willard, age 12 months.
" Sept. 12. Sarah Willard, aged about 3 years.
" Sept. 15. Mary Buttrick, age 2 years, 7 days [Daughter of William and Elizabeth].
" Sept. 19. Jeremiah Willard, Eleven years old.
" Sept. 23. Timothy Willard, age about 13 years.
" Sept. 30. Abigail Rugg, Æt. 33, Wife of Abraham Rugg.
" " Relief Rugg, age 11 months, 14 days [Daughter of Abraham].
" " Capn. Jonathan Sawyer. in 55th year of his age.
" Octo. 5. Cyrus Fairbank, age 5 years and half [Son of Phinehas and Sarah].
" Octo. 7. Nathan Sprague, Æt. 15 years.
" " Jonathan Forbush, about 3 years old [Son of John and Eunice].
" Octo. 10. Jonathan Worster, about 3 years old [Son of Jonathan and Rebecca].
" Octo. 12. Lois Sawyer, about 16 years.
" " Aaron Warner, in 25 year of his age.
" Octo. 17. Jonathan Crouch, Æt. 50.
" Octo. 20. Philemon Warner, 1 year, 7 months old.
" Octo. 21. Jedediah Cole, in 10th. year of his age.
" Octo. 22. Mary Cole, age 1 year, 7 months.
" " Deacon Simon Stone, Æt. 61.
" Octo. 24. Samuel Forbush, aged 5 years [Son of John and Eunice].
" Octo. 26. John Worster, age 5 years [Son of Jonathan and Rebecca].
" Octo. 31. Judith Cole, Æt. 46 [Wife of Jonathan.]
" Novem. 3. Anna Warner, aged 31 years.
" Novem. 14[12]. Samuel Warner, age 1 year, 6 months [Son of Nathan and Dorothy].
" Novem. 23. Martha Cole, Æt. 20.
" Decem. 18. Jonathan Sawyer, age 1 year.
" " Peter Sawyer, about 3 years.
" Decem. 26. Sarah Whitney, in her 7th. year.

1747.	Jany. 10.	A Child of Phinehas and Sarah Fairbank, a day old [Elizabeth.]
"	Feby. 3.	Sarah Davis, age 32 years, 9 months, 21 days [Wife of Eleazar.]
"	March 13.	Maximilian Brown, age 6 years.
"	March 16[9.]	A Male Child of Peter Atherton's, very young [Samuel.]
"	April 28.	Elisha Houghton, age 11 months.
["	June 28.	Esther Houghton, Daughter of Simeon and Jerusha.]
"	July 7.	Sarah Houghton, in her 5th. year.
"	July 9.	Abigail Houghton, in her 8th year.
"	Sept. 12.	Samuel Mead, age 12 days.
"	Novem. 5.	A Child of Simon Stone's, a few days old.
"	Decem. 25.	A Child of Phinehas Fairbank's.
"	Decem. 28.	A Child of Peter Atherton's.
1748.	Feby. 22.	Charles Warner, Age 1 year, 6 months]Son of Joshua and Dorothy].
"	April 30.	Elisabeth Wetherbee [Daughter of John and Sarah].
"	August 16.	Jonathan Farnsworth, Æt. 74.
"	August 26.	Mary Fairbank, Æt. 25 [Wife of Joseph].
"	August 31.	Timothy Davis, 11 years old lacking 9 days [Son of Ebenezer and Sarah.]
"	Sept. 11.	Dinah Davis, aged 9 years and 3 months.
"	Sept. 15.	William [Keen] Davis, aged 8 years [Son of Simon and Silence].
"	Sept. 18.	William Burgis, 4 years and half old.
"	Sept. 27.	A Child of John Daby's.
"	Sept. 29.	Lois Mead, age 7 years.
"	Octo. 2.	Alice Mead, Æt. 3.
"	Octo. 7.	Deliverance Wheeler, age 3 years and half.
"	"	Lucy Mead, age 9 years.
"	Decem. 13.	Daniel Hutchins, age 2 years and half.
"	Decem. 20.	Sarah Hutchins, age about 7 years.
1749.	Jany. 5.	A Child of Phinehas Fairbank's [Abel].
"	Jany. 9.	A Child of Elijah [and Rebecca] Whitney's, 10 days old. [Israel,]
"	Feby. 8.	A Child of Edward and Mary Powers, 10 weeks old. [Edward.]
"	Feby. 12.	A Child of John Wetherbee's.
"	Feby. 25.	Anna Stone, age 7 years, 9 months. [Daughter of Oliver and Murriah.]
"	March 3.	A Child of John and Sarah Farewell's.
"	March 22.	Sarah Hartwell, aged 52 years.
"	April 11.	A Child of Isaac [and Tamer] Hale's [Haild], very young. [William.]
"	April 18.	A Child of Jeremiah Laughton's.
"	June 16.	The Widow [of Henry] Ruth Haskell, aged 70.
"	June 23.	A Child of Peter Atherton's.
"	July 19.	A Child of John Priest's.
"	Sept. 5.	Amos Procter, aged about 11 years. [Son of Jonathan and Elizabeth.]
"	Novem. 11.	A Child of Jonathan Oaks.
1750.	Jany. 24.	A Child of Caleb and Anise Whitney.
"	April 2.	A Child of Simon Daby's.
"	April 10.	A Child of John Daby's.
"	May 20.	A Child of Peter Atherton, Esq.
"	May 22.	John Whipple, aged 11 years.
"	May 23.	A Child of Eleazer Robbins, aged 1 year, 9 months.

1750.	May 24.	The Widow Mary Parker, aged 77. [Margaret, wife of Moses.]
"	June 5.	A Child of John [and Sarah] Farnsworth's. [Dinah.]
"	July 16.	Lydia, a Child of David [and Anna] Warner, age 3 months.
"	July 24.	Elizabeth Sanderson, aged 2 years, 6 months.
"	August 13.	A Child of Eleazer and Lydia Robbins.
"	August 19.	Olive Whitney, aged about 24 years.
"	Sept. 25.	Susannah Brooks, aged 37. [Wife of Nathan.]
"	Octo. 4.	A Child of John Peirce's.
"	Octo. 13.	Jonathan, a Son of Asa [and Elizabeth.] Houghton's.
"	Novem. 8.	Anna, a Child of Lemuel [and Hannah] Willard, age 8 months.
"	Novem. 16.	Parker Russell, age 4 years. [Son of Jason and Elizabeth; 1751 in town records.]
"	Novem. 23.	Elizabeth Oak, aged 23 years, 9 months.
"	Novem. 28.	Anna Harris, aged 7 months. [Daughter of Richard and Martha.]
"	Decem. 8.	Ann Warner, aged 24 years. [Wife of David.]
1751.	Jany. 6.	A Child of Nath[ll]. [and Eunice] Farnsworth's, named John, a month old.
"	Feby. 10.	Mercy Mead, 8 months old.
"	Feby. 17.	A Child of Benjamin and Dorcas Stow.
"	April 10.	David Warner, in his 40[th] year.
"	June 17.	A Child of Peter Atherton's.
"	Sept. 13.	Timothy Hall, almost 34 years of age.
"	Octo. 7.	A Child of Shadrach [and Elizabeth] Hapgood's. [Oliver.]
"	Octo. 8.	Job Procter, aged 21 years, 1 month. [Son of Jonathan and Elizabeth.]
"	Octo. 23.	Abigail Warner, aged 1 year, 4 months. [Daughter of John and Phebe.]
"	Novem. 15.[16.]	Sarah Sawyer, aged 90. Rev. 22. 14. [Wife of Caleb.]
1752.	Jany. 19.	A Child of Isaac Stone's.
"	Jany. 22.	A Child of John Farwell's.
"	Jany. 24.	Lucy Barnard, age 9 years, 2 months. [Daughter of Benjamin and Lucy.]
"	April 17.	Phinehas Farnsworth. Æt. 44 and 7 months.
"	April 30.	Daniel Foster. Æt. 49. Rev. 14. 13.
"	June 7.	Eunice Stone, age 12 years.
"	August 30.	A Child of Robert Holland's.
1753.	Feby. 15.	A Child of Samuel Mead's, age 5 months.
"	"	Sampson, a Negro man, about 30 years old.
"	March 30.[31.]	Ebenezer Davis. Æt. 77.
"	April 28.	A Child of Jeremiah Laughton's.
"	June 1.	Sarah Corey, aged 34. [Wife of Samuel.]
"	Octo. 9.	Ann Willard, aged 70. [Wife of John. Sept. 25 in town records.]
"	Octo. 29.	Buried a Child of Jonathan Reed's.
"	Decem. 3.	A Child of Robert Holland's.
"	Decem. 9.	Lucy Holden, about 2 years old.
"	Decem. 27.	Shadrach, Son of Joseph Jr. and Eliz Willard; a few days old.
1754.	Jany. 1.	Hannah Prat, age 4 years and half.
"	Jany. 29.	William Salmon, Son to Mr. Tho[s] Salmon of London. Æt. about 46.
"	Feby. 3.	Mary Warner, aged 6 years. [Daughter of David and Anna.]

1754. March 14. Daniel Peirce, in 77th year of his Age.
" March 27.[17.] Joshua Farnsworth, age about 5 years. [Son of Widow Azubah.]
" April 10. Mary Willard, aged 8 years. [Daughter of Henry and Abigail.]
" April 12. Jonathan Worster, age 46 years, 5 months.
" " Philemon Willard, about 6 years old. [Son of William and Ellen.]
" May 7. Martha Farnsworth. Æt. 34. [Wife of Simeon.]
" May 20. Ebenezer Worster, aged 32.
" May 21. Mary Willard, Wife of Abraham, aged 30.
" June 5. Luther, Son of James Whitcomb, 11 months old.
" June 13. Moriah Stone, about 33 years of age. [Wife of Oliver.]
" June 14. Bridget Corey, aged 6 years, 3 months.
" June 23. Samuel Hazletine, age 26 years, 8 months.
" July 6, Elizabeth, the Wife of Joseph Wetherbee, age about 26 years.
" August 21. Jonathan, Son of Eleazer Robbins, 20 days old.
" August 23. David, a Twin of the above named.
" Sept. 9. Elizabeth Russel. Æt. 71.
" Octo. 17. The Widow [of Joshua] Mary Atherton, about 95.
" Novem. 20. Hannah, Wife of James Willard. Æt. 66.
" Novem. 26. Dinah, Wife of Sam: Mead, age 44.
1755. Feby. 13. Caleb Sawyer, age about 98 years. [96.]
" Feby. 19. Elijah Whitney, aged 47 years, 6 months.
" Feby. 20. Hannah, a Child of Wm. [and Hannah] Whitcomb, age 2 years, 10 months.
" Feby. 23. Rachel, a Child of Eleazer Robbins, 10 years.
" March 15. The Widow Elizabeth Gates, age about 72. *House burnt down.*
" March 23. The Widow Sarah Whitney, Aged 88 years. [Wife of Moses.]
" March 27. Gabriel Priest. Æt. 65.
" April 12. Elias Whitney, age 14 years, 10 months.
" April 22. Robert Holland. Æt. 30.
" May 4. Andrew Harper, age 56.
" May 13. Nathaniel Warner. Æt. 33. [Son of John and Rebecca.]
" June 7. A Child of Ambrose Hale's.
" June 28. Sarah, a Child of Benj. Sampson's, age 15 months.
" August 8. [7.] Asa, a Child of Asa Houghton's, a few days old. [1756.]
" Sept. 8. Isaiah, a Child of Abr: Whitney's, about 4 years old.
[" Sept. 9. Solomon Stone, son of Dea. Simon and Sarah.]
" Sept. 22. John Atherton, aged 53 years, 8 months. Psal. 37, 37. Isa. 32. 17.
" Sept. 28. Joseph Davis, aged about 90 years.
" Sept. 28. Sarah Corey, aged 11 years, 4 months.
" Octo. 1.[12.] Jonathan Procter aged 63.
" Octo. 27.[28.] Sarah, a Child of Peter [and Abigail] Dudley's, age 9 weeks.
" Novem. 5. Jonathan, a Child of Josiah Chamberlayne's, age 9 months.
" Novem. 25. Benjamin Sampson, aged 28 years.
1756. Jany. 5. David, Son of Joseph and Sarah Atherton, 2 years and half old.
" Jany. 7. John, Son of Grover and Lois Scolley, aged 2 years.
" Jany. 18. Lois Kent, aged 30 years.
" Feby. 9. A Child of John and Sarah Farewell.

1756.	Feby. 13.	Sarah Corey, in 29th. year of her age. [Wife of Samuel.]
"	March 2.	A Child of Ambrose Hale's.
"	April 17.	Samuel, Son of Simeon and Martha Fairbanks, aged 8 years.
"	April 19.	John Burt, aged about 83 years.
["	July 11.	Jacob Willard, Son of Henry and Abigail.]
"	July 16.	Lois, Daugr. of Simon and Olive Whitney, almost 3 years old.
"	July 27.	The Widow Elizabeth Farwell, aged about 70.
"	August 2.	Submit, a Child of John and Sarah Farnsworth, aged one year.
"	August 7.	Ephraim, Son of Ephraim and Dorothy Stone, aged 11 years.
"	Sept. 8.	Martha Harris [wife of Richard], aged 46 years.—a good Woman.
"	Sept. 10.	Micah Wetherbee [son of John and Anna] died at Littleton, buried at Harvard, aged about 11 years.
["	Sept. 12.	Ephraim Hildreth, son of Sampson and Lydia.]
"	Sept. 18.	Experience Holland, aged 27 years and 7 months.
"	Sept. 20.	Mary, Daugr. of John and Mary Priest, aged 13 months.
"	"	Gideon, Son of the Widow Mary Worster, aged 3 years and 5 months.
"	Sept. 21.	John, Son of Richard [and Martha] Harris, aged about 11 years.
"	Sept. 22.	Anna Wetherbee, died at Still River [daughter of John and Anna], buried at Harvard, aged 15 years.
"	Sept. 24.	David, Son of Benja: and Lucy Barnard; aged 2 years and 7 months.
"	Sept. 27.	Jonathan, Son of Benja. and Lucy Barnard; aged 5 years.
"	Sept. 30.	Oliver, Son of Saml. and Sybill Haskell, aged 2 years and 11 months.
"	Octo. 2.	Joshua Warner, aged about 37 years and six months.
["	Octo. 3.	Jeremiah Dickerson, Son of George and Sarah.]
"	Octo. 6.	John, Son of the Widow Rebeccah Worster, aged 5 years, 2 months.
"	Octo. 10.	Thomas, Son of Joseph and Abigail Fairbanks, about 6 years.
"	Octo. 12.	Judith, Daughr. of Peter and Eunice Snow, aged 10 months.
"	Octo. 15.	Jacob Gates, son of Jacob Gates, aged 22 years, 6 months.
"	"	Martha Corey, a Child of Samuel Corey's, aged 6 years.
"	"	Relief Whitney, a Child of Jonathan and Sarah Whitney's, aged 2 years, 5 months.
"	"	Ephraim, Son of Joseph and Abigail Fairbank's, aged 3 years.
"	Octo. 21.	Esther, a Child of John and Sarah Farnsworth, aged 5 years, 5 months.
"	Octo. 22.[19]	Olivia, a Child of Asa and Elisabeth Houghton's, aged 4 years and half.
"	Octo. 26.	Jonathan, Son to Jonathan and Sarah Whitney, aged 7 years, 3 months.
"	"	Hannah, Daugr. of Amos and Adna Stone, aged one year and 9 months.
"	"	Hannah, a Child of Jonathan and Sarah Whitney, aged 7 months.
"	Octo. 31.	Jonathan, Son of David and Mary Crouch, aged 2 years and half.

1756.	Octo. 31.	Huldah, a Child of Ambrose Hales, age seven years.
"	"	Phebe, a Child of Abel Lawrence, aged 2 years and half.
"	Novem. 2.	Lois, a Child of Ebenezer and Abigail Warner, Aged 5 years, 8 months.
"	Novem. 11.	Mercy, a Child of Jonathan and Elisabeth Gates, aged 13 years, 7 months.
"	Novem. 12.	Triphena, a Child of Abel and Phebe Lawrence, aged about 7 months.
"	Novem. 14.	Mary, a Child of David and Mary Crouch, Aged 7 years, 8 months.
"	Novem. 18.[11]	Lucy, a Child of Jonathan and Mary Parkhurst, age 10 months.
1757.	Jany. 30.	Sarah Wright, Daug^{r}. of Thos. and Abigail Wright, aged 13 yrs., 8 m, 10 d.
"	Feby. 24.	The Widow Mary Wetherbee, aged 43 years.
"	Feby. 27.	John Farnsworth, aged 31 years, 11 months.
"	March 5.	An Infant Child of John and Sarah Farewell.
"	March 9.	Triphena Farewell, Wife of Jonathan Farewell.
"	March 11.	A Child of James and Beulah Burt, a few hours old.
"	June 4.	Abel, Son of Moses and Anna Haskell, about 6 months old.
"	July 24.	Thomas, Son of John and Mercy Seccomb, aged 4 months and 7 days.
"	August 5.	Joseph Hutchins, aged 83 years, 4 months, 20 days.
"	Sept. 16.	Solomon Willard, Son of Thos. and Sarah Willard, aged 17 years, 7 days.
"	Novem. 11.	Daniel Marstin, of Hampton, aged 50 years.
"	Novem. 18.	Abigail Rand, Wife of Jonathan Rand, aged about 56 years.
"	Novem. 27.	Elisabeth Russel, Wife of Jason Russel, aged 40 years and 4 months.
"	Novem. 29.	Elizabeth Hutchins, Wife of Joseph Hutchins, aged 80 years and 11 months.
"	Decem. 8.	Milo, a Negro Man Servant of Israel Taylor's, aged about 22 years.
1758.	Jany. 4.	Eunice, a Child of John and Sarah Wetherbee, aged 2 years, 6 months.
"	Jany. 31.	Annis, a Child of Caleb and Annis Whitney, about a year and 8 months old.
"	April 26.	John Warner, aged 73 years and eleven months.
"	May 14.	Samuel, Son of Peter and Abigail Dudley, aged 18 months.
"	Sept. 13.	Lieut. Eleazer Robbins, aged man.
"	Sept. 19.	Mary Fellows, a Child of Sam^{ll} and Eunice Fellows, aged 2 years, 4 months.

RECORD OF DEATHS KEPT BY REVEREND JOSEPH WHEELER.

1758.	Octo. 6.	Elisabeth, Wife of Silas Farnsworth.
"	"	Eunice, aged 15 months, D. of Jon^{a}. and E. Crouch.
"	Octo. 22.	Bethiah Hutchins, Wife of W^{m}. Hutchins.
"	Octo. 26.	Rebeccah Burt, Widow of old Mr. John Burt, aged 89 years.
"	Octo. 24.	A Child of Abel Davis, very young.
"	Novem. 23.	Dea. Caleb Brown.
"	Novem. 27.	A Child of John and Hannah Atherton, very young.
"	Decem. 16.	A Child of Isaac and Keziah Stone, very young.

1758.	Decem. 18.	John Townsen, in the 20th year of his age, who was a traveller from the army taken sick at Thomas Wrights.
1759.	——	Moses, Son of Lemuel Willard.
"	March 27.	Jacob Powers — aged man.
"	March 30.	Patience, Daughter of the Widow Sarah Farnsworth, 21 months old.
"	April 9.	Elizabeth, 10 months [daughter] of Joseph Willard Jur.
"	April 21.	John Burt Jr., Apprentice to James Burt: about 18 yrs.
"	April 29.	John Sampson. [63 y.]
"	May 1.	Lydia, 18 m. 3 d. Child of Jonas Whitney, Jr., and Zebudah.
"	May 3.	Manasseh, Son of Simeon Farnsworth & Lucy his Wife, aged 13 months.
"	May 6.	Benjamin [Son] of Ebenezer and Abigail Warner, age 1 y. 11 m. 16 d.
"	May 9.	Nathaniel Haseltine.
"	May 14.	A Child of Isaac Haild, about 3 weeks of age
"	June 26.	Jonathan Farnsworth, Junr.
"	"	Moses Jewet, in his 7th year — a Widow's Son.
"	August 14.	Jonathan Read, an old man.
"	August 17.	A Child of Aaron Rand, 4 days old.
"	August 18.	Elisabeth, D. of James Read, in her 4 year.
"	"	Jonathan, S. of Jona. Peirce, about 12 months.
"	August 23.	Sarah, wife of John Wetherbee.
"	Decem. 6.	Robert Darby, an aged man.
1760.	Jany. 20.	An Infant Child of Gordon and Dorothy Hutchins.
"	March 26.	Benjamin Whittemore, aged 24 years.
"	April 15.	Nabby, a young Child, D. of John and Phebe Warner.
"	April 19.	Stephen Atherton, an aged man.
"	April 26.	An Infant Child of Abijah and Sarah Coles.
"	August 21.	An Infant Child of Seth and Elizabeth Oaks.
"	Sept. 6.	Peter, son of Hezekiah and Lydia Willard.
"	Octo. 7.	Hannah Mead.
"	Decem. 6.	An infant Child of Elcanah Keyes.
"	Decem. 15.	Mrs Hannah Seccomb, an aged woman.
1761.	Jany. 3.	Ruth Robbins, 78 years old.
"	Jany. 6.	Daniel Bray, aged 23 years.
"	Jany. 7.	Ephraim Hutchins, Son of Gordon and Dorothy Hutchins, aged 37.
"	Jany. 10.	Oliver Stone, aged 12 years and 5 months. [Son of Oliver and Moriah.]
"	Jany. 16.	Hezekiah Willard, Junr., aged 42 years.
"	Jany. 21.	Oliver Stone, aged 41 years. [Ensign.]
"	Feby. 17.	Sarah, Daughter to Thos. Wright, aged 2 years and ½.
"	April 23.	John Willard — an aged man.
"	May 8.	Hannah Burges, a middle aged woman.
"	May —	Mary Stevens, *omitted in her proper place.*
"	May 22.	Sarah Oaks, Wife to Jonathan Oaks. Ætatis. 28.
"	"	Judah, Son of Simon Whitney. Ætatis. 4.
"	May 23.	Sarah Farwell, Wife to John Farwell.
"	May 28.	Sarah Houghton, Wife to Ephraim Houghton.
"	"	Sarah, D. to John Samson. Ætatis. 6.
"	June 1.	Annis, a Child of Jonathan Whitney, Junr.
"	June 4.	A Child of Josiah Whitney's.
"	"	An Infant Child of Amos and Lucy Fairbank.
"	June 5.	Rebecca Warner, Widow. Ætatis. 70.
"	July 30.	Joseph Willard. Aetatis, 75.

1761. August 1. Mary Maccoy, a Widow Woman. Aetatis, 32.
" August 27. Seth, Son of Caleb and Relief Sawyer. Æ. one Week.
" Sept. 18. Son of Micah Stone. Æ. 6 months.
" " An Infant Child of John and Elizabeth Sawyer.
" Novem. 6. Micah, Son of John Weatherbee. Æ. 3 years.
" Novem. 28. An Infant Child of Phinehas Willard's, Junr.
" Decem. 5. An Infant Child of the above sd. Person born at the same time.
" Decem. 14. Moses Bennit.
1762. Jany. 7. An Infant Child of Peter and Betty Atherton.
" March 25. Eleazer Davis. Æ. 59.
" April 24. Benjamin, Son of Benjamin and Mary Barnard.
" May 10. An Infant Child of Josiah Whitney's.
" July — An Infant Child of Benjamin Stow's.
" July 29. The Widow Abigail Davis. Ætatis, 59.
" Sept. 17. An Infant Child of Solomon Samson.
" Octo. 2. The Wife of William Starnes.
" Octo. 9. An Infant Child of John Priest's, named Calvin.
" Novem. 2. Tabathy Hunt, Wife of Samll. Hunt. Æ. 66.
" Novem. 5. Isaiah, an Infant Child of Isaiah Whitney.
" Novem. 28. Mary Stone, a Widow Woman. Æ. 76.
" Decem. 3. Sarah Gates, the Wife of Insign J. Gates. Æ. 53.
1763. Feby. 18. An Infant Child of Caleb and Tamar Church's.
" Feby. 22. Tamar, the Wife of Caleb Church.
" Feby. 26. An Infant Child of John Con's.
" March 16. Meriam Kneeland, Wife of Joseph Kneeland.
" " An Infant Child of Josiah Whitney's.
" March 31.[29] Oliver Whitney, Son of Jonathan Whitney, Junr.
" April 2. An Infant Child of Caleb Sawyer's.
" April 23. An Infant Child of Capt Phineas Fairbank's.
" April 26. An Infant Child of Phineas Willard's.
" May 20. Abigail Prat, a Widow woman. Æ. 45.
" May 27. Dinah Gates, Wife of Stephen Gates.
" June 20. An Infant Child of Nathan Brooks.
" Octo. 14. John Pratt. Æ. 75.
" Decem. 23. The Widow Elisabeth Willard.
1764. Jany. 7. Joel, Son of Peter Willard.
" Feby, 3. An Infant Child of Jonathan Davis.
" Feby. 5. Ebenezer Worster, aged 85.
" March 9. Nathaniel Hazletine. Æ. 33.
" April 10. Thomas Houghton. [aged 68.]
" May 30. Caleb, Son of Caleb Sawyer. Æ. 5 weeks. [April 7, in town records.]
" " Jonas Davis. Æ36. } Drowned in Lancaster River.
John Hill. Æ. 26. }

NOTE.—The Post-Boy and Advertiser for June, 1764, records the accident as follows: "Last Wednesday five Men going in a Canoe in Harvard River to catch some Fish the Canoe sank, and three of the men unfortunately drowned."

" June 2. Lydia, D. to Jeremiah [and Sarah] Bridge. Æ. 2 years.
" June 13. Peter Atherton, Esq. Æ. 59. Died att Concord.
" August 17. [15.] Mercy, D. to Phineas, Jr. [and Rebecca] Willard.
" August 21. Mary, the Wife of Micah Stone. Æ. 26.
" Sept. 23. An Infant Child of Ephraim Davis.
" Octo. 19. An Infant Child of Simon Whitney. [Lucy.]
" Novem. 19. Johanna Bennet, a widow woman.
" Novem. 29. Elisabeth [Mary] Taylor, the Wife of Dr. John Taylor.
" Decem. 3. [2.] Relief Sawyer, the Wife of Caleb Sawyer.
" Decem. 4. An Infant Child of Josiah Whitney's.
1765. March 8. The Widow Elisabeth Sawyer.

1765.	March 26.	Martha, the Wife of Jonathan Hale, 70.
"	April 22.	Samuel Corey, a middle aged man.
"	June 9.	Mary Farnsworth, the wife of Jonathan Farnsworth, 64.
"	May [13.]	The Widow Mary White, an aged Woman.
"	Octo. 10.	Caleb Crouch, Son of David Crouch. Æ. 10 years.
1766.	Jany. 21.	An Infant Child, Son of James Reed.
"	Feby. 8.	Ebenezer [Eleazar], Son of Abel [and Ruhamah] Davis.
"	Feby. 1.	An Infant Child of Josiah Whitney's.
"	March 19.	Thamer Haild, the Wife of Isaac Haild.
"	April 6.	An Infant Child of Josiah Haskell's.
"	May 28.	Robert Powers, aged 65 years.
"	July 4.	Hephsabah Brown, aged 28 years.
"	Octo. 2.	An Infant Child of Dr. Nathaniel Martyns. [Michael.]
"	"	A Son of James Brooks, aged 17 months.
"	"	Reuben, Son of Abraham Johnson.
"	Octo. 29.	Sarah, Wife of James Whitcomb, aged 23 years.
"	Nov. 25. [24.]	An Infant Child of John Warner's. [David.]
"	Novem. 26.	Sarah Bowers, aged 14 years.
"	Decem. 16.	Rachel Whitney, aged 18 years. [D. of Simon and Olivea.]
"	Decem. 31.	Sarah, an Infant Child of James Whitcomb, Jun.
1767.	Jany. 18.	Simon, an Infant Child, Son of Simon Whitney's.
"	Jany. 23.	The Widow Deliverance Worster, aged 88 years.
"	March 8.	Josiah Kent, aged 76 years.
"	April 15.	Ambrose Hail, aged 66 years.
"	May 30.	The Widow Mary Stone, aged 76 years. [Wife of Simon.]
"	June 8.	Mary Priest, D. to John Priest, in the 3d year of her age.
"	July 5.	Benjamin Lawrence, aged 54 years.
"	July 8.	Lydia Haskell, an Infant Child belonging to J[ames]H.
"	August 7.	Oliver Dudley, Son of P[eter] Dudley. Æ. 2 y. and 9m.
"	August 8.	Olive Whitney, Wife of Simon Whitney. Æ. 43 years.
"	August 9.[10.]	An Infant Child of Jonathan Pierce's. [Elijah.]
"	August 14.	An Infant Daughter to Asa Houghton. [Dorcas.]
"	Sept. 9.	Elisabeth Daby, Wife of John Daby.
"	Octo. 4.[3.]	An Infant Child of Jabez Fairbank's. [Menasseh.]
"	Novem. 6.	An Infant Child of Henry Bromfield's.
"	Decem. 12.	Lucy Fairbank, the Wife of Amos Fairbank.
"	Decem. 17.	Eunice Farwell, the Wife of John Farwell.
1768.	Jany. 23.	Annis, Daughter to Jonathan Whitney Jun.
"	Jany. 31.	John Davis, aged 70 years.
"	Feby. 18.	An Infant Child of Josiah Whitney's.
"	March 5.	Deacon John Laughton, aged 86 years.
"	March 28.	Seth Sawyer, aged 63 years.
"	May 11.	Abijah Cole, a middle aged man.
"	May —	Sarah, an Infant Child to Simeon Farnsworth.
"	July 4.	Jonathan, Son of Uriah Holt.
"	Sept. 9.	An Infant Child of Gordon Hutchin's.
"	Sept. 20.	John Park, aged 67 years.
"	Octo. 12.	Daughter of Richard Whitney, aged 5 years.
"	Octo. 28.[27.]	Widow Johnson, an aged woman. [Mary.]
"	Novem. 25.	[Olive] Daughter of Dea. Jeremiah Laughton, aged 7 months.
"	———	Nathan Hartwell.

Reverend Daniel Johnson's Record of Deaths.

1769.	Jany. 6.	John Daby, aged about 81 years.
"	Jany. 31.	Nathaniel Whittemore, aged 70 years.
"	Feby. 22.	Hepzibah, Daughter of Nahum Daby.
"	April 16.	——— Son of Nahum Daby.
"	March 30.]29.]	Eunice, Daughter of John Houghton, aged 4 years, 4 months.
"	August 23.	Jacob Gates, [aged 71 years.]
"	Sept. 18.	Jonathan Haild.
"	Octo. 8.	An Infant Child of Ephraim Procter.
"	Octo. 11.	James Willard.
"	Octo. 18.	Esther, the Wife of Simon Daby.
"	Octo. 20.	Daniel Knight, aged 33 years, 7 months.
"	Octo. 25.[29.]	Sarah, the Wife of Jonathan Whitney, Jun.
1770.	Jany. 20.	Jonathan Whitney, Jur., in his 47 year.
"	Jany. 24.	Jonathan Symonds, [aged 55 years.]
"	Feby. 28.	An Infant Child of Phinehas Willard, Jur.
"	March 14.	Widow Reed, of advanced years.
"	June 8.	Martha, Wife of Doctor Green, in 25 year of her age, together with an infant still-born.
"	June 19.	Molly Clark, about 17 years of age.
"	June 29.	Widow [of Gabriel] Abigail Priest, of advanced years. [77 y. 5 m. 7 d.]
"	Sept. 16.	Jonas Whitney, about 73 years of age.
"	Octo. 13.	Capt. Samuel Haskell. [Age 55 yrs. 30 days.] [1771 in town records.]
"	Novem. 1.	An Infant Child of Jonathan Gates.
"	Decem. 14.[10.]	An Infant Child of Aaron Davis. [Daniel.] [1771 in town records.]
"	Decem. —	John Burt, advanced in years.
"	Decem. 18.	Widow Mary Crouch, advanced in years.
1771.	Jany. 25.	An Infant Child of Jonas Whitney.
"	March 12.	Nahum Daby. [1770 in town records.]
"	March 15.	An Infant Child of Abel Whitcombe's.
"	March 31.	Sarah, Wife of Jonathan Peirce.
"	June 15.	Seth, Son of John Sawyer, a young child.
"	———	Dolly, Daughter to Benjamin Cutler.
"	August 22.	Zadock Davies.
"	August 28.	Levi, Son of Eben^{z} [and Anna] Burges Jur., about 2 years old.
"	August 31.	Mary, Daughter of Abel Farnsworth.
"	Sept. 5.	An Infant child of Sam^{ll}. Worster, Stillborn.
"	Sept. 12.	Hitte, Daughter to W^{m}. Hutchins, about 5 years old.
"	Sept. 19.	An infant child of Josiah Willard's.
"	Sept. 20.	Submit, Daughter to Ephraim Davis, about a fortnight old.
"	"	Benjamin Hale, about forty-four. [43.]
"	Sept. 22.	Elizabeth, Daughter to John Houghton.
"	Octo. 16.	Son to —— Procter, about 17 months old.
"	Novem. 18.	An infant child of Jacob Willard's.
"	Decem. 17.	An infant child of Joel Stone's, over a year old. [Mille.]
1772.	Jany. 7.	Sarah, Daughter to John Priest, ab^{t}. 11 months old.
"	Jany. 11.	An infant child of Capt. Asa Houghton, Still Born.
"	Jany. 20.	The Widow Rebekah Worster [aged 58 years].
"	Feby. 4.	The Widdow Sarah Laughton, of very advanced years [90].
"	Feby. 26.	Lois, Daughter to Simon Whitney.
"	March 7.	W^{m}. Hutchins, of advanced years [77].

1772. March 13.[12.] The widow Hannah Priest, of advanced years.
" April 3.[4.] John Priest [aged 54 years].
" April 15. Abraham, Son to James Whitcombe Jur.
" May — Widow Graves, of advanced years.
" May — An infant Child of W^m. Proctor's.
" June 17. Widow Mary Priest [aged 43 years].
" June 20. Sarah, Wife to Abel Whitcombe.
[" June 24. Solomon, Son of Solomon and Rebecca Sampson.]
" Sept. — Solomon, Son to Phinehas Willard Jur.
" Sept. 18. an infant Child of John Crouch's.
" Sept. 26. Abraham Scott, still born.
" Decem. 5.[6.] Dea^e. Joseph Fairbank, in y^e 79^th year of His Age.
" Decem. 24. Jon^a. Gates, of advanced years.
1773. Jany. 13. An infant Child of Jotham Barnard's.
" April 19. Lemuel Worster, a young man.
" April 21. Sarah, Wife to Cap^t. Whitney. [Josiah.]
" April 24.[25.] Moses, Son to Aaron Whitney, an infant.
" April — an infant child of Oliver Whitcomb's.
" May 29. Moses Wintworth.
" June 7. The Widow Lois Hill, advanced in years.
" June 14. Susannah Darby, wife to John Darby, of advanced years.
" June 23. Sarah, Daughter to Josiah Haskell, an infant.
" July 16. Anna, wife of Aaron Whitney.
" July 19. Timothy, son to Timothy Crouch; an infant.
" July 28.[27.[A young child of Elijah Houghton's. [Abraham, 2 y, 6 m. 4 d..]
" July. 29. an infant child of Colman Saunders. [Sanderson.]
" July 30.[29.] an infant child of Simon [and Judith] Daby. [Calvin.]
" August 11. Lydia, Wife to John Farwell.
" Octo. 29. A Negro man belonging to Elijah Houghton, of advanced years.
" Novem. 8. Deac. Jon^a. Whitney, of advanced years.
" Novem. 18. William Atherton, a young man.
1774. Jany. 6. Henry Willard, of advanced years.
" Jany. 12. an Infant Child of Dr. [Isaiah] Parker's.
" Jany. 13. Wife to Simeon Turner. [Bethiah.]
" April 13. An Infant Child of Phinehas Willard Jur.
" April 22. Solomon Sampson.
" May 9. Lucy, an infant child of Abel Farnsworth's.
" May 17.[18,] Jabez Fairbank [in 31^st. year.]
" May 19. an infant child of Josiah Gates.
" May 27. Judah Clark, a man in years.
" July 13. an infant child of Thomas Conn's.
" August 18. Jabez Keep, of advanced years [68].
" Octo. 6. Eunice, Daughter to John Crouch.
" Octo. 29. The Widow Kent, of advanced years.
" Novem. 3.[2.] The Wife of James Stone. [Deborah.]
1775. Jany. 20, Peter Dudley, a Man in years [in 56^th. year].
" Jany. 27. The Wife of Dea^e. Joseph Haskell.
" April 21. A Son of Joseph Wetherbee.
" April 22. The Widow Warner. [Hannah in 98^th. year.]
" April 30. Miriam Whitney. [D. of James and Zebudah.]
" May 9. Joseph Sawyer of advanced years.
" May 10. A Negro Woman Belonging to the Widow Margaret Whitney.
" June 15. Isaac Haild.
" July 4. Samuel Hunt, of advanced years.
" July 6. Andrew Park, a young man.

1775. August 1. Jon^{a}. Farnsworth, of advanced years.
" August 7. an Infant child of James Willis.
" August 19. Dea^{c}. Jeremiah Laughton.
" August —[16.] A Child of Ephraim Davies. [Esther.]
" August —[24.] A Child of Ephraim Davies. [Lydia.]
" August — The Widow Burt, of advanced years.
[" August 26.] Benjamin Laurence, a young man.
" August — A Daughter of Ebz. Warner's.
" Sept. [18.] The Wife of Phinehas Farnsworth. [Lydia.]
" Sept. — A child of W^{m}. Burt's.
" Sept. 24. A Son of Phinehas Farnsworth. [Joshua.]
" Octo. — A Child of Sam^{ll}. Russel.
" Octo. — A Child of Micah [and Elizabeth] Stone. [Oliver.]
" Octo.[14.] Witherbee Whitney.
" Octo. — Dea^{c}. Lemuel Willard.
" Novem, 14. The Widow Experience Atherton, of advanced years [64].
" Novem. 27. Hezekiah Willard Jun.
" Decem. 6. John Furbush, of advanced years [65].
1776. Jany. 20. Richard Harris, Aged 71 Years and 26 Days.
" Jany. 23. A Child of Gibson Willard, about 5 years old.
" Feby. 23. A Child of Phinehas Whitney, about 4 years old.
" March 10. The Wife of Nathaniel Whittemore. [Martha.]
" March 12. A child of Jacob Robbins.
" March 14. A Child of the Widow Wheat,
" March 18. A child of Stephen Randall. [David, in 6th. year.]
" March 20. An infant child of Nath^{l}. Whittemore. [Calvin.]
" " A child of Jacob Robbins.
" March 21. A child of Stephen Randall. [Sarah, in 4th year.]
" March 23. A child of Jacob Robbins.
" March 24. A child of Manasseh Sawyer.
" March 27. A child of Phinehas Warner's.
" April 28. Jonathan Sawyer, a young man.
" April 29. David Houghton, a young man.
" May 5. an Infant Child of Hezekiah Whitney.
" May 8. an Infant Child of Jon^{a}. Puffer Jur, named Molly. [Polly.]
" May 15. The Wife of Elisha Fullam.
" May 20. a son of John Sampson's.
" May 22. a child of Manasseh Sawyer.
" June 6. The Widow Hannah Cleaverly.
" July 14. W^{m}. Moore, an infant child of Doct^{r}. Moses Barnard.
" July 19. Rachel, Daughter to Silas Parkhurst.
" August 20. an Infant Child of Ephraim Barnard. [Submit.]
" Sept. 17. [John McCoy, slain in battle at New York.]
" Sept. 21. The Wife of Samuel Worster.
" Novem. 16. Daniel, Son to Daniel & Betsy Johnson.

While Reverend Daniel Johnson was absent with the army, there were no deaths recorded in the church book. The following are found in the town-clerk's registry :—

1776. Decem. 20. Richard Harris, aged 71 years.
1777. Feby. 16. Joseph Blood Deceased.
" Feby. 12. Mr. Aaron Warner Departed this life in 26 yr. of his age.
" March 1. Artemas, son of Mr. Wetherbee Whitney, Deceased. and Abigail his wife, departed this life in the second year of his age.

1777.	March 6.	Mrs. Sarah Warner Departed this life.
"	March 31.	Mrs. Dorothy, wife of Mr. Nathan Warner, Departed this life.
"	May 15.	Elisha, Son of Elisha and Moriah Houghton, aged 2 yrs. 4 m.
"	June 12.	Mr. John Darby Deceased.

1777.	Sept. 23.	Rev^{d}. Daniel Johnson, in the Thirtyeth year of His Age and Eighth of His Ministry.
"	Decem. 22.	Jonathan Russel, of advanced years.
"	Decem. 23.	Henry Houghton, aged 75 years.
"	Decem. 24.	Edward Kneeland.
"	Feby. 7.	A Child of Reuben Dodge.
"	May 26.	Jonathan Forbush, Aged 20 years, 1 m^{o}, 26 Days.
"	Novem. 22.	Asa Haskell, a young Man.
"	Octo. 4.	the Wife of Ephraim Barnard. [Hannah.]
1778.	March 25.	John Sampson, in y^{e} 58th year of His Age.
"	March 11.	Abraham Munroe, Aged 31 years: Died in y^{e} Continental Army.
"	March 25.	A Child of Doctor John Cleaverly.
"	March 31.	A Child of Josiah Willard.
"	April 6.	A Child of Oliver Sawyer.
"	April 9.	The Wife of Thomas Waight, in a good old age.
"	April 22.	A Child of Phinehas Sawyer.
"	May 1.	John Sawtle Farwell, a young man.
"	May 26.	Simon Whitney.
"	August 15.	A Child of John Daby.
"	August 24.	A Child of Oliver Sawyer.
"	"	A Child of John Hall.
"	August 25.	A Child of Benjamin Barnard.
"	August 26.	Elisabeth Pratt about 22 years of age.
"	August 27.	A Child of John Atherton.
"	August 28.	A Child of Samuel Barrit.
"	August 29.	Sarah, D. of Mr. Micah & Mrs. Elizabeth Stone, aged 6 year & a half.
"	Sept. 1.	A Child of John Daby.
"	Sept. 2.	A Child of Micah Stone named Elizabeth, Aged 8 year & ½.
"	"	Lucy Crouch, Daughter of Mr. John Crouch, a young woman.
"	Sept. 3.	A Child of Dea^{c}. [Richard] Harris. aged 3 years 3 months & 19 Days. [Lydia.]
"	Sept. 4.	A Child of Richard Whitney Jr.
"	Sept. 5.	A Child of Elias Haskel.
"	"	Daniel Forbush.
"	Sept. 6.	The Widow Rebekah Blood.
"	Sept. 7.	the Wife of Grover Scolley.
"	"	Micah, Son of Mr. Micah & Mrs. Elizabeth Stone, aged 13 years.
"	"	A Child of Samuel Mead Jun.
"	"	A Child of Charles Taylor. [Ephraim.]
"	Sept. 10.	A Child of Jeremiah Bridge.
"	"	A Child of David Farwell.
"	"	A Child of Micah & Elizabeth Stone.
"	Sept. 11.	A Child of Widow Jerusha Forbush.
"	Sept. 12.	A Child of Benjamin and Elizabeth Cutler.
"	Sept. 14.	the Widow Anna Scolley, aged about 70 years.
"	Sept. 16.	A Child of Grover Scolley.

1778.	Sept. 16.	Sarah, Daughter of William and Hulda Conant, in the 14th year of her age.
"	Sept. 24.	Mercy, Dr. of ye Widow Dudly, a young Woman. [25 yrs:]
"	Octo. 1.	the Wife of Samuel Mead Jun.
"	Octo. 3.	A Child of Joseph Sawyer.
"	Octo. 15.	A Child of James Whetcomb Jr.
"	Octo. 18.	A Child of Abraham Whitney, Jr. [Abraham.]
"	Octo. 22.	A Child of George Lesson.
"	Octo. 26.	Jacob Robins.
"	Novem. 2.	A Child of Eleazer Hamlin.
"	Novem. 5.	A Child of —— Chase.
"	Novem. 10.	A Child of —— Chase.
"	Novem. —	A Child of William Safford.
1779.	March 5.	A Child of John Priest Jr. [Eunice.]
"	March 10.	A Child of Lieut. Amos [and Rhoda] Fairbank. [Daniel.]
"	April 26.	—— Potter, an aged Woman.
"	May 16.	an Infant Child of Colman Sanderson.
"	May 22.	the Wife of Thomas Willard.
["	July 18.	William Stone, s. of James Stone, slain at King's Ferry.]
"	August 12.	an Infant Child of Lieut. Francis Farr.
"	August —	a Child of Thomas Willard.
"	August 22.	a Child of Barzilla Willard.
"	Sept. 2.	Esqr Israel Taylor, [aged 70.]
"	"	a Child of Timothy Willard.
"	Sept. 5.	a Child of Joel [and Eunice] Stone. [Eunice.]
"	Sept. 9,	a Child of ye Widow Elizabeth Willard.
"	Octo. 26.	the Widow Elizabeth Houghton, aged 84 years.
1780.	Jany. 12.	the Widow Mercy Warner, in the 99th year of Her Age.
"	Jany. 20.	the Wife of John Fitch, an Aged woman.
"	Jany. 23.	the Wife of Eliphelet Wood, In ye 48th year of her age.
"	March 17.	an Infant Child of Ezekiel Cox.
"	April —	Mahittabel Burbank.
"	May —	the Widow Russel, of advanced Age.
"	July —	an Infant Child of William Farr.
"	July [23.]	the Widow Whittemore, of advanced Age. [Abigail.]
"	July 27.	the Widow Rebekah Whitney, of advanced Age.
"	"	a Child of Mary Worster.
"	August 4.	an Infant Child of Jonas Whitney Jr.
"	August —	an Infant Child of Isaiah Whitney Jr.
"	August 14.	an Infant Child of William Safford.
"	Sept. 13.	Stephen Cleverly, a young Man.
"	Octo. 3.	the Wife of M. D. John Cleverly.
"	Novem. 2.	A Child of George Lesson.
1781.	March 4.	Capt. John Daby.
"	March 8.	A Child of Esqr. Joseph Wheeler.
"	March 11.	the Wife of Jonathan Crouch Jun.
"	March —	A Child of John Hall.
"	May 2.	A Child of Ebez. Warner Jr. [Lucy.]
"	August 25.	Gideon Saunderson, a youngish man.
"	Octo. —	A Child of John George.
"	Novem. 28.	A Child of Abel Whetcomb.
"	Decem. 24.	Linn, a Negro Man, advanced in years. [Lynn Jock.]
"	Decem. 28.	Jeremiah Priest.
"	Decem. 30.	the Widow Elizabeth Nurss, aged 83 years.
1782.	March 9.	Martha Harris, aged Person, [83 years.]
"	April 3.	William Meriam, in the Fiftyeth year of His Age.

1782. April 7. A Child of James Pollard, about 16 months old.
" April 12. Mary Hail, a young Woman.
" April 23. an Infant Child of Isaac Dodge.
" June 2. John Safford, an Aged Man.
" June — Dwelly Turner.
" July 4. Child of Phineas Warner.
" July 18. Eunice Haskell, 27 years.
" August 9. James Whitcomb, 72 years.
" Sept. 30. Samuel Atherton, young man.
" Octo. 3. Lydia Fairbank, 27.
" Octo. 8. Shadrach Hapgood, 77.
" Novem. 1. Widow Mary Willard.
" Novem. 4 Jonathan Puffer, aged 71.
" Novem. 9.[7,] Wife of Capt. [Francis] Farr, 24. [Abigail.]
" Novem. 18. Wife of Phineas Warner, 38.
1783. Jany. 4. Capt. Crooker, about 50 years.
" Jany. — Wife of John Warner, 60.
" Jany. — Widow Sampson, 90 years.
" April — Infant Child of Thaddeus Brown.
" April 7. Jonathan Wetherbee, aged 77.
" April 15. Child of Jonathan Pollard, 2 years and half.
" May 8. Child of David Pollard, 3 years old.
" June 7. Elizabeth Davis, young Person.
" August 25. Child of William Farr, Aet. 2 yrs., drowned in a Well.
" Sept. 27. old Mr. Meriam died in Fitt. Aet. 77.
" Octo. 3.[2.] Son of Deacon Harris, Aet. 4 yrs. [Richard.]
[" ——— Oliver Willard.]
1784. March 9. Nathaniel Farnsworth, Ætat. 73.
" March [16.] { [Infant.] } { [Twins.]
" March 30. { Infant. } Child of William Willard. }
" May 12. Wife of Eben Davis, Ætat. 81.
" May 13. Joseph Fairbank Jun. Æt. 41.
" May 22.[19.] Abraham Whitney, Ætat. 75.
" Sept. 16.[15.] Child of William Willard Jun., aged 3 years. [William.]
" Sept. 20. Peter Atherton, aged 50 years.
" Octo. — Child of Joshua Powers, aged 2 yrs.
" Octo. 31. Child of Joseph Crosby, 1 yr.
" Novem. 2. Mercy, Daughter of Amos Fairbank, aged 19.
" Novem. 7. Cyprian, Negro Man aged 90. ["Sip."]
" Novem. 25. Daughter of Widow Peter Atherton, aged 13 yrs.
" Decem. 21. Theodore, Son of Barzillai Willard. aged 6 yrs.
1785. Jany. 4. Widdow Whitney, aged 76 years.
" Jany, 15.[13.] Child of Elijah Houghton, aged 3 years & 4 months. [4 y. 9 m. 6 d. Hannah.]
" March 6. Child of George Gleason, aged 4 years.
" April 5. Child of Eliphalet Wood, aged 20 Months.
" April 6. Son of Richard Whitney, Jun., aged 4 yrs.
" July 4. Wife of John Atherton, aged 46.
" Sept. 16. Child of Nicholas Patterson, Æt. 6 yrs.
" Sept. 17. Jonathan Rand, aged 86.
" Sept. 25.[24.] Child of Capt. Phinehas Farnsworth, aged about 3 years. [Lydia Whittemore.]
" Octo. 13. Child of George Conn, aged about 4 yrs.
" Octo. 17. Child of Silas Rand. Æt. 4 years.
" Octo. 23. Josiah Maynard. Ætat. 26 years.
" Novem. 6. Wife of Jonas Davis, aged 24 years.
" Novem. 11. Child of Jonathan Pollard, aged 8 months.
[" Decem. 1. John Cooper.]

[1785. Decem. 19. Esther Samson.]
1786. Feby. 25. Infant Child of James Whitney.
" March 30. Wife of Silas Parkhurst. Ætat. about 40.
" June 16. Infant Child of John Whitney.
[" July 19. Samuel Cooper.]
" August 23. Infant Child of Eben. Farnsworth.
" Octo. 6. Widdow Hannah Davis. Æt. 56.
" Octo. 28. Infant Child of Elias Warner.
" Novem. 15.[14.] Infant Child of Capt. Thadeus Pollard. [Nathan.]
[" Decem. 31. Jonathan Cooper.]
1787. March 16. Infant Child of Abel Priest.
" Novem. 28. Infant Child of Silas Parkhurst.
1788. Jany. 3. Israel, Son of James Pollard, aged 19 yrs.
" Jany. 8. Daughter of John Sawyer, aged about 22 years.
" Jany. 11.[8.] Old Mr Meeds. aged about 83 years. [Joseph.]
" Feby. 11. Wife of Joseph Parks, aged about 24 years.
" March 7.[5.] Josiah Wetherbee, aged 43 years.
" March 16. Widow Forbush, aged 83 years.
" March 27. Ebenezer Kingman, aged 77 years.

" May 15. half past 4 o clock P. M. Ebenezer Grosvenor, Son of Rev[d] Ebenezer Grosvenor & Wife, in the 21[st] Year of his Age; and in the 4 & last year of his Studies at Harvard College.
" May 28. half past 1 O'Clock P. M., Rev[d]. Ebenezer Grosvenor, Aged 49 years, and in the sixth year of his ministry in this place.
" June 22. Polly, Daughter of Ebenezer Bridge, Aged 16 Months.
" June 24. James Stone, in 61[st] year of his age.
" August 14. Wife of Israel Whitney. [Hannah, aged 34.]
[" Novem. 1.] Jonathan Puffer. [Aged 71 years.]
" Sept. 22. Nancy, Daughter of the Rev[d]. Mr Grosvenor, Deceased.
" Octo. 20. Widow Puffer, an Aged Woman.
" Novem. 11. Wife of Doctr. Ephraim Munroe. [Mercy.]
" Novem. 15. Wife of Capt. Eleazer Hamlen. [Sarah.]
1789. Jany. 21. Wife of Josiah Davis.
" May 16. Levi, Son of Widdow Daby, about 8 yrs old.
" May 21. James Stone.
" May 25. Infant Child of Peter Atherton.
" June 8. Infant Child of Israel Whitney, Junr.
" Octo. 22. Wife of Lemuel Farnsworth.
" Novem. 23. Jabez Priest, a young man.
" Novem. 26. A Child of Edward McLain, 13 months old.
" Decem. 5. Joseph Atherton.
1790. Jany 17. John Munroe.
[" Jany. 20. Phebe Keep.]
" Jany. 19.[20.] Child of Capt. Thaddeus Pollard. [Nabby.]
" Feby. 5. Capt. Walter Pollard.
" March 21. Infant Child of George Lesson.
" March 23. Lucebia [Eusebia], Daughter of Capt. Thaddeus Pollard.
" April 7. Child of Jacob Whitney.
" April 12. Child of James Robbins.
" April 18.[19.] Child of Thomas [and Betsy] Houghton. [Cephas, 2 y. 2 m. 23 d.]
" April 19. Child of John Whitney.
" April 29. Wife of Ebenezer Warner.
" " Molley, Daughter of Josiah Davis.

1790.	May 1.	Widow Mary Worster.
"	May 2.	Widow Moriah Houghton. [W. of Thomas, 91 y. 10 m. 13 d.]
"	June 19.	Benjamin Stow.
"	June 26.	Wife of Capt. Thaddeus Pollard. [Submit.]
"	July 31	Wife of Job Priest.
"	Octo. 6.	Wife of Elias Chaffin.
"	Octo. 11.	Ebenezer Davis.
["	Novem. 12.	Nelly Cooper.
1791.	Jany. 29.	Nathaniel Gary.
"	[March 19.]	Wife of Benjamin Stow. [Abigail.]
"	April 29.	Child of Nathaniel Gary.
"	[June 22.]	Widow Pollard. [Dorothy, w. of Walter.]
"	May 5.	Child of Benjamin Robbins.
"	May 28.	John Laughton [age 35 years].
"	[August 7.]	Deac. Joseph Haskell.
"	August 29.	Widow Kingman.
"	Novem. 7.	Wife of Jacob Priest. [Mary.]
"	Novem. 14.	Widow Fairbank.
["	Novem. 16.	Mary Jewett, aged 75 years.]
"	Decem. 11.	Child of Jacob Priest. [Oliver.]
"	Decem. 21.	Wife of Joseph Knight.
"	Decem. 23.	Jonas Whitney [aged 84 years.]
1792.	Jany. 9.	Nathan Warner.
"	Feby. 1	Widow Gates.
"	Feby. 19.	Widow Whitney. [Alice, w' of Dea. Jonathan.]
"	March 24.	Charles Warner.
"	April 23.	Wife of Joseph Wetherbee Jur.

Reverend William Emerson's Records.

1792.	May 25.	Lucy Lawrence, 3 days, convulsions.
"	August 27.	Sarah Wetherbee, 83 years, widowed, old age.
"	Sept. 25.	Child of Samuel Hill, Still born.
"	"	Child of Samuel Hill, 6 hours.
["	Octo. 3.	Susannah Willard, aged 63.]
"	Novem. 14.	Daniel Emerson, 49 years, bachelor, bilious disorder.
"	Decem. 26.	Benjamin Stone [s. of Micah], 25 years, bachelor, hectick fever.
1793.	Jany. 3.	Levi Daby, 2 years, scald.
"	May 24.	Lois Whitney, 39 years, married, consumption.
"	May 27.	Eliza Atherton, 53 years, widowed, fever.
"	June 18.	Jonathan Reed, 66 years, married, asthma and palsy.
"	July 4.[1.]	Abigail Dudley, 72 years, widowed, debility.
["	July 20.	David Crouch, aged 69 years.]
"	July 30.	Rachel Pollard, 29 years, married, consumption.
"	Sept. 18.	Levi Whitney, 16 months, dysentery.
["	Sept. 25.	Daniel Tiffany, aged 26 years.]
"	Octo. 9.[13.]	Mary Dudley, 45 years [43 y. 11 m. 27 d.], maiden, consumption.
"	Decem. 1.	John Kelley, 2 years, accidental.
1794.	Jany. 18.	Lydia Whitney, 28 years, married, consumption.
["	Jany. 27.	Eunice Lathe.]
"	April 4.	Joanna Daby, 26 years, married, consumption.
["	April 19.	Ruth Keep.]
"	May 17.	Nabby Lesson, 7 months, consumption.
["	May 26.	Sarah Bemis.]
"	Sept. 11.	Relief Priest, 27 years, maiden, fall from horse.
"	Sept. 12.[11.]	Amos Whitney [s. of Israel], 3 years, quincy.

1794.	Sept. 13.	James Robbins, 6 months, convulsions.
"	Sept. 23.	James Robbins, 3 months, convulsions.
"	Octo. 16.	Lydia Conn, 8 years, cankerrash.
"	Octo. 24.	Benjamin Barnard, 79 years, married, consumption.
1795.	Jany. —	Mary Sampson, 59 years, widowed, dropsy.
"	Jany. 18.	Jane Sawyer, 84 years, maiden, consumption.
"	Feby. 8.	Lucy Grosvenor, 28 years, maiden, nervous fever.
"	Feby. 12.	Hannah Farwell, 35 years, married, puerperal fever.
"	Feby. 18.	Mary Rand, 77 years, widowed, consumption.
"	Feby. —	John F. Chaffin, 5 months, quincy.
"	March 6.	Thomas Rand, 4 years, cankerrash.
"	April 12.	Levy Daby, 2 years, cankerrash.
"	April 30.	John Whitney, 2 weeks, convulsive fits.
"	May 3.[2.]	Luke Whitney [s. of Israel], 2 years, canker.
"	May 9.	Charles Warner, 17 years, fever.
"	May 13.	Moses Warner, 80 years, married, instantaneous death.
"	June 28.	Ephraim Barnard, 23 years, bachelor, consumption.
"	July 24.	Phebe Harris, 82 years, widowed, fever.
"	Octo. 18.	Joshua Bowers, 41 [42] years, married, putrid fever.
"	Novem. 1.	Margaret Park, 21 years, maiden, consumption.
"	Decem. 8.	Ephraim Munroe, 49 years, widower, fever.
1796.	Jany. 13.	Thomas Bardeen, 21 months, consumption.
"	Feby. 21.	George Conn, 80 years, widower, old age.
"	March 22.	John Sawyer, 63 years, married, fever & consumption.
"	April 15.	Mary Dickinson [wf of Francis], married, dropsy & consumption.
"	April 16.	Eloisa Knight, 2 d. consumption.
["	March 6.	Thomas, son of Jonathan Rand, 4 years old.
1796.	April 19.	Henrietta Knight, 5 days, consumption.
["	May 1.	Mary Worster.]
"	June 1.	Charlotte Geary, still born.
["	June 21.	Rachel Adams.]
"	June 27.	Henry Houghton, still born.
["	Sept. 10.]	Elizabeth Wood, 50 y. [wf of Abraham], consumption.
"	Sept. —	Mary Willard, 83 y. married, dysentery.
"	Sept. —	Eliza Knight, 2 days, debility.
["	Octo. 2.	Asa Farnham.]
["	Octo. 30.]	Isaac Gates, 68 y. married, palsy.
["	Octo. 13.	Elizabeth Keep.]
"	———	Clarissa Whitney, 10 m. fits.
["	Octo. 10.	Silas, son of Jonathan Rand, 16 months.]
"	Sept. 23.	Jason Russell, 86 y. married, old age.
1797.	Feby. 24.	William Farwell, 15 y. nervous fever.
"	March 17.	William Willard, 84 y. widower, old age.
["	June 22.]	Elizabeth Hammond [wf. of Thomas], 25 y. married, consumption.
["	May 25.]	Sally Robbins, 19 y. maiden, consumption.
"	May —	Hepzibah Sawyer, 87 y. widow, debility.
"	"	Elizabeth Russell, 79 y. widow, debility & ulcerous humor.
"	"	Calvin Turner, 2 y. dysentery.
"	"	Sally Turner, 5 y. dysentery.
"	"	William Saunderson, 6 y. drinking of rum.
"	August 20.	Elizabeth Brooks, 2 y. canker.
"	Sept. 2.	John Davis, 2 y. dysentery.
["	Sept. 3.	Ebenezer, son of Isaiah and Sally Davis.]
"	Sept. 16.	Paul Thurston, 42 y. married, consumption.
"	Sept. 22.[21.]	Samuel Hill, 63 y. married, epelepsy.
"	Novem. 8.	Sally Warner, 22 y. maiden, consumption.

[1797. Decem. 25. Elizabeth Mixer.]
1798. Jany. 19. Abel Wetherbee, 2 months, canker.
" Jany. 30. Hannah Emerson, 20 years, maiden, putrid fever.
" Feby. 21. Elizabeth Bateman, 61 y., married, canker.
[" Feby. 28. Elizabeth Shattuck.]
" April 14.[12.] Abigail Fairbank [Wife of Capt. Joseph], 75 y., married, dropsy.
" June 15. Daniel Bardeen, 23 y., married, fever sore and consumption.
" June 27. Richard Harris elder, 55 y., married, consumption.
" July 3. Elizabeth Fuller, 84 y., widow, debility.
[" July 10. Hannah Williams.]
" August 11. Lydia Curtis, 60 y., married, debility.
" August 27. Nabby Lesson, 3 y., dysentery.
" Sept. 16. [Rebecca, d. of Manasseh and Mercy.] Mercy Sawyer, 5 y., throat distemper.
" Sept. [21. Johnson, son of Richard and Sarah Goldsmith, 25 years.]
" Octo. 15. David J. Wilder, 27, quincy.
" Octo. 17. Sally Priest, 67, dysentery.
" Octo. 19. Adam Chapman, 2 y., quincy.
" Novem. 13. Samuel Sprague, 11 days, fits.
" Decem. 12. Nahum Kimball, 4 y., quincy.
1799. Feby. 22. Francis Farr, 18 y., consumption.
" March 4. Asa Warner, 21 y., consumption.
" April 15. Ephraim Pollard, 32 y., married, consumption.
" April — Lydia Conant, 17 y., maiden, consumption.
" " Sarah Warner, married, consumption.
" " Joseph Whitney, 4, drowned.
" July 5. Sarah Whitney, 83 y., widow, old age.
" August 6. Eunice Farnsworth, 80 y., widow, old age.

" Octo. 5. Daniel Barnard.
" Octo. 7. Elizabeth Blanchard.
" Octo. 10. John Daby.
" Novem. 6. Rachel Taylor [widow.]
1800. Jany. 21. Thomas Davis.
" Feby. — Widow Park.
" March 2. Sally Priest.
" March 22. Ascena H. Whitney, wife of Cyrus Whitney.
" March 23. Sally Emerson.
" March 29. Capt. Prince Turner.
" April 30. Rebecca Moor.
" May 18.[16.] Widow Randall. [Priscilla, wife of Stephen.]
[" July 4. Susanna Priest, daughter of Elijah and Lois, in the 17 year of her age.]
[" " Mrs. Sarah Whitney, wife of Abraham, æt. 83 yrs.]
" July 14. Lucy Priest.
[" July 18. Timothy Wood.]
" August 22. Deacon Phinehas Fairbank. [81 years.]
[" Sept. 20. Nehemiah Ramsdell.]
" Octo. 16. Wife of David Whitney. [Sarah.]
" Octo. 21. Mary Hartwell, widow.
" Novem. 4. Child of Cyrus Whitney.
" Novem. 9. Earl Frizzel, puerile.
" Novem. 6. Lucy Wood, puerile.
" Decem. 23. Child of ye Widow Davis.
" Decem. 30. Wife of Capt. Asa Houghton, sudden.

1049 entries of deaths in church book to this date.

Dr. Isaiah Parker's Record of Deaths.

An account of ye Deaths of Persons belonging to the Baptist Church.

Stephen Gates, Died Decr 19, 1779.
Moriah Houghton, Do. April 12, 1781.
Wm. Willard, Do. Septr 1782.
Sarah Willard, Do. March 29, 1784.
Prudence Greenleaf, Do. Septr 14, 1784.
Abigail Butler, Do. Decr. 12, 1784.
Hannah Lewis, Do. Augt. 1, 1785.
Josiah Mayner, Do. Octr. 21, 1785.
Daniel Davis, Do. April 2, 1786.
Rachel Willard, Do. May 23, 1787.
Jona. Hemmenway, Do. Feby. 1787.
Betty Crouch. ———
Lister Snow. ———
Joseph Haskell. ——— [August 7, 1791.]
Hannah Crouch Senr. Septr. 23, 1789.
Persis Bartlet. ———
Sarah Bowles, June 3, 1790.
Leml. Butler, Octr 7, 1790.
Abijah Frost. ———
Mary Bowles, Novr. 25, 1792.
Hannah Harrington, March —, 1793.
Benjamin Willard, Novr 30, 1794.
Elizabeth Wyeth, ——— 1795.
Rosanna Ross, ——— 1795.
Sarah Lewis, July 4, 1795.
Ruth Kilburn, ——— 1796.
Dea. William Bowls, July 11, 1796.
John Diggins, June 30, 1797.

BIRTHS.

ANDERSON. Bethshua, daughter of Abraham and Bethshua, May 12, 1733.

ATHERTON. [The children of James Jr., and Abigail (Hudson), m. June 6, 1684, were: James, February 27, 1685, Jonathan, Benjamin (m. Eunice Priest, 1727), Abigail (m. John White), Mary (m. —— Goodman), Ruth. Inventory of the father's estate is dated November 19, 1718.]

[The children of James Atherton Jr. (3d) and Sarah, baptized at Lancaster, were: Simon and Amos, 1708; John, 1710; Abigail, 1712; Sarah, 1714; James, 1716; Moses, 1718; David, 1722; Submit, 1725; Prudence, 1727.]

[The children of Joshua and Mary (Gulliver) Atherton were: Joseph, Hannah, Joshua, Mary, Benjamin, Stephen, John and Peter, perhaps all born in Still River, though probably two or more were born in Milton.]

The Children of Joseph and Hannah (Rogers) Atherton.

Oliver, August 1, 1721.
Mary, March 8, 1722/3.
[Joseph, baptized October 26, 1729.]
Elizabeth, May 5, 1727.
Elizabeth, September 7, 1729.
Hannah, May 16, 1731.
Patience, August 15, 1735.

The Children of Peter and Experience (Wright) Atherton.

Experience, February 13, 1728/9.
Azubah, December 23, 1730.
James, May 9, 1740.
Isaac, January 9, 1740/1.

Keziah, December 11, 1732.
Peter, October 23, 1733.
Peter, December 29, 1734.
Joshua, June 20, 1737.
Mary, June 25, 1739.
Israel, November 20, 1741.
Sarah, September 9, 1744.
John, June 20, 1746.
Samuel, March 9, 1746/7.
Mercy, April 11, 1753.

The children of John and Phebe (Wright) Atherton.

[Phebe, February 7, 1730/31.]
Lois, January 18, 1733.
John, February 22, 1736/7.
Samuel, February 11, 1738/9.
Sarah, March 11, 1740.
Eliakim, December 15, 1743.
Ezra, February 21, 1744/5.
Lydia, October 27, 1747.
William, March 4, 1750.
Thomas, April 10, 1753.

The children of Oliver and Rachel (Goodfrey) Atherton.

Joseph, August 5, 1750.
Mary. January 28, 1753.
Oliver, August 24, 1755.
Rachel, April 12, 1761.
Esther. January 13, 1764.
Philemon, June 15, 1771.

The children of Joseph and Sarah (Hutchins) Atherton.

David, July 31, 1753.
Sarah, May 25, 1755.
David, September 17, 1757.
Jonathan, November 11, 1759.
Abigail, November 2, 1762.
Joseph, May 12, 1768.

The ehildren of Peter Jr. and Betty (Atherton) Atherton.

Betty, March 24, 1757.
Eunice, August 26, 1758.
Benjamin, September 23, 1760.
Peter, October 13, 1763.
Experience, May 1, 1765.
Anna, October 25, 1766.
Sophia, June 1, 1768.
Mercy, May 19, 1772.

The children of John and Hannah (Cole) Atherton.

Samuel, November 15, 1758.
Samuel, April 8, 1760.
John, March 26, 1762.
Joel, August 22, 1764.
Martha, May 17, 1767.
Mary, October 15, 1769.
Sarah, ——
Samuel, December 17. 1782.

The Children of Joseph, Jr., and Hannah (Farnsworth) Atherton.

Nathaniel, January 1, 1773.
Oliver, August 4, 1774.
Arethusa, May 16, 1778.
Sally, March 30, 1780.
Humphrey, May 4, 1783.
Fanny, January 10, 1785.
Rachel, June 8, 1787.
Lucy, October 23, 1791.

The Children of David and Esther (Atherton) Atherton.

Silence, March 29, 1785.
Louisa, May 11, 1787.
Eben, March 1, 1789.
Charles, February 22, 1791.
Martin, July 2, 1793.
Emily, July 31, 1795.
George, January 21, 1798.
Mary, March 2, 1801.

BARNARD. *The Children of Benjamin and Lucy.*

Jotham, February 24, 1745.
Ephraim, May 3, 1747.
Moses, May 7, 1749.
Jonathan, September 22, 1751.
David, January 18, 1754.

The Children of Benjamin, Jr., and Mary (Hunt) Barnard.

Samuel. June 18. 1760.
Benjamin, November 27, 1761.
David, March 13, 1763.
Oliver, April 3, 1765.
Jesse, June 11, 1767.
Elisha, May 9, 1770.
Francis, March 11, 1773.
Daniel, March 2, 1777.

Phebe, daughter of Stephen and Elizabeth Barnard, September 20, 1753.

The Children of Jotham and Lucy Barnard.

Jacob, April 16, 1769.
Jonathan, January 27, 1771.
Lucy, September 26, 1774.
Benjamin, June 12, 1777.
Sabra, July 24, 1779.
Calvin, July 25, 1781.
Sarah, February 3, 1784.
Esther, June 1, 1786.
Levi, April 20, 1789.
Joel and Joab, May 12, 1793.

The Children of Ephraim and Hannah (Fairbank) Barnard.

Ephraim, February 17, 1772.
Phinehas, April 26, 1774.
Submit, August 20, 1776.

The Children of Ephraim and Elizabeth Barnard.

Elizabeth, January 31, 1780.
Luther, June 7, 1781.
Hannah, December 1, 1782.
Amory, October 23, 1784.
Sarah Moor, March 13, 1787.

The Children of Samuel and Hannah (Laughton) Barnard.

Daniel, September 7, 1785.
Samuel, January 3, 1789.
John, June 6, 1791.
Emory, August 14, 1794.
Jeremiah, December 2, 1797.

The Children of Oliver and Martha (Atherton) Barnard.

Mary Hunt, November 8, 1789.
George, December 11, 1791.

The Children of Jesse and Susanna Barnard.

Susanna, August 8, 1791.
Benjamin, May 29, 1793.
Harriet, April 16, 1795.

Nancy, daughter of Moses and Abigail Barnard, May 22, 1786.
Polly, daughter of Francis and Sarah (Hammond) Barnard, Nov. 9, 1798.
Levi, son of Phineas and Betsy Barnard, October 24, 1800.

BARDEEN. Thomas, son of Thomas and Hannah Bardeen, April 8, 1794.
Chloe, daughter of David and Abigail (Cooper) Bardeen, March 7, 1796.
Hannah; " " " " " June 10, 1797.

BARRETT. *The Children of Jonathan and Phebe (Warner).*

Moses, November 6, 1779.
Elias, December 30, 1782.
Phebe, April 5, 1784.
Lydia, March 10, 1786.
Rebecca, February 18, 1788.

BARRIL. Nabby, daughter of John and Judith, February 19, 1765.

BATEMAN. *The Children of Jonas and Lydia.*

Rebecca, April 9, 1796.
Polly, March 15, 1798.
Harriet, May 20, 1800.
John, April 5, 1802.

BENNETT. David, son of Moses and Joanna, May 28, 1761.

BIGELOW. *The Children of Roger and Elizabeth.*

Daniel, April 24, 1777, at Fitchburg.
Abijah, August 8, 1779. do.
Betsy, March 21, 1782.
Lucy, October 27, 1783.
Jason, November 11, 1786.
Joseph, March 27, 1790.
Thomas, April 9, 1793.
Emery, September 14, 1795.

BLACKDEN. *The Children of William and Sarah.*

Joseph Fairbank, April 6, 1772.
Sarah, February 17, 1774.

BLANCHARD. *The Children of Joseph and Betty.*

Joseph, November 8, 1754.
Simon, June 6, 1756.

The Children of Abel and Lucy Blanchard.

Betsy, April 21, 1782.
Polly, July 24, 1784.
John, April 5, 1787.

Esther, daughter of Lysias and Esther (Warner) Blanchard, Oct. 27, 1787.

The Children of Simon and Elizabeth (White) Blanchard.

Phebe, July 8, 1783.
Rebecca, January 21, 1785.
Lucy, October 10, 1786.
Joseph, March 16, 1790.
Betsy, April 1, 1795.
Abel, August 28, 1798.

BLOOD. *The Children of Joseph and Rebecca (Warner).*

Rebecca, July 14, 1736.
Joseph, August 27, 1738.
Mary, November 1, 1739.
Joseph, January 29, 1741/2.
Joseph, January 27, 1742/3.
Mercy, March 15, 1744.
Joseph, May 6, 1747.
Ebenezer, March 30, 1750.
Samuel, October 24, 1752.
Levi, January 25, 1757.
Sarah, July 21, 1759.

BOWERS. *The Children of Joshua and Mary [Whitney).*

Joshua, March 18, 1778.
Molly, July 17, 1780.
Sally, October 11, 1782.
Polly, April 17, 1786.
Joel, February 5, 1789.

BRIDGE. *The Children of Benjamin and Anne (Haskell).*

Benjamin, October 5, 1753.
Jeremiah, July 18, 1755.
Amee, August 21, 1757.
Benjamin, November 10, 1759.

Joseph, son of Benjamin and Lucy Bridge, May 17, 1773.

The Children of Jeremiah and Sarah (Buttrick) Bridge.

Lydia, May 25, 1762.
Sarah, October 22, 1764.

The Children of Ebenezer and Annis (Stone) Bridge.

Ebenezer, September 29, 1788.
James Stone, January 11, 1790.
Annis, December 17, 1791.
Mary, November 9, 1793.
George Washington, Aug. 9, 1796.
Benjamin, November 5, 1798.
John Adams, August 10, 1801.

BROOKS. Nathan, son of Nathan and Susanna, March 31, 1738.

The Children of Amos and Lydia (Bacon) Brooks.

Joseph, January 16, 1746/7.
Amos, August 9, 1749.

BROWN. *The Children of Phineas and Anna (Willard).*

Anna, February 9, 1750.
Mary, May 9, 1752.
John, December 17, 1764.

Caleb, son of Clark and Lucy (Davis) Brown, February 12, 1758.

BURGES. *The Children of Ebenezer and Hannah.*

Hannah, August 14, 1748.
William, January 5, 1750/1.
John, April 3, 1753.
Solomon, December 4, 1756.
Thomas, February 26, 1761.

The Children of Ebenezer and Rachel (Farnsworth) Burges.

Sarah, December 31, 1762.
Marrit, July 9, 1765.
Josiah, July 18, 1767.
Loammi, March 1, 1770.

The Children of Ebenezer Jr. and Anna (Fairbank) Burges.

Levi, August 6, 1769.
Ebenezer, April 1, 1771.

The Children of Marret and Sarah Burges.

Sarah, February 15, 1789.
Nancy, March 1, 1791.
Jonathan, February 6, 1793.
Asa, April 4, 1795.
Marret, March 27, 1797.
Daniel, December 27, 1799.
Mary, July 25, 1801.

The Children of Josiah and Anne Burges.

Josiah, May 10, 1791. Nathaniel, October 17, 1792.

The Children of Loammi and Sarah Burges.

Mary, January 20, 1792.
Josiah, December 14, 1793.
Emery, June 22, 1795.
Susanna, September 27, 1798.
Maranda, March 29, 1801.
Rachel, June 4, 1803.
Loammi, September 6, 1805.
Sarah, August 29, 1807.
Benjamin Franklin, January 23, 1810.
Dwelly Whitney, July 26, 1812.
Adeline, August 8, 1814.
Charles Wesley, January 11, 1817.
Baldwin Bradford, October 7, 1819.

William, son of William and Hannah Burges, June 23, 1749.

BURT. *The Children of John and Elizabeth (Nutting).*

James, 1727.
William, 1729.
Sarah, 1731.
John, 1735.
Elisabeth, 1737.
Dinah, 1739.

The Children of James and Beulah (Mead) Burt.

Oliver, September 8, 1755.
David, April 10, 1757.
Daniel, March 23, 1758.

BUTLER. Smith, son of John and Abigail, August 24. 1757.

BUTTERFIELD. Eliza, daughter of John and Martha, August 25, 1761.

BUTTRICK. *The Children of William and Elizabeth (Whitcomb).*

Ezra, October 8, 1735.
Thomas, March 29, 1737.
Elizabeth, August 10, 1739.
Sarah, July 22, 1741.
Joseph, August 21 [Sept. 2d,] 1743.
Mary, September 8, 1744.

The Children of Levi and Rebecca (Willard) Buttrick.

Sukey, March 23, 1791.
Sally, April 23, 1792.
Nancy, August 22, 1794.

CHAFFIN. *The Children of Ephraim and Sarah (Hill).*

James, April 21, 1787. Sally, September 14, 1789.

The Children of Gladwin and Eunice (Farwell) Chaffin.

Betsy. February 22, 1790.
Sally, April 5, 1791.
Eunice. January 9, 1793.
Harriet, December 29, 1796.
John Farwell, May 17, 1798.
Nancy, April 13, 1801.
William Farwell, January 12, 1804.
Joseph, March 13, 1807.

CHAMBERLAIN. Thomas, son of Josiah and Hepsibah, March 26, 1753.
Josiah, son of Thomas and Anna (Brown) Chamberlain, Novem. 28, 1776.

CHATMAN. Lucy, daughter of Oliver and Relief, born April 14, 1793.

CHURCH. *The Children of Jonathan and Annis (Johnson).*

Mercy (or Mary), Jany. 1, 1733/4.
Huldah, April 20, 1754.
Silas, October 23, 1751.

Their children were mostly born in Lancaster, and besides the above were :

Joseph, July 22, 1729.
Annis, July 7, 1731.
Vashti, October 3, 1736.
Prudence, April 5, 1739.
Caleb, June 3, 1741.
Joshua, August 6, 1743.
Silas, June 18, 1745.

CLARK. *The Children of Judah aud Eunice.*

Jonathan, May 26, 1733. Hannah, September 13, 1735.

The Children of Jonathan and Mercy (Hapgood) Clark.

Jonathan, January 28, 1759. Hannah, September 19, 1762.

Thomas Hazen, son of Matthew and Elizabeth Clark, March 11, 1797.

CLEVERLY. *The Children of John and Rachel.*

Sally, February 11, 1773. Rachel, November 6, 1777.
Nancy, May 23, 1774.

COLBURN. Abigail, daughter of William and Elizabeth, Feby. 17, 1763.

COLE. *The Children of Abijah and Sarah (Kent).*

Sarah, May 24, 1761. Judith, March 5, 1767.
Abijah, December 9, 1762. Asa, December 5, 1768.
Lois, November 2, 1764.

Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Edith (Davis) Cole, October 14, 1751.
Asa, son of Asa and Anna (Goldsmith) Cole, November 15, 1793.

CONANT. *The Children of Reuben and Lydia.*

Lydia, November 28, 1783. William, March 14, 1792.
Reuben, October 5, 1785. Mary, April 9, 1794.
Abel, February 3, 1788.

The Children of Levi and Abigail (Davis) Conant.

Benjamin, July 13, 1795. Geo. Washington, April 10, 1805.
Rebecca, January 23, 1797. Lucinda, April 28, 1808.
Sewall, October 13, 1798. Levi, February 6, 1810.
Abigail, March 31, 1800. Henry Warren, September 18, 1815.
Eliza Davis, August 6, 1801.

CONN. *The Children of George, Jr., and Anna.*

John, February 27, 1772. Thomas, November 1, 1773.

The Children of John and Lucy (Sawyer) Conn.

John, October 2, 1796. Thomas, at Charlestown, N. H., February 24, 1804.
Emery, May 26, 1798. Almira Jefferson, at Charlestown, N. H., November 11, 1805.
Lucy, February 2, 1800. Abigail Townsend, at Charlestown, N. H., September 1, 1808.
Jefferson, October 16, 1802, at Charlestown, N. H.

COOK. Rachel, daughter of Jonathan and Lydia, August 26, 1774.

COREY. *The Children of Samuel and Sarah.*

[Sarah, Bridget and others born before coming to Harvard.]
Martha, October 7, 1750. Jane, May 27, 1753.

The Children of Samuel and Dinah (Fowler) Corey (3d wife).

Stephen, May 27, 1758. Samuel, November 7, 1762.
Philip, November 6, 1760.

CROSFIELD. James, son of James and Rebecca, September 23, 1750.

CROUCH. *The Children of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Worster).*

Jonathan, February 4, 1745. Eunice, July 8, 1757.
Timothy, July 27, 1750. Betty, January 9, 1763.
Lois, November 30, 1754.

The Children of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Skinner) Crouch.

Oliver, April 19, 1782. Ann, September 7, 1784.

The Children of John and Hannah (Brown) Crouch.

Hannah, June 2, 1751. Sarah, July 4, 1762.
Mercy, July 30, 1753. John, April 25, 1767.
Eunice, November 13, 1755. Amos, August 27, 1769.
Lucy, November 24, 1758.

The Children of David and Mary (Brown) Crouch.

Susanna, August 18, 1747.
Mary, March 3, 1748/9.
Elizabeth, November 2, 1750.
David, June 28, 1752.
Jonathan, April 13, 1754.
Caleb, March 4, 1756.
Jonathan, March 14, 1758.
Isaac, May 1, 1760.
Mary, June 24, 1763.
Patience, October 28, 1766.
Caleb, June 18, 1768.
Moses, March 27, 1771.

The Children of Jonathan and Dorothy (Law) Crouch.

Molly, November 23, 1770.
Thirsa, January 16, 1772.

The Children of David and Sarah (Stearns) Crouch.

Ephraim, October 22, 1778.
Daniel, April 16, 1780.
Levi, July 7, 1782.

Joseph, son of Timothy and Betty Crouch, September 4, 1774.

CULLIVER. Samuel, son of Seth and Thankful, November 28, 1733.

DABY. *The Children of Simon and Mercy.*

Thomas, September 22, 1739.
John, March 24, 1741.
Mercy, September 24, 1742.
Hannah, November 21, 1746.
Phebe, July 25, 1748.

The Children of Joseph and Elizabeth (Nurse) Daby.

Elizabeth, October 16, 1738.
Esther, July 17, 1740.
Deliverance, December 27, 1748.
Joshua, October 17, 1751.

Benjamin, son of Joseph and Mary Daby, September 24, 1746.

The Children of Nahum and Mary Daby.

Nahum, September 2, 1743.
Mary, May ——
Eunice, February 27, 1746/7.
Hepsibeth, December 2, 1748.
William, July 26, 1751.
Jonathan, March 13, 1753.
John, April 30, 1755.
Salmon, September 9, 1757.
Daniel, March 30, 1760.
Amos, April 27, 1762.

Phebe, daughter of Simon and Esther Daby, June 21, 1758.
Molly, daughter of Thomas and Molly (Holt) Daby, May 10, 1765.
Amos, son of Nahum Jr. and Susanna (Worster) Daby, August 5, 1769.

The Children of John, Jr., and Sarah (Hapgood) Daby.

Simon, May 20, 1765.
Asa, February 6, 1767.
Mercy, May 11, 1769.
Sarah, February 7, 1772.
Betsy, May 7, 1774.
John, January 9, 1779.

The Children of Simon and Judith (Symonds) Daby.

Lucy, February 2, 1772.
Calvin, July 4, 1773.
Calvin, August 26, 1775.

The Children of Asa and Elizabeth (Houghton) Daby.

Asa, August 29, 1797.
Ethan, February 27, 1799.
Elizabeth, March 13, 1804.

DAVIS. *The Children of Eleazer and Sarah (Willard).*

[Eleazer, September 25, 1730.]
Oliver, October 4, 1734.
Abel, March 1, 1736/7.
Ephraim, January 2, 1739/40.
Sarah, March 22, 1742.
Oliver, April 21, 1744.

The Children of John and Rebeccah (Burt) Davis.

[John, November 10, 1725.]
[Zebudah, April 11, 1728.]
[Rebecca, October 29, 1729.]
[Aaron, April 11, 1732.]
[Meriam, May 11, 1734.]
[Ezra, August 23, 1738.]

Children of Amos and Elizabeth Davis.

Edith, September 29, 1728.
Phebe, June 21, 1730, at Westford.
Amos, Sept. 2, 1732, at Littleton.
Elizabeth, Nov. 14, 1735, Uxbridge.
Jonas, April 9, 1737, at Littleton.
Rachel, Oct. 7, 1739, at Nichewog.
Lois, October 1, 1742, do.
Samuel, Oct. 15, 1744, do.
Reuben, July 17, 1747, at Harvard.
Esther, August 21, 1749. do.

Children of Ebenezer and Sarah Davis.

Ebenezer, May 3, 1733/4.
Deliverance, July 1, 1736.
Dinah, June 17, 1739.
Timothy, September 9, 1741.

Children of Simon and Silence Davis.

Mary, February 27, 1748.
Lois, October 12, 1751.
Simon, February 27, 1754.

Children of Josiah and Elizabeth (Willard) Davis.

Josiah, October 3, 1754.
Ebenezer, February 8, 1757.
Hezekiah, August 21, 1759.
Timothy, September 14, 1761.
Betty, January 15, 1764.
Phinehas, August 21 1766.
Thomas, April 8, 1769.
Molly, September 10, 1771.

Children of Jonathan and Hannah (Johnson) Davis.

Jonathan, September 17, 1756.
Samuel, January 25, 1764.
Hannah, October 13, 1765.
Mary, July 31, 1767.

Children of Jonas and Elizabeth Davis.

Elizabeth, July 19, 1755.
Peter, March 7, 1757.
Jonas, August 13, 1759.
Oliver, November 27, 1761.
Marcy, October 21, 1764.

Children of Abel and Ruhamah Davis.

Sarah, September 10, 1758.
Ruhamah, October 2, 1759.
Eleazer, October 20, 1764.
Eleazer, August 6, 1766.
Abel, June 30, 1768.
Sarah, July 31, 1770.
Levi, April 1, 1772.
Joel, July 28, 1774.
Moses, July 6, 1776.
Alice, June 7, 1778, at Stow.

Children of Zadock and Hannah Davis.

Dinah, March 1, 1760.
Hannah, September 23, 1762.
Elizabeth, February 28, 1765.
Isaiah, September 9, 1768.

Children of Ephraim and Sarah (Farnsworth) Davis.

Eleazer, September 13, 1764.
Ephraim, November 16, 1765.
Esther, September 9, 1767.
Sarah, August 31, 1769.
Submit, September 3, 1771.
Lucy, October 7, 1772.
Lydia, July 31, 1774.
John, July 29, 1776.
Daniel, June 6, 1778.
Ebenezer, January 28, 1780.
Lydia, October 14, 1781.

Sarah, daughter of Oliver and Lydia Davis, March 8, 1765.
Seth, son of Caleb and Relief Davis, August 22, 1761.

Children of Abel, Jr., and Martha (Potter) Davis.

Lydia, October 11, 1765.
Abel, February 16, 1767.
Hannah, March 26, 1769.
Aaron, December 26, 1770.
Martha, August 25, 1774.

Children of Aaron and Ruth Davis.

Dinah, November 12, 1770.
Daniel, December 2, 1771.
Lucy, November 9, 1772.
John, December 14, 1773.

Children of Jonathan and Mary Davis.

Mary, January 31, 1783.
Patty Chatman, May 30, 1786.
Abigail, May 18, 1788.

Jacob, son of Jacob and Ruth (Atherton) Davis, January 18, 1776.

Children of Isaiah and Sally (Hamlin) Davis.

Zimri, October 17, 1793.
Ebenezer, January 2, 1796.
Sally, November 29, 1797.
Hamlin, November 13, 1800.

Children of Thomas and Mary (Gates) Davis.

Mary, August 27, 1798.
Elizabeth, March 28, 1800.

Children of Aaron and Hepsibeth (Priest) Davis.

Hepsibeth, February 23, 1798.
Aaron, September 7, 1800.
Sally Chatburn, January 8, 1803.
Sophronia, November 2, 1805.

DICKINSON. *Children of George and Sarah.*

Jeremiah, December 16, 1736.
Daniel, June 14, 1739.
David. October 7, 1741.
Amos, March 14, 1743/4.
Francis, September 20, 1746.
Dorcas, August 24, 1750.

Mary, daughter of Francis and Mary (Bowers) Dickinson, May 14, 1798.

DUDLEY. *Children of Peter and Abigail.*

Abigail, May 29, 1743.
Zaccheus, November 6, 1745.
Mary, October 17, 1749.
Mercy, March 7, 1753.
Sarah, August 26, 1755.
Samuel, November 12, 1756.
Prude, April 18, 1759.
Lydia, May 26, 1761.
Oliver, November 29, 1764.

Children of John and Sybil (Russell) Dudley.

Sybil, December 5, 1760, at Groton.
John, October 11, 1761, at Groton.
Elizabeth, Novem. 30, 1763, Groton,
Jason, July 8, 1766, at Groton.
Hannah, Novem. 13, 1768, at Groton.
Parker Russell, May 27, 1771, at Groton.
Molley, August 29, 1773.
Francis, Decem. 31, 1775.
Lucy, November 14, 1781.

Children of Samuel and Patience (Atherton) Dudley.

Sally Atherton, June 4, 1798.
Guilford, September 19, 1800.
Solomon, December 23, 1803.
Louisa, August 25, 1805.
Emily, April 13, 1814.

DWINNEL. *Children of Elijah and Hannah (Cutting).*

Dexter, June 1. 1798.
Louisa, December 25, 1799.
Harriet, May 10, 1801.
Mary, June 15, 1803.
Pliny, September 3, 1804.

EMERSON, Phebe Ripley, daughter of Reverend William and Ruth (Haskins), February 9, 1798.

FAIRBANK. *Children of Joseph and Mary (Brown).*

[Phinehas, April 8, 1719.]
[Mary, October 17, 1721.]
[Joseph, November 4, 1722.]
[Mercy, February 6, 1724/5.]
[Cyrus, May 23, 1726.]
[Mary, January 19, 1729.]
[Lydia, August 16, 1731.]
Elizabeth, May 1, 1734.
Amos. April 21, 1737.
Relief, December 1, 1739.
Joseph, December 5, 1743.
Jabez, March 8, 1744/5.
Anna, March 25, 1746.

Children of Phinehas and Sarah (Stone) Fairbank.

Cyrus, March 22, 1741.
Sarah, October 27, 1742.
Eunice, December 23, 1744.
Elizabeth, January 10, 1746/7.
"A son," December 27, 1747.
Abel, January 5, 1748/9.
Hannah, January 23, 1749/50.
Phineas, November 9, 1752.
Mary, January 7, 1756.
Elizabeth, January 13, 1758.
Lydia, December 16, 1760.
Relief and twin sister, April 26, 1763.
Esther, October 8, 1766.

Children of Joseph, Jr., and Abigail (Tarbell) Fairbank.

Thomas, November 12, 1750.
Cyrus, May 18, 1752.
Ephraim, October 18, 1753.
Levi, May 29, 1755.
Abigail, November 24, 1756.
Jonathan, September 4, 1758.
Mary, July 13 [12], 1762.
Thomas, May 7, 1764.

Children of Amos and Lucy (Gates) Fairbank.

Jacob, June —, 1761.
Jacob, May 6, 1762.
Lucy, March 24, 1764.
Mercy, March 28, 1766.

Children of Jabez and Keziah Fairbank.

Ephraim, January 29, 1766.
Manasseh, October 3, 1767.
Jabez, August 26, 1768.
Sarah, May 28, 1770.
Mary, April 24, 1772.
Phinehas, May 20, 1774.

Children of Amos and Rhoda Fairbank.

Amos, September 5, 1769.
Noah, June 23, 1771.
Rhoda, June 15, 1774.
Joseph, February 19, 1776.
Daniel, October 20, 1778.
Mary, February 24, 1781.

Children of Ephraim and Lucy (Nurse) Fairbank.

Lucy, October 25, 1786.
Nabby, January 3, 1789.
Ephraim, June 20, 1791.
Achsah, May 17, 1794.
Jabez and Kezia, March 3, 1797.
Zilpah, April 7, 1799.
Samuel, July 24, 1802.
Eliza, September 21, 1805.

Children of Cyrus and Mercy (Hale) Fairbank.

Sally, August 8, 1780.
Jacob, March 17, 1782.
Cyrus, October 4, 1783.
Mercy, October 4, 1785.
Nabby, February 24, 1788.

Children of Jonathan and Hannah (Hale) Fairbank.

Artemas, November 3, 1787.
Jonathan, December 29, 1788.
Sally, September 23, 1792.

Children of Noah and Hannah Fairbank.

Emery, May 15, 1800.
Noah, April 1, 1802.

Children of Jacob and Sarah (Goldsmith) Fairbank.

Mercy, March 20, 1793.
Nancy, May 4, 1794.
Sarah, September 2, 1801.

Children of Jabez and Betty (Houghton) Fairbank.

Polly, September 6, 1791.
Sally, October 1, 1793.
John, August 10, 1797.

Children of Amos, Jr., and Rebecca (Whitney) Fairbank.

Horace, October 15, 1795.
Amos, November 27, 1799.
Clark, February 13, 1802.

Children of Thomas and Lydia (Wolcott) Fairbank.

Lydia, March 21, 1793.
Luke, April 20, 1795.
Levi, May 8, 1797.
Jacob, December 15, 1799.
Sophia, May 17, 1802.
Mary, May 7, 1804.
Clark, February 4, 1807.
Joel Whitcomb, August 26, 1809.
Lurenia, August 18, 1812.

FARMER. *Children of William and Ruth (Willard).*

Timothy, July 30, 1749.
John, March 12, 1753.
James, March 13, 1755.
Simon, August 12, 1757.

FARNSWORTH. *Children of Jonathan and Mary (Burt.)*

Mary, June 18, 1726.
Jonathan, November 22, 1727.
Betty, October 13, 1729.
Joseph, January 31, 1731/2.
Abel, May 12, 1734.
Elias, October 28, 1737.
Lemuel. August 6, 1740.

Children of Phinehas and Azubah Farnsworth.

Azubah, January 15, 1730/1.
Phinehas, July 15, 1733.
Sybil, September 17, 1736.
Dinah, September 6, 1739.
Keziah, June 1, 1742.
Sarah, May 28, 1748.
Joshua, February 28, 1748/9.

Children of Nathaniel and Eunice Farnsworth.

Sarah, February 28, 1740/1.
Nathaniel, January 7, 1741/2.
Amos, December 4, 1742.
Daniel, June 29, 1744.
Eunice, July 7, 1748.
Nathaniel and John, Decem.5,1750.
Hannah, August 22, 1753.
Elizabeth, August 22, 1756.
Lucy, February 21, 1761.

Children of John and Sarah (Davis) Farnsworth.

Sarah, February 22, 1746/7.
Ruth, June 18, 1748.
Dinah, March 16, 1749/50.
Esther, May 17, 1751.
John, April 11, 1753.
[Submit, —, 1755.]
Patience, May 30, 1757.

Children of Ephraim and Deborah Farnsworth.

Deborah, September 17, 1727.
Ephraim, April 24, 1734.

Children of Simeon and Martha (Hall) Farnsworth.

Mehitable, May 25, 1745.
Simeon, September 10, 1746.
Samuel, March 9, 1747/8.
Martha, August 20, 1750.
Lucy, May 3, 1752.

Children of Jonathan, Jr., and Rachel (Nutting) Farnsworth.

Elias, June 17, 1750.
Thomas, October 23, 1752.
Asa, May 12, 1754.
Jonathan, September 6, 1758.

Children of Silas and Elizabeth (Bowers) Farnsworth.

Silas, July 6, 1755.
Zaccheus, January 17, 1758.

Children of Simeon and Lucy Farnsworth.

Relief, August 12, 1755.
Manasseh, April 3, 1760.
Samuel, June 16, 1762.
David, April 16, 1765.
Daniel, April 9, 1769.

Children of Phineas and Lydia Farnsworth.

Joshua, August 5, 1766.
Benjamin, May 12, 1768.
Dorcas, June 19, 1769.
Azubah, August 31, 1771.

Children of Joseph and Hannah (Flint) Farnsworth.

Samuel, August 29, 1755, at Reading.
Levi, February 27, 1758.
Joseph, April 27, 1760.
Hannah, September 26, 1762.
Jesse, March 1, 1765.
Jonathan, August 20, 1767.
Nathaniel, January 2, 1770.
John, February 4, 1772.
Eunice, May 15, 1774.

Children of Abel and Elizabeth (McFarling) Farnsworth.

Jacob, March 13, 1764.
Mary, October 22, 1765.
Betty, June 16, 1768.
Mary, September 18, 1770.
Elias, July 19, 1772.
Lydia, June 19, 1775.
Mercy, May 5, 1778.
Abel, June 15, 1780.
Sally, September 8, 1782.

Children of Lemuel and Hannah (Daby) Farnsworth.

Sarah, September 11, 1768.
Amy, May 3, 1770.
Hannah, April 1, 1772.
Lemuel, March 30, 1774.
Lucy, April 24, 1776.

Children of Samuel and Hannah Farnsworth.

Mary, June 12, 1790.
Thomas Treadwell, April 29, 1792.
Hepsibeth, December 16, 1794.

Children of Matthias and Mary (Preston) Farnsworth.

Mary, October 3, 1771.
Samuel, September 24, 1767.

Children of Phinehas and Hannah Farnsworth.

Lydia, February 28, 1783.
Hannah Burt, December 29, 1784.

FARR. *Children of Francis and Abigail (Haskell).*

Abigail Haskell, December 31, 1777.
Francis, February 27, 1781.
Anna Goodhue, October 20, 1782.

Children of Francis and Sarah (Laughton) Farr.

Asa, December 12., 1783.
Thomas, January 8, 1786.
Levi, March 15, 1788.
Jonathan, September 20, 1790.
Sarah, October 10, 1792.
Lydia and Hannah, March 27, 1796.
William, March 19, 1798.

Children of William and Lucy (Hadly) Farr.

William, September 24, 1781.
Sarah, January 9, 1783.
Mary, June 12, 1784.
Cynthia. January 15, 1788.
William, Sept. 27, 1789, at Ashby.
Willard, December 14, 1791.

FARWELL. *Children of John and Sarah (Sawtell).*

Sybil, January 28, 1746/7.
Sarah, July 10, 1750.
John Sawtle and David, May 12, 1754.

Eunice, daughter of John and Eunice (Snow) Farwell, March 17, 1763.

Children of David and Hannah (Taylor) Farwell.

Daniel, September 17, 1774.
John, September 22, 1779.
William, January 21, 1782.
Sally, April 16, 1784.
Luther, February 23, 1787.
Sewall, October 22, 1789.
Stedman, August 15, 1792.

Children of William and Sybil (Farwell) Farwell.

Hannah, February 14, 1766.
Oliver, August 21, 1768.

FELLOWS. *Children of Samuel and Euniee.*

Eunice, May 23, 1736.
Samuel. February 13, 1739.
Sarah, October 9, 1741.
Sarah, May 11, 1746.
Joseph, May 27, 1748.
John, May 11, 1751.
Thomas, October 13, 1753.
Mary, May 21, 1756.
William, Willis, } October 5. 1758.
Solomon, December 5, 1760.

FORBUSH. *Children of John and Eunice.*

Rachel, December 28, 1738.
John, December 8, 1739.
Jonathan, November 28, 1743.
Molly, March 7, 1747/8.
Sarah. April 30, 1750.
Lucy, June 17, 1752.
Samuel, March 20, 1754.
Jonathan, April 1, 1757.
John, August —, 1760.

Children of Samuel and Mary (Warner) Forbush.

John, November 8, 1781.
Aaron Warner, April 8, 1784.
David, February 16, 1786.
Eunice, May 25, 1788.
Manasseh Stow, July 24, 1790.
Mary, June 19, 1792.

FOSTER. *Children of Jeremiah and Rebecca.*

Sarah, July 28, 1744.
Judith, March 2, 1747.
Rebecca, October 20, 1750.

FOWLER. Abigail, daughter of Dr. Philip and Abigail, Nov. 21, 1743.

FROST. Thomas S., son of Scripture and Sarah (Sprague) Frost, October 17, 1797, at Shirley.

FULLAM. *Children of Elisha and Sarah.*

Jacob, January 24, 1749]50.
Elisha, February 14. 1752

GARFIELD. *Children of Reuben and Lydia (Symonds).*

Jonathan, April 28. 1777.
Levi, June 20, 1779.
Lydia, September 13, 1791.
Samuel, October 11, 1784.

GATES. *Children of Jacob and Elizabeth.*

Isaac, August 6, 1729.
Zaccheus, August 26, 1731.
Jacob, April 7, 1734.
Elizabeth, October 1, 1736.
Lucy, October 31, 1739.

Children of Jacob and Sarah Gates.

Sarah, January 13, 1744.
Mary, July 18, 1745.

Children of Jonathan and Elizabeth Gates.

Elizabeth, October 8, 1735.
Jonathan, May 27, 1738.
Hannah, October 29, 1740.
Mary, May 30, 1743.
Henry, June 19, 1745.
Josiah, September 26, 1747.
John, October 31, 1749.
Susanna, October 13, 1753.
Rachel, January 18, 1756.

Children of Stephen and Betty Gates.

Nathaniel, February 18, 1738.
John, January 31, 1739/40.

Lemuel, son of Stephen and Dinah (Mead) Gates, April 30, 1757.
Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Mary (Shed) Gates, September 27, 1762.

Children of Isaac and Submit (Lawrence) Gates.

Elizabeth, November 24, 1764.
Jacob, December 6, 1766.
Lucy, July 22, 1769.
Sarah, September 21, 1771.
Mary, December 25, 1774.
Isaac, May 7, 1777.
Zaccheus, September 11. 1779.
Nabby, December 29, 1782.

GERRY. *Children of John and Sally (Merriam).*

George, June 14, 1799.
Fanny, May 5, 1802.
Ward Safford, June 6, 1804.
John, March —, 1806.

GOLDSMITH. *Children of Richard and Sarah.*

John, April 17, 1770, at Littleton.
Anna, January 27, 1772.
Sherman, October 28, 1773.
Theodore, August 7, 1775.
Molly, April 17, 1777.
Thomas, March 18, 1779.

Maria, daughter of John and Moriah (Houghton) Goldsmith, May 15, 1792.

GOODFREY. *Children of James and Hannah.*

Andrew, December 28, 1738.
Daniel, October 17, 1742.
James, November 20, 1744.
Salmon, March 10, 1747.

GREENLEAF. Silence, daughter of Daniel and Anna, April 8, 1764.

HALE. *Children of Isaac and Tamar (Haild).*

William, April 4, 1749.
William, September 25, 1750.
Martha, December 7, 1752.
Lydia, February 3, 1755.
Isaac. June 29, 1760.

Children of Benjamin and Mary (Taylor) Hale.

Israel, June 12, 1759.
Oliver, December 16, 1760.
Mary, December 6, 1762.
Benjamin, March 18, 1764.
Rachel, August 2, 1765.
Joanna, May 5, 1768.
Sarah, November 12, 1769.
David, March 22, 1772.

Children of Ambrose and Mary Hale.

Jacob, March 19, 1769.
Mercy, January 14, 1771.
Huldah, December 27, 1772.
Esther, May 3, 1774.

Sarah, daughter of Ambrose and Hannah, August 1, 1751.

HALL. *Children of Timothy and Mary.*

John. May 22, 1747.
Mary, August 25, 1749.
Timothy, February 18, 1752.

Children of John and Sarah (Willard) Hall.

Anna, September 12, 1777.
William, June 29, 1779.
William, September 22, 1782.
Sally, January 4, 1787.
Elinor, July 1, 1793.

HAMLIN. *Children of Europe and Dorcas (Stowe).*

Dorcas, November 12. 1786.
Hannah, July 27, 1789.
Joash, August 7, 1791.
Abigail, May 14, 1794.
James, December 31, 1796.
Adams Green, June 21, 1798.

Africa Hamlin, son of Molly Burt, August 25, 1785.

HAMMOND. David, son of Thomas and Betty (Hapgood) Oct. 17, 1796.

HAPGOOD. *Children of Shadrach and Elizabeth (Wetherbee).*

Mercy, January 26, 1732/3.
Elizabeth, September 26, 1734.
Asa, June 13, 1740.
Israel, March 1, 1743.
Sarah, June 16, 1744.
Sadrach, October 4, 1747.
Oliver, October 7, 1751.
Lois, April 13, 1754.
Lydia, July 4, 1757.

Children of Shadrach, Jr., and Elizabeth (Keep) Hapgood.

John, June 20, 1771.
Betty, February 16, 1773.
Lucy, December 9, 1775.
Mercy, February 15, 1779.
Jabez, September 30, 1781.
Shadrach, December 16, 1783.
Joel, March 26, 1788.

HARLOW. *Children of Ellis and Sarah.*

William Holmes, October 2, 1798. Charles, April 1, 1800.

HARPER. *Children of Andrew and Jane.*

John, September 25, 1740. Martha, September 11, 1747.
Ann, April 18, 1743.

HARRIS. *Children of Richard and Martha (Foster).*

John, October 13, 1745. Anna, April 23, 1750.
Rebecca, March 25, 1748. Nathaniel, April 4, 1752.
William, October 8, 1754.

Children of Richard, Jr., and Lydia (Atherton) Harris.

John, October 13, 1769. Joel, September 24, 1782.
Asenath, August 16, 1772. Sally, October 4, 1785.
Lydia, May 15, 1775. Harrison Gray, July 2, 1790.
Richard, November 5, 1779.

HASKELL. *Children of Joseph and Mary.*

Josiah, July 5, 1737. Solomon, February 19, 1740/1.
John, July 13, 1739.

Children of John and Huldah Haskell.

Huldah, December 18, 1737. Ruth, March 18, 1742, at L.
John, January 6, 1740, at Lancaster. Abraham, November 18, 1745, at L.

Lucy, daughter of Joseph and Abigail Haskell, June 25, 1747.

Children of Samuel and Sybil (Willard) Haskell.

Elizabeth, March 14, 1745. Sybil, July 7, 1755.
Lemuel, February 16, 1746/7. Oliver, September 5, 1757.
Samuel, June 12, 1749. Joseph, October 23, 1759.
William, September 20, 1751. Amy, December 25, 1761.
Oliver, October 28, 1753. Sarah, April 4, 1768.

Children of Stephen and Sarah Haskell.

Joseph, April 4, 1752. Mary, October 12, 1756.
Samuel, November 29, 1753. Betty, October 11, 1758.
Josiah, April 30, 1755.

Children of Moses and Anna Haskell.

Olive, June 12, 1752. Abel, November 17, 1756.
Eunice, July 2, 1754. Abel, October 11, 1758.

Children of Elias and Sarah (Kidder) Haskell.

Sarah, February 14, 1762. John, April 8, 1764.
Moses, February 3, 1766.

John Haskell, son of Elias and Rebecca, June 17, 1781.
John, son of Solomon and Betty (Davis) Haskell, November 18, 1784.
Abigail, daughter of James and Ann Haskell, September 29, 1758.
Levi, son of Josiah and Mary (Gates) Haskell, June 4, 1764.
Caleb, son of Phineas and Susanna Haskell, May 31, 1764.

Children of James, Jr., and Lydia (Whitcomb) Haskell.

Jonathan, February 15, 1766. James, September 1, 1774.
Lydia, June 7, 1767. Molly, November 25, 1776.
Oliver, June 6, 1768. Asa, July 13, 1779.
Lydia, June 12, 1770. Susanna, July 26, 1781.
Lucy, August 21, 1772. Sarah, January 31, 1786.

Children of Lemuel and Lucy (Green) Haskell.

Peter, September 5, 1772.
Abigail, September 4, 1774.

Children of Samuel and Ruth (Safford) Haskell.

Samuel, January 16, 1772.
Sybil, November 17, 1773.
John, December 4, 1775.
Martha, February 15, 1780.
Ruth and Susanna, January 5, 1782.
Mercy, May 11, 1784.
Eunice, May 17, 1786.
Ward Safford, May 5, 1788.
Betsy, September 2, 1790.
Sarah, April 17, 1793.
George, March 23, 1799.

Children of Oliver and Mary (Atherton) Haskell.

Betsy, September 29, 1789.
Polly, May 30, 1792.
Sally, December 27, 1794.
Seba, June 21, 1797.

Children of Jonathan and Hannah (Robbins) Haskell.

Nancy, January 9, 1786.
Hannah, September 2, 1788.
Susanna, April 4, 1791.
Mary, April 30, 1794.
Abigail, March 12, 1801.
Almira, December 23, 1803, at Rutland.
John, September 21, 1812, do.

Ephraim, son of William and Mercy Haskell, September 23, 1797.

Children of Jacob and Sally (Boynton) Haskell.

Calvin, December 27, 1791.
Levi, November 4, 1794.
Sally Boynton, September 18, 1796.
Eliza, August 18, 1799.
Mary, April 3, 1802.
Jacob, June 7, 1804.

Charlotte, daughter of John and Lucy Haskell, December 30, 1798.

Children of James, Jr., and Sarah (Pollard) Haskell.

Erastus, June 13, 1797.
Sarah, May 19, 1798.
Nahum, July 29, 1799.
Eliza, September 8, 1801.
Thaddeus Pollard, May 1, 1806.
Laurinda, July 25, 1807.
Lucretia, August 31, 1810.
Charlotte, January 8, 1812.

HASTINGS. Moses Bennett, son of Nathaniel and Jemima (Bennett) September 2, 1770.

HAYDEN. *Children of Lewis and Mary.*

Levi, March 23, 1793, Concord.
William, Feby. 6, 1795, "
Hannah, May 6, 1797, "
Nelson, Jany. 22, 1800, Winchendon.
Washington, March 31, 1802,.
Mary, February 16, 1805.
Warren, May 12, 1807.
Jefferson, April 29, 1809.
Lydia, October 12, 1812.
Emery, May 13, 1815.

HAZELTINE. *Children of Nathaniel and Patience (Whitcomb).*

Sarah, April 22, 1759.
Hannah, May 29, 1770.

HILDRETH. *Children of Sampson and Lydia.*

Ephraim, April 12, 1755.
Abel, March 18, 1757.
Lydia, May 24, 1759.
Sarah, May 25, 1763.

HILL. *Children of Samuel and Sarah.*

Samuel, March 4, 1761.
Lois, March 9, 1763.
Sarah, March 19, 1766.
Levi, August 26, 1768.
Oliver, September 17, 1771.
Polly, September 3, 1775.

Children of Samuel, Jr., and Olive Hill.

Samuel, February 9, 1794.
Olive, December 18, 1796.

John, son of John and Sarah (Davis) Hill, October 25, 1785.

Children of Oliver and Molly (Goldsmith) Hill.

Sherman Goldsmith, Jany. 16, 1799. Augustus Granville, August 15, 1803.
Alonzo, June 20, 1800.

Amos, son of Stephen and Abigail Hill, May 4, 1799.

Children of Levi and Sabra (Barnard) Hill.

Emery, February 6, 1798.
Levi, March 10, 1800.
Charles, April 5, 1802.
Barnard, March 21, 1804.
Perez and Pliny, April 2, 1807.

HOLDEN. *Children of Justinian and Ruth (Sawyer).*

Isaac, February 12, 1742/3.
Jeremiah, May 16, 1746.
Ruth, May 2, 1748.
Lucy, September 25, 1751.

Children of Richard and Dorothy (Adams) Holden.

Richard, September 1, 1758.
Timothy, July 12, 1760.

HOLLAND. *Children of Robert and Experience (Atherton).*

John, February 14, 1746/7.
Ann, January 29, 1750.
Mary, January 30, 1755.

HOLT. *Children of Uriah, Jr., and Annis (Willard).*

Joshua, June 23, 1753.
Uriah, May 10, 1755.
Annis, September 1, 1757.
Jacob, June 23, 1759.

HOUGHTON. [The children of James and Mary Houghton were: James, Ralph, John, Thomas, Edward, Ephraim, Hannah and Experience.] [The children of John and Mehitable Houghton were: Mary, January 2, 1718/19; Ralph, May 19, 1722; Phinehas, April 10, 1725; John, June 7, 1727; David, March 14, 1729/30.]

Children of Thomas and Moriah (Moore) Houghtou.

[Hannah, December 16, 1728/9.]
[Thomas, October 9, 1731.]
Moriah, September 5, 1736.
Elijah, June 2, 1739.

Children of Stephen and Abigail Houghton.

[Abigail, January 14, 1726/7.]
Ebenezer, July 4, 1728.]
Mary, June 19, 1735.
Stephen, May 9, 1739.

Children of Henry and Elizabeth (Rand) Houghton.

[Asa, January 28, 1726/7.]
[Joseph, April 22, 1728.]
[Aretas, July 17, 1729.]
[Elizabeth, April 20, 1731.]
Abigail, April 3, 1733.
Sarah, March 8, 1734/5.
John, June 14, 1738.

Children of Simeon and Jerusha (Taylor) Houghton.

Lydia, May 6, 1739.
Jotham, December 19, 1740.
Thaddeus, January 31, 1742/3.
Esther, April 13, 1745.
Simeon, June 23, 1747.
Israel, February 26, 1748/9.

Children of Asa and Elizabeth (Rand) Houghton.

Jonathan, October 10, 1750.
Olivea, February 28, 1752.
Abigail, February 26, 1754.
Asa, August 6[1], 1755[6].
Asa, February 14, 1757[8].
Deborah, April 24, 1759.
Olivea, August 14, 1761.
Betty, November 3, 1763.
Phinehas, January 10, 1766.
Dorcas, August 10, 1767.

Children of Aretas and Anna (Rand) Houghton.

Silas, May 10, 1753.
Lydia, November 24, 1755.
Lucy, September 2, 1757.

Children of Joseph and Amy (Haskell) Houghton.

Oliver, June 20, 1753.
Lucy July 18, 1755.
Joseph, March 3, 1766.

Children of John and Esther (Tarbell) Houghton.

Jonathan, February 28, 1761.
Peter, January 27, 1763.
Eunice, December 16, 1765.
Abel, September 5, 1766.
Cyrus, January 24, 1768.
Elizabeth, August 2, 1770.

Children of Elijah and Mercy (Whitney) Houghton.

Thomas, January 11, 1767.
Elijah, October 23, 1769.
Abraham, January 23, 1771.
Moriah, November 7, 1772.
Mercy, September 27, 1774.
Abraham, April 26, 1777.
Elizabeth, December 3, 1779.
Hannah, September 7, 1781.
Alice, February 22, 1784.
Hannah, April 22, 1786.
Sally, September 20, 1788.
" Anna a Black Servant, October 8, 1765.

Children of John and Submit Houghton.

Hannah Sanderson, Feby. 11, 1762.
Submit, April 18, 1764.
Beulah, September 18, 1766.
James, November 21, 1768.
Sarah, March 2, 1770.

Children of Elisha and Moriah (Peirce) Houghton.

Elisha, January 15, 1775.
Moriah, May 2, 1777.

Children of Asa, Jr., and Dorcas (Moore) Houghton.

Levi, March 14, 1780.
Jacob, January 21, 1782.
Reuben, September 10, 1784.
Asa, February 4, 1787.
Jabez, November 4, 1790.
Thirsa, September 10, 1793.
Obed, July 30, 1795.
Oliver, December 25, r797.

Children of Phineas and Sarah (Knight) Houghton.

Sally, December 7, 1787.
Daniel, August 31, 1790.
Phineas, August 17, 1794.
Sophia, August 26, 1797.
Jesse Knight, March 28, 1799.

Children of Thomas and Betsy (White) Houghton.

Thomas, May 21, 1786.
Cephas, January 27, 1788.
Amory, November 20, 1789.
Cephas, February 11, 1793.
Levi, February 28, 1794.
John Priest, October 1, 1795.
Elijah, July 18, 1797.
Stedman, August 29, 1799.
Betsy White and Sally White, July 1, 1801.
Sophia, ———.
Mercy, January 20, 1802.
Sophia Beaman, Decem. 19, 1805.
Edward, May 15, 1708.

Children of Peter and Mercy (Whitney) Houghton.

Sally, November 5, 1782.
Polly, June, 15, 1784.
Lucy, September 26, 1785.
John, August 11, 1789.
Cyrus, April 22, 1790.
Betsy June 15, 1792.
Mercy, June 13, 1794.
Benjamin, October 22, 1796.
Abel, July 20, 1798.

Children of Elijah, Jr., and Lucy (Haskell) Houghton.

Elijah, April 22, 1794.
James, February 9, 1796.
Betsy, December 26, 1797.
Elijah, June 12, 1800.
Lydia, June 29, 1802.
Mary, February 7, 1804.

America, son of Cyrus and Sarah (Gates) Houghton, July 14 1799.

HUDSON. *Children of William and Lucy.*

Barzillai, May 16, 1774.
Matilda, November 8, 1777.
[William, April 19, 1781, in Lancaster.]

HUSE. *Children of John Denison and Rebecca (Parker).*

Denison, April 6, 1796.
John, November 14, 1797.
Charlotte, October 16, 1799.

HUTCHINS. *Children of Joseph and Sarah.*

Lois, January 22, 1737/8.
John, November 27, 1739.
Sarah, November 14, 1741.
Holis, March 3, 1744.
Daniel, May 12, 1746.
Meribah, October 1, 1748.
Sarah, July 29, 1750.
Ann, June 13, 1752.

Children of Gordon and Dorothy (Stone) Hutchins.

Ephraim, January 16, 1758.
Levi, August 16, 1761.
Abel, March 16, 1763.
Bethiah, August 29, 1765.
Ezra, May 26, 1770.

Children of William and Jerusha Hutchins.

Molly, January 4, 1761.
Sarah, October 20, 1763.
John, August 4, 1765.

Simon, son of Benjamin and Lucy (Davis) Hutchins, February 11, 1761.

Children of William and Hepzibah Hutchins.

Jonathan, January 26, 1760.
Esther, September 10, 1761.
David, November 11, 1763.
Basmath, September 7, 1769.
Elinor, November 26, 1771.

JOCK. *Children of Lynn and Hannah (colored).*

Rebecca, September 30, 1763.
Rachel, June 25, 1766, in Lancaster.
Sarah, Octo. 16, 1768, in Lancaster.
John, April 24, 1771, "

JOHNSON. *Children of Dole and Hannah.*

Hannah, November 2, 1739.
Simeon, February 13, 1742/3.
Dole, July 4, 1745.

Children of Rev. Daniel and Betsy (Lee) Johnson.

Nabby Lee, March 15, 1771.
Daniel, November 4, 1772.
Joanna, August 15, 1774.

JONES. Moses, son of Joseph and Ruth, August 27, 1776.

KEEP. *Children of Jabez and Phebe.*

Jabez, September 8, 1769.
Mehitabel, November 8, 1773.
Rebecca, March 26, 1782.

Children of Jabez and Lydia (Parkhurst) Keep.

Sally, February 26, 1786.
Phebe, April 1, 1789.

Silva, daughter of Jonathan and Hannah Keep, June 21, 1777.

KENT. *Children of Josiah and Sarah.*

Abigail, August 2, 1744.
[Ruth and Sarah, ———.]
Mary, April 22, 1741.

KEYES. *Children of William and Mary.*

William, June 17, 1752.
Elizabeth, September 13, 1749.

Children of Leonard and Ruth Keyes.

Leonard, May 7, 1767.
Sarah, May 31, 1770.

KIMBALL. *Children of Benjamin and Nancy (Wilder).*

Nancy, October 25, 1781.
Nabby, August 2, 1785.
George, May 18, 1783.

KNEELAND. *Children of Timothy and Moriah (Stone).*

Moriah, February 9, 1762.
John, August 12, 1766.
Oliver, April 21, 1764.

Joseph, son of Joseph and Miriam Kneeland, November 22, 1752.

KNIGHT. *Children of Daniel and Elizabeth (Houghton).*

Asa, April 1, 1765.
John, August 8, 1768.
Joseph, November 22, 1766.

Children of Ebenezer and Prudence (Church) Knight.

Prudence, May 3, 1759, at Lancaster.
Salmon, March 29, 1766, at L.
Vashti, December 23, 1760, do.
Phebe, March 2, 1768, do.
Abel Brown, December 16, 1763.
Ruth, March 26, 1770.

Children of Nathan and Susannah (Putnam) Knight.

Susy, November 12, 1770.
Rachel, October 22, 1772.

Children of Joseph, Jr., and Sarah Knight.

Abigail, May 10, 1776.
Abidan, January 18, 1782.
Heman, December 13, 1780.

Betsy and Lydia, twin daughters of John and Elizabeth (Davis) Knight, April 8, 1774.

Hannah Bryant, daughter of William and Lydia (Cleverly) Knight, October 4, 1786.

Henry, son of Elisha and Lydia (Farnsworth) Knight, March 5, 1792.

LAUGHTON. *Children of Jeremiah and Rachel.*

Daniel, July 1, 1750.
Hannah, May 1, 1763.
John, July 11, 1755.
Jeremiah, August 7, 1765.
Sarah, May 8, 1758.
Olivea, April 27, 1768.
Rachel, August 7, 1760.

Children of Daniel and Lucy (Dutton) Laughton.

John, April 14, 1778.
Ephraim, November 12, 1789.
Thomas, October 6, 1779.
George, April 17, 1792.
Daniel, December 7, 1781.
Hannibal, March 3, 1794.
Stephen, December 2, 1783.
Lucy, June 6, 1796.
Artemas, October 29, 1785.
Emily, July 4, 1798.
Oliver, August 24, 1787.

John, son of John and Patty (Pollard) Laughton, May 12, 1790.

LAWRENCE. *Children of Amos and Sarah (Wetherbee).*

Amos, March 9, 1773.
Nabby, May 14, 1774.

Henry, son of Stephen and Lucy (Stone) Lawrence, July 10, 1790, *et. cet.*

LONGLEY. *Children of Nathaniel and Keziah (Fairbank).*

Betsy, June 18, 1782.
Polly, July 30, 1786.
Nathaniel, April 24, 1784.
Henry, November 28, 1788.

MARTYN. Michael, son of John and Mary, July 21, 1737.

Children of Dr. Nathaniel and Anna (Townsend) Martyn.

Michael, September 18, 1766.
Pamela, August 24, 1767.

M'LEAN. *Children of Edward and Sarah (Parker).*

Sarah, September 18, 1784.
Eunice, April 18, 1786.
John, September 2, 1790.

MEAD. *Children of Samuel and Dinah.*

Hannah, April 10, 1729, at Littleton.
Rebecca. Decem. —, 1730, "
Samuel, June 18, 1732.
Beulah, March 24, 1733/4.

Children of Samuel and Hannah (Willard) Mead.

John, June 29, 1749.
Oliver, September 2, 1751.
Hannah, August 13, 1753.
Lucy, January 15, 1756.
Lydia, January 9, 1759.
Samuel, May 30, 1761.
Mercy, February 15, 1769.

Children of Samuel, Jr., and Amy Mead.

Asa, March 8, 1761.
Jason. February 9, 1764.
Francis, October 28, 1765.
Reuben, November 23, 1769.

Children of John and Sarah (Whitney) Mead.

Jonathan, December 11, 1771.
Sarah, December 25, 1773.
John, November 9, 1775.

Children of William and Sarah Mead.

Phebe Merriam, March 30, 1778.
Asenath, May 21, 1780.

Children of Samuel, Jr., and Hepsibeth Mead.

Onesimus, January 22, 1789.
Nancy, January 2, 1791.
Mary, July 20, 1793.
Samuel, November 10, 1797.

Children of Samuel, Jr., and Patience Mead.

Amy, July 22, 1781.
Reuben, January 31, 1782[3?]

Children of Jason and Silence (Atherton) Mead.

Bethiah, April 2, 1788.
Charlotte, December 22, 1791.
Albegence, December —, 1793.
Emily, January 8, 1796.
Jason, March 16, 1803.

MUNROE. *Children of John and Lucy (White).*

Tilly Wilder, May 1, 1784.
Abel, July 8, 1785.

Children of Dr. Ephraim and Mercy (Atherton) Munroe.

Tilly Merrick, October 8, 1778.
William, April 22, 1780.
John Holland, March 22, 1782.
Atherton, October 29, 1784.
Rebecca, March 27, 1787.

Lydia, daughter of Abraham and Lydia (Hapgood) Munroe, Dec. 22, 1776.

NICHOLS. *Children of Samuel and Lydia (Willard).*

Bethiah, June 29, 1760.
Hezekiah, February 19, 1762.

Abigail, daughter of John and Mary Nichols, March 5, 1733.

NURSE. *Children of Joshua and Mary (Sampson).*

Mary, February 15, 1741.
Joshua, May 16, 1743.
Sarah, September 9, 1744.

Children of David and Lois (Brown) Nurse.

James Richardson, Oct. 10, 1795.
David, December 22, 1798,
Stillman, April 7, 1801.
Brown, January 24, 1804.
John. April 27, 1807.
Harvey, November 5, 1809.
Mary Ann, February 2, 1814.

Francis, son of Francis and Nabby (Puffer) Nurse, April 27, 1799.

OAK. Calvin, son of Seth and Elizabeth, September 12, 1758.
Sarah, daughter of Jonathan and Sarah Oak, January 12, 1752.

PARK. *Children of John and Jane.*

John, April 12, 1742.
Margaret, August 20, 1744.
William, March 4, 1750.
Andrew, February 25, 1753.
Andrew, May 19, 1757.

Children of William, Jr., and Eunice (Stone) Park.

John, August 22, 1782.
Nancy, December 13, 1785.
Polly, July 21, 1789.
Moody, September 25, 1790.
Sally, January 25, 1800.

John, son of Thomas and Rosanna (Conn) Park, April 24, 1786.

PARKER. Mary, daughter of Samuel Stillman and Rebecca (Thomas) Parker, February 11, 1799.

PARKHURST. *Children of Jonathan and Mary.*

George, Aug. 10, 1752, at Nichewog.
Samuel, March 13, 1754, Winchester.
Lucy January 3, 1756
Nathan, November 13, 1757.

PATTERSON, *Children of Lemuel and Susannah.*

Lemuel, September 9, 1783.
James, April 23, 1785.
Asa, May 29, 1788.
John, September 14, 1790.
Exion, January 15, 1798.
Samuel, November 5, 1800.

Children of Nicholas and Anna Patterson.

Sybil, January 31, 1774.
Betsy, July 31, 1776.

Children of Nicholas and Abigail Patterson.

Nabby, July 22, 1779.
Artemas, July 7, 1781.
Lucinda, February 25, 1783.
Anna Willard, March 5, 1785.
Alexander, May 15, 1787.
Nabby Willard, June 13, 1790.

PEIRCE. *Children of Joseph and Deborah.*

Dinah, April 22, 1741.
Deborah, December 24, 1742.
Ruth, November 25, 1745.
Joseph, August 26, 1748.
Timothy, May 22, 1750.
Thomas, December 27, 1752.
Hannah, September 15, 1755.

Children of Daniel, Jr., and Sarah (Buck) Peirce.

Daniel, October 3, 1742.
Abigail, November 5, 1744.
Reuben, March 17, 1747.
Samuel, May 21, 1749.
Jacob, August 2, 1751.

Abigail and Sarah, twins of Jonas and Sarah Peirce, January 18, 1754.
Matthew, son of Jonas and Sarah Peirce, September 6, 1755.
Moriah, daughter of John and Hannah (Stone) Peirce, October 19, 1748.
Gad, son of William and Mary Peirce, June 19, 1741.

Children of Jonathan and Sarah Peirce.

Jonathan, October 26, 1758.
Charles, September 24, 1760.
Lucy, February 13, 1763.
Sarah, March 23, 1765.
Elijah, August 8, 1767.
Mary, January 23, 1769.

Eliza Peirce, daughter of John and Dinah (Sawyer) Peirce, April 17, 1800.

PERRY. *Children of James and Hepsibah.*

James, November 22, 1766.
Mercy, December 22, 1769.

PHELPS. John, son of Timothy and Sarah, March 8, 1769.

POLLARD. *Children of David and Patty.*

Lucy, November 1, 1773.
Silva, January 11, 1777.
Calley, December 5, 1780.
David, July 20, 1784.

Children of Jonathan and Mary Pollard.

John, January 20, 1774.
Betsy, February 24, 1775.
Levi, April 7, 1778.

Children of Thaddeus and Submit Pollard.

Zilpah, April 11, 1767.
Eusebia, December 8, 1768.
Amory, September 8, 1770.
Thaddeus, June 3, 1772.
Luke, February 19, 1774.
Abner, June 1, 1776.
Sarah, April 20, 1778.
Luther, March 25, 1780.
Nathan, March 16, 1782.
Mille, April 11, 1784.
Abel, February 22, 1786.
Nabby, July 29, 1788.

Nathan, son of Thaddeus and Elizabeth Pollard, April 19, 1793.

Children of Thaddeus, Jr., and Mary (Fairbank) Pollard.

Nabby, July 21, 1782.
Mercy, February 20, 1784.
Nancy, January 1, 1786.
Hannah, November 15, 1787.
Jacob, October 28, 1789.
Walter, February 12, 1793.
Thomas, November 25, 1794.

Children of Ephraim and Mary Pollard.

George and Charles, Sept. 21, 1796. Josiah Hartwell, July 15, 1798.

POTTER. Maria, daughter of Jacob and Lucy, May 22, 1797.

POWERS. *Children of Edward and Mary (Nurse).*

Edward, December 2, 1748.
Mary, December 21, 1749.
Sarah, October 17, 1752.
Edward, September 10, 1754.
Oliver, December 15, 1756.

Children of Robert and Anna Powers.

Henry, April 13, 1753.
John, January 10, 1755.
Miriam, May 26, 1756.

Levi, son of Timothy and Martha (Sampson) Powers, March 26, 1765.

PRATT. *Children of Joseph and Elizabeth (Sawyer).*

Joseph, March 21, 1784.
John, June 9, 1786.

Children of Benjamin and Abigail Pratt.

Thomas, June 8, 1753.
Elizabeth, December 19, 1756.

Children of John and Mary (Hall) Pratt.

Sarah, April 27, 1756.
John, February 7, 1760.

PRIEST. [The children of John and Rachel (Garfield) Priest, were; Elizabeth, 1679, John, 1681, Daniel, 1686, brought from Woburn; Gabriel, Joseph, Mary and Hannah, born at Bare Hill. An inventory of the father's estate is dated December 21, 1704.]

[The children of John Jr. and Anna (Houghton) Priest, baptized in Lancaster: Annah, Mary and Abigail, 1708; Damaris, 1710; Rachel, 1713; Hepsibah, 1716; Jonathan, 1718; Mariah, 1721. The father died in Bolton, aet. 75, September 29, 1756.]

[The children of Gabriel and Abigail Priest, born in Lancaster: John, November 21, 1717; Gabriel, June 17, 1720; Jeremiah, April 30, 1722.]

[The children of Daniel and Elizabeth Priest, baptized in Lancaster: John, Daniel, Eunice, Hasadiah, Betty and Silence. The father died October 9, 1723.]

Children of Joseph and Mary Priest.

[Joseph, November 28, 1717.]
[Benjamin, February 17, 1719/20.]
[Mary, March 23, 1720/21.]
[Susanna, March 22, 1723/4.]
[Eleazar, August 23, 1726.]
[Tabitha, November 5, 1728.]
[Bathsheba, May 1, 1731.]
Dorothy, October 11, 1733.]
Betty, April 24, 1736.
John, January 13, 1737/8.

Children of Joseph, Jr., and Elizabeth Priest.

Benjamin, December 12, 1738.
Abigail, February 7, 1742/3.
Susanna, October 8, 1740.

Children of Jeremiah and Mary Priest.

Sarah, October 10, 1744.
Jeremiah, January 10, 1746.
Nathan, October 22, 1747.
John. September 22, 1749.
Mary, March 28, 1752.
Daniel, July 6, 1754.
Job, March 27, 1756.
Aaron, March 2, 1758.
Elijah, June 21, 1760.
Abigail, April 12, 1762.
Mary, February 9, 1765.

Children of John and Mary (Fairbank) Priest.

[A son, July 19, 1749.]
John, August 22, 1750.
Philemon, February 18, 1753.
Mary, August 23, 1755.
Jacob, August 15, 1757.
Abel, April [March] 20, 1760.
[Calvin, September 14, 1762.]
Jabez, January 23, 1764.
[Mary, February 9, 1765.]
Relief, November 13, 1767.
Sarah, February 10, 1771.

Children of John, Jr., and Hannah (Stow) Priest.

Mary, December 25, 1772.
Mercy, May 25, 1774.
Lucy, February 9, 1776.

Jonathan, son of Gabriel and Sarah Priest, July 7, 1743.

Children of John and Anna Priest.

Sarah, July 18, 1776.
Eunice, March 4, 1779.

Children of Philemon and Lois (Hartwell) Priest.

Betsy, July 21, 1777.
Sarah, October 5, 1778.
Nancy, August 18, 1780.
Benjamin, June 12, 1782.
Philemon, June 30, 1785.
Jabez, August 10, 1788.

Children of Jacob and Mary (Stone) Priest.

Lydia, March 29, 1783.
Jacob, June 12, 1785.
Oliver, November 1, 1791.

Charles, son of Jacob and Rhoda (Warner) Priest, December 1, 1793.
Zimri, " " " " " January 20, 1801.

Children of Abel and Zerviah (Whitcomb) Priest.

John, June 8, 1788.
Abel, April 4, 1792.
Asa, March 16, 1795.
Arad, February 21, 1797.
Jasper, June 17, 1805.

Daniel, son of Job and Martha (Butler) Priest, January 25. 1778.
Mary, daughter of Nathan and Mary (Bacon) Priest, April 25, 1781.
Solomon, son of Nathan and Mary (Bacon) Priest, August 29, 1786.

PROCTER. Amos, son of Jonathan and Elizabeth, January 22, 1739.

PUFFER *Children of Jonathan and Abigail (Fairbank).*

Polly, December 16, 1775.
Nabby, February 13, 1777.
Jonathan, December 26, 1779.
Polly, December 30, 1781.
Sally, March 3, 1784.

PUTNAM. *Children of Miles and Rachel.*

Mary, June 19, 1761.
Daniel, June 12, 1763.
Sarah, April 20, 1765.
John, December 16, 1768.

PUTNEY. *Children of Henry and Martha.*

Mary, May 1, 1745.
John, August 25, 1747.

RAMSDELL. *Children of Nehemiah and Polly.*

Betsy, October 30, 1793, at Groton.
Mary, October 16, 1795, "
Nehemiah, July 8, 1797, "
Ezekiel, March 4, 1799, "
Sarah, February 22, 1801, Harvard.
Nancy, June 17, 1803.
Lois, October 2, 1805.
Zoa, December 13, 1807.
Eri, November 14, 1809.
Nehemiah, May 14, 1812.
Zoa, March 28, 1814.
Alice, November 30, 1816.
Joseph, March 22, 1819.

RAND. *Children of Jonathan and Abigail (Whitney).*

Aaron, May 3, 1733.
Abigail, November 14, 1736.
Silas, June 2, 1739.

Molly, daughter of Jonathan and Mary Rand, July 10, 1759.

Children of Aaron and Elizabeth (Randal) Rand.

Betty, October 4, 1757.
Daniel, May 5, 1761.

Children of Silas and Sarah (Farwell) Rand.

Sarah, November 28, 1763.
Jonathan, January 28, 1767.

Children of Jonathan and Mercy (Taylor) Rand.

Silas, July 16, 1789.
Thomas, April 24, 1792.
Annis, April 25, 1794.
Mercy, May 28, 1796.
Rachel, March 16. 1798.
Esther, July 28, 1799.
Jonathan, March 1, 1801.
Asenath, October 28, 1804.
Joseph, March 22, 1807.
Mary, March 22, 1810.
Nancy, June 28, 1812.
Sarah, February 4, 1813.

Children of Silas, Jr., and Betsy (Farnsworth) Rand.

Clarissa, December 17, 1798.
Martin, December 26, 1801.

RANDALL. *Children of Stephen and Sarah (Fairbank).*

Sarah, March 7, 1773.
Lydia, October 2, 1775.
Sarah, December 28, 1778.

REED. *Children of Israel and Anne.*

Thomas Park, August 27, 1795.
Israel, March 28, 1797.
Henry, January 19, 1799.
Anne, January 15, 1801.
Sally, January 30, 1803.

Children of Jonathan and Lois (Conant) Reed.

Sarah, June 6, 1790.
Levi, September 10, 1792.
Nancy, April 16, 1794.
Lucy, September 24, 1796.
Mary, February 1, 1798.
Louis July 25, 1801.
Betsy, June 12, 1803.
Maria, August 25, 1805.
Sophia, October 2, 1808.
Harriet, October 1, 1812.

RICHARDS. *Children of Moses and Ruth (Willard).*

Lurana, May 26, 1769.
Anna Willard, February 7, 1771.

ROBBINS. *Children of Eleazar and Ruth (Wheeler).*

[Jedediah, 1709; George, 1712; Eleazar, 1714; Ruth, 1716; Epraim, 1718.]

John, son of George and Thankful, October 31, 1735.

Children of Ephraim and Hannah (Blanchard) Robbins.

Hannah, November 5, 1744.
Sarah, May 23, 1746.
Ephraim, May 13, 1748.

Eleazar, son of Eleazar and Lydia (Powers) Robbins, August, —, 1742.

Children of Jacob and Anna Robbins.

Anna, February 13, 1764.
Hannah, June 24, 1766.
Lydia, October 29, 1768.
Peter, March 20, 1771.
Susanna, December 7, 1772.
Ephraim Whitcomb, Feb. 18, 1775.
John, December 15, 1776.

Children of Benjamin and Lydia (Haild) Robbins.

Solomon, January 17, 1775.
Lydia, March 2, 1777.

Children of James, Jr., and Anna (Warner) Robbins.

James, July 3, 1777.
Lucy, March 14, 1779.
Anna, March 5, 1781.
Benjamin, August 12, 1782.
Betty, June 6, 1784.
Charles, October 20, 1785.
Caleb, September 15, 1787.

Children of Daniel and Elizabeth (Townsend) Robbins.

Ephraim, June 17, 1784.
Daniel, June 1, 1786.

Children of Ephraim and Thankful Robbins.

Louisa, February 11, 1779.
Ephraim, June 2, 1780.
Samuel Ball, August 13, 1784.
Silvanus, March 6, 1786.
Moses, August 20, 1788.

Children of Jacob and Olive Robbins.

Onesiphorus, August 19, 1792.
Nabby, January 28, 1796.
Jacob and Olive, October 24, 1798.
Augustus, October 17, 1805.

ROGERS. *Children of Samuel and Sarah (Houghton).*

Samuel, July 30, 1735.
Sarah, September 4, 1737.

ROSS. *Children of James and Rosanna.*

John, July 5, 1776.
William, July 9, 1779.

RUGG. *Children of Abraham and Abigail (Warner).*

Mary, August 7, 1737.
John, March 6, 1739/40.
Prudence, September 26, 1742.
Relief, October 16, 1745.

RUSSELL. *Children of Jason and Elizabeth.*

Sybil, December 31, 1737.
Parker, June 21, 1741.
Parker, May 16, 1746.
Hannah, August 22, 1749.
Elizabeth and Mary, Sept. 20, 1752.
Lucy, April 13, 1755.

Children of Samuel and Eunice Russell.

Ezekiel, March 24, 1759, at Bolton.
Samuel, May 17, 1761, do.
Molly, January 22, 1764.
Stephen, August 21, 1767.
Rhoda, November 22, 1770.
Solomon, November 27, 1774.

SAFFORD. Sarah, daughter of William and Sarah (Scollay), April 17, 1781.

Children of John and Mehitable (Farnsworth) Safford.

John, August 12, 1765.
Martha, March 11, 1767.
Mehitable, June 18, 1769.

SAMPSON. *Children of John and Abigail.*

David, June 28, 1736.
Solomon, July 7, 1738.

Children of John, Jr., and Martha (Sawyer) Sampson.

Abner, February 27, 1744/5.
Aaron, January 4, 1746/7.
Lois, February 8, 1748/9.
Ruth, March 10, 1751.
[John, January 4, 1744/5.]?
Sarah, March 31, 1753.
Abigail, February 18, 1755.
Joel, December 19, 1757.
Mary, June 7, 1760.

Children of Solomon and Rebecca (Blood) Sampson.

Rebecca, February 15, 1764.
Abigail, April 14, 1766.
Benjamin, July 11, 1769.
Solomon, May 17, 1772.

Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Mary (Oak) Sampson, May 7, 1759.

Elizabeth, daughter of Benjamin and Elizabeth Sampson, Oct. 13, 1752.

Children of David and Lucy (Warner) Sampson.

Phinehas, October 31, 1762.
Samuel, July 24, 1766.
Lucy, January 18, 1771.
Lydia, October 2, 1773.
Willis, September 23, 1776.
Hannah Warner, May 22, 1788.

Children of Samuel and Mary (Farnsworth) Sampson.

Polly, September 28, 1785.
Sally, July 2, 1787.
Amory, October 30, 1791.

SANDERSON. *Children of John and Submit.*

Jemima, February 8, 1757.
Jemima, September 3, 1760.
Hannah, February 11, 1762.
Submit, April 18, 1764.
Beulah, September 8, 1766.
James, November 21, 1768.
Sarah, March 2, 1770.

Jonathan, son of Jonathan and Mary Sanderson, May 7, 1759.

Children of Oliver and Elizabeth (Wentworth) Sanderson.

Oliver, April 13, 1771.
Theophilas, March 29, 1773.

SAVIL. *Children of Edward and Alethea.*

Ann, January 8, 1785.
Edward, February 16, 1787.
Elisha, February 24, 1789.

SAWYER. [The children of Caleb and Sarah (Houghton) Sawyer (married December 28, 1687) were: Hepsibah, Abigail and Seth, baptized at Lancaster in 1708, and John and Jonathan, the last being the eldest son.]

[The children of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Wheelock) Sawyer, baptized at Lancaster, were: Jonathan, 1716; Elizabeth, 1717; Caleb, 1720; Lois, 1724; Olive, 1726; Sarah, 1727; Manasseh, 1729; Lois, 1732.]

[The children of John and Ruth Sawyer were: Damaris, born April 1, 1725, and Dinah, February 16, 1727/8.]

Children of Joseph and Abigail (Foskett) Sawyer.

John, February 17, 1733/4.
Abigail, October 3, 1735.
Oliver, May 1, 1738.
Joseph, January 14, 1740.
Lemuel and Mary, May 15, 1745.
Sarah, November 17, 1748.

Children of Seth and Hepsibah (Whitney) Sawyer.

[By his first wife, Dinah Farrar, married January 11, 1727, there was no issue.]

John, ———.
Caleb, ———.
Dinah, April 11, 1739.
Betty, November 15, 1741.
Phinehas, July 25, 1746.

Caleb, son of Caleb and Lydia Sawyer, January 13, 1740/1.

Children of Caleb and Relief (Fairbank) Sawyer.

Seth, August 22, 1761.
Caleb, March 23, 1764.

Children of Caleb and Sarah (Patch) Sawyer,

Phinehas, May 23, 1768.
Jonathan, July 28, 1771.

Children of John and Elizabeth (Gates) Sawyer.

Hepsibah, April 2, 1763.
Relief, September 5, 1765.
Elizabeth, November 6, 1767.
Seth, September 22, 1769.
Dinah, November 15, 1771.
Hannah, November 2, 1776.

Children of Oliver and Abigail Sawyer.

Abigail, September 30, 1764.
Oliver, April 25, 1766.
Oliver, November 15, 1767.
Joshua, June 16, 1769.
Relief, February 3, 1771.
Lucy, September 24, 1772.
Ezra, November 8, 1779.

Children of Manasseh and Lydia (Fairbank) Sawyer.

Jonathan, March 9, 1758.
Jabez, December 24, 1759.
Lydia, November 30, 1761.
Rhoda, March 30, 1764.
Abijah, August 12, 1766.
Manasseh, September 6, 1768.
Joseph, April 4, 1771.
Luther, April 18, 1773.

Children of Phinehas and Hannah (Whitcomb) Sawyer.

Abel, December 28, 1771.
[Also Lydia and Seth, b. 1780.]

Children of Phineas and Hannah (Whitney) Sawyer.

Hannah, March 18, 1792.
Eusebia, October 9, 1793.
Sarah, February 6, 1795.
Sophia, June 19, 1797.
Ira, October 6, 1799.
[Also born elsewhere: Arethusa, Eliza, Mary, Zenas, Edmund, Alfred, Francis, Jonathan and Wesley.]

Children of Manasseh, Jr., and Mercy (Mead) Sawyer.

Jonathan, July 26, 1789.
Manasseh, July 28, 1791.
Rebecca, November 14, 1793.
Nathaniel, December 10, 1795.
Mercy, December 26, 1798.
Josiah, December 9, 1802.

Children of Abel and Molly (Cutting) Sawyer.

James, July 1, 1793.
[Phineas, —— ?]
Abel, January 3, 1797.

Children of Jonathan and Mary (Priest) Sawyer.

Jonathan, February 12, 1796.
Caleb, April 13, 1798.
Mary, February 14, 1800.
Lucy, May 2, 1805.
Wesley, October 5, 1807.
Luke, October 18, 1809.
Mercy, June 6, 1812.
Augustus Jonathan, April 14, 1816.

Children of Luther and Achsah Sawyer.

Luke, December 7, 1798.
Achsah, July 5, 1800.
Luther, January 18, 1802.
Sophia, December 27, 1803.
Nahum, June 1, 1805.
Mary, June 13, 1806.
Arad, July 15, 1808.
Cephas, March 10, 1810.
Lydia, December 4, 1811.
Abner, October 9, 1813.
Permilley, December 2, 1815.
Jabez, January 4, 1819.

SCOLLAY. *Children of Grover and Lois (Atherton).*

John, August 19, 1753.
Ann, April 17, 1756.
Sarah, February, 22, 1759.
John, April 2, 1763.
Lois, January 27, 1766.
Lydia, December 13, 1768.
Betsy, August 27, 1771.
Lucy, October 5, 1774.
Grover, August 28, 1777.

Samuel, son of Grover and Rebecca Scollay, January 21, 1781.

SECCOMB. *Children of Rev. John and Mercy (Williams).*

Hannah, March 2, 1738.
John, April 27, 1740.
Willis, March 3, 1741/2.
Mercy, February 3, 1743/4.
Thomas, March 16, 1757.

SMITH. *Children of Samuel and Mary.*

Jonathan, Sept. 19, 1748, Braintree.
Elizabeth, June 25, 1751, Braintree.

SNOW. *Children of Peter and Eunice (Godfrey).*

Judith, December 7, 1755.
Peter, September 9, 1759.

SPRAGUE. *Children of Ebenezer and Eunice.*

Nathan, May 21, 1732.
Eunice, November 16, 1733.
Anna, September 21, 1735.
Elizabeth, August 4, 1737.
Mary, December 28, 1739.
Jemima, October 20. 1742.
Jemima, October 10, 1744.

STACY. *Children of John and Hannah.*

John, May 24, 1790.
Artemas, May 3, 1794.

STEARNS. *Children of Timothy and Dinah.*

Timothy, December 19, 1742.
Samuel, June, 4, 1745, at Lancaster.
Isaac, July 1, 1749, at Lancaster.
Elizabeth, Nov. 7, 1751, do

Jonathan, son of William and Elizabeth Stearns, September 26, 1762.

STICKNEY. Peter, son of Moses and Sybil (Farnsworth), April 7, 1761.

STONE. *Children of Simon and Sarah (Farnsworth).*

[Simon, September 10, 1714.]
[Ephraim, January 2, 1715/6.]
[Oliver, January 20. 1719/20.]
[Sarah, January 27, 1721/2.]
[Isaac, February 17, 1723/4.]
[Hannah, April 18, 1726.]
[Elias, April 2, 1728.]
[Amos, September 9, 1729.]
Solomon, September 3, 1732.
Micah, April 10, 1735.

Children of Simon, Jr., and Eunice Stone.

Eunice, April 13, 1740.
Simon, December 22, 1741.
Lydia, October 15, 1743.
Aaron, November 22, 1745.
Moses, November 26, 1748.
Tabitha, April 24, 1751.
Abner, August 26, 1753.

Children of Oliver and Moriah (Priest) Stone.

Anna, May 7, 1741.
Maria, July 12, 1743.
Sarah, June 4, 1746.
Oliver, July 25, 1748.
John, July 6, 1751.
Anna, April 28, 1754.

Children of Oliver and Mary Stone.

Mary, May 18, 1758.
Silas, August 28, 1759.
Oliver, April 27, 1761.

Children of Isaac and Keziah (Peirce) Stone.

Ephraim, January 22, 1745/6.
Isaac, January 26, 1746/7.
Dinah, August 3, 1749.
Daniel, July 10, 1754.
Jacob, July 25, 1756.
Keziah, April, 6. 1760.
Sarah, March 30, 1762.
Abigail, February 19, 1765.

Children of Amos and Adna (Hale) Stone.

Hannah, February 5, 1755.
Ambrose, April 29, 1757.
Amos, September 28, 1759.
Hannah, February 26, 1762.

Children of Elias and Sarah Stone.

Solomon, January 18, 1756.
Elias, October 3, 1757.

Children of James and Deborah Stone.

Mary, September 27, 1755.
Deborah, August 16, 1757.
William, April 23, 1759.
David, October 20, 1761.
Annis, March 24, 1763.
Lucy, October 16, 1765.
Hannah, September 28, 1767.
Phineas, April 22, 1769.
Josiah, April 1, 1771.

Children of Oliver and Lucy (Willard) Stone.

Oliver, January 28 1764. Lucy, February 3, 1766.

Children of Micah and Mary (Whitney) Stone.

Solomon, March 22, 1761. Micah, August 13, 1764.
Mary, August 7, 1762.

Children of Micah and Elizabeth (Lawrence) Stone.

Benjamin, July 29, 1767. Simon, September 1, 1776.
Elizabeth, March 1, 1770. Nabby, January 2, 1779.
Sarah, January 23, 1772. Reuben, January 31, 1781.
Annah, November, 22, 1773. Amos, August 22, 1784.
Oliver, October 4, 1775.

Children of Joel and Eunice Stone.

William, December 16, 1767. Mille, June 20, 1773.
Mille, May 25, 1770. Eunice, October 12, 1778.

Children of Silas and Eunice (Fairbank) Stone.

Lucy March 3, 1768, at Templeton. Betsy, April 24, 1777, Templeton.
Eunice, January 16, 1770, " Hannah, August 27, 1779, Harvard.
Sarah, October 17, 1771, " Jasper, September 8, 1781, "
Silas, August 27, 1773, " Joseph, December 17, 1783, "
Phinehas, July 3, 1775, " Lois, August 6, 1786, "

Children of Josiah and Sarah (Daby) Stone.

Josiah, December 27, 1797. Ezra, December 8, 1801, Shirley.
Levi, September 5, 1799, Shirley.
Molly, daughter of Isaac and Lucy Stone, January 16, 1800.

Children of Phineas and Sally (Mead) Stone.

Henry, April 5, 1795. Sally, January 27, 1800.
John, July 12, 1797. Nancy, January 26, 1802.
Polly, daughter of Mary Stone, March 28, 1783.
Joseph, son of Lemuel and Martha (Fullam) Stone, January 23, 1783.

Children of David and Lucy (Sampson) Stone.

Susanna, June 6, 1789. Rebecca, August 24, 1796.
Joseph, November 29, 1791. David Sampson, February 10, 1799.
James, June 20, 1794.

STOW. *Children of Benjamin and Dorcas (Stone).*

Dorcas, June 27, 1752. Benjamin, March 17, 1758.
Mary, March 13, 1754. Dorcas, September 24, 1759.
Manasseh, August 25, 1756.

Children of Benjamin and Abigail (Atherton) Stow.

Abigail, May 22, 1784. Sally, October 20, 1785.

SYMONDS. *Children of Jonathan and Judith (Cole).*

Lydia, December 16, 1753. Molly, March 2, 1759.
Jonathan, August 7, 1755.

Children of Jonathan and Hannah Symonds.

Silvester, May 12, 1780. Jonathan Bowman, March 20, 1791.
Hannah, July 10, 1788.

TAYLOR. *Children of Israel and Rachel (Wheeler).*

Mary, March 12, 1732/3. Charles, October 6, 1742.

Children of John and Mary (Bowker) Taylor.

Betty, June 8, 1757. John, August 31, 1761.

Children of Charles and Mercy (Stearns) Taylor.

Esther, August 18, 1765.
Israel, April 9, 1769.
Mercy, March 12, 1771.
Joseph, December 9, 1774.
Ephraim, December 5, 1776.
William, February 10, 1778.
Sally, July 18, 1781

William Taylor, December 30, 1799, son of Hannah Rand.

TURNER. *Children of Prince and Rebecca (Keep.*

Luther, March 30, 1775.
Nabby, December 28, 1777.
Lucindy, July 19, 1780.
Bethiah, August 28, 1782.
James, August 16, 1784.
Sally, October 11, 1786.
Rebecca, March 7, 1789.
George, November 24, 1790.

Children of Simeon and Lucy (Cox) Turner.

Rachel, May 19, 1783.
Dwelly, October 13, 1786.
Caleb, October 27, 1788.

WARNER. [The children of John and Sarah Warner were: Samuel, 1680, John, 1684, Sarah, 1686, brought from Woburn; Ebenezer, Elizabeth, Mehitable and Rebecca, 1698, born at Bare Hill. The father died in 1722.]

[The children of John, Jr., and Rebecca Warner, baptized in Lancaster, were: David, John and Mary, 1716; Elizabeth, 1718; Nathaniel, 1722; Moses, 1726. The father died in 1758.]

[The children of Samuel and Hannah Warner, baptized in Lancaster, were: Nathan and Hannah, 1713; Abigail, 1715; Joshua, 1719; Aaron, 1722. Another daughter, Sarah, was *non compos mentis*. The father died in 1744.]

[The children of Ebenezer and Mercy Warner, baptized in Lancaster, were: Annah, 1716; Mercy or Mary, 1717; Rebeccah, 1718; Samuel, 1719; Ebenezer, 1721. The father died October 3, 1723.]

Children of Nathan and Dorothy (Goodenough) Warner.

Tamer, December 3, 1738.
Phinehas, July 27, 1740.
Lucy, November 1, 1742.
Samuel, May 19, 1745.
Abigail, February 7, 1746/7.
Rachel, March 9, 1748/9.
Aaron, June 30, 1751.

Children of Joshua and Dorothy Warner.

Ephraim, January 16, 1743/4.
Levi, March 22, 1748/9.
Dorothy, July 7, 1751.
Charles, February 5, 1754.

Children of David and Anna Warner.

Jonathan, August 11, 1745.
Mary, January 13, 1747/8.
Lydia, April 15, 1750.

Children of Nathaniel and Rachel (Sampson) Warner.

Lydia, February 8, 1750/1.
Abigail, July 15, 1753.

Children of John and Phebe (Whitney) Warner.

Abigail, July 4, 1750.
Sarah, June 7, 1753.
Phebe, February 18, 1754.
Persis, March 19, 1757.
Nabby, July 16, 1759.
John, March 16, 1762.
David, November 3, 1766.

Children of Ebenezer, Jr., and Abigail (Sampson) Warner.

Lois, February 22, 1750/1.
Anna, August 24, 1752.
Ebenezer, September 2, 1754.
Benjamin, May 21, 1757.
Benjamin, January 29, 1761,
Calvin, September 7, 1763.

Children of Phinehas and Lydia (Whitney) Warner.

Rebecca, December 24, 1769.
Israel, November 17, 1771.
Ephraim, April 16, 1774.
Lydia, October 19, 1775.
Aaron, October 2, 1780.

Lucy, daughter of Aaron and Mary (Stow) Warner, December 7, 1776.

Children of Abijah and Elcy (Fuller) Warner.

Nathaniel, January 3, 1777.
Elcy, September 13, 1778.

Children of Ebenezer, Jr., and Deborah (Ball) Warner.

Abigail, June 8, 1777.
Nathan Ball, March 22, 1779.
Lucy, March 11, 1781.
Ize, April 20, 1782.

Children of Calvin and Anna (Houghton) Warner.

Calvin, December 26, 1788.
Anna, October 18, 1790.
Betsy, September 28, 1792.
Luke, October 28, 1795.
Zerviah, November 5, 1797.
Noah, February 15, 1800.

Children of Elias and Abigail (Priest) Warner.

John, August 23, 1789.
Abigail, August 10, 1793.
Elias, October 7, 1795.

Children of Ephraim and Mercy (Houghton) Warner.

Lydia, December 15, 1796.
Ezra, April 12, 1799.
Ephraim, June 17, 1804.
Franklin, March 12, 1811.
Elizabeth, September 11, 1812.

WETHERBEE. *Children of John and Elizabeth.*

[Jonathan, August 17, 1725.]
[Aaron, February 17, 1727/8.]
[Catharine, November 1, 1730.]
Jonathan, December 26, 1733/4.

Children of John and Anna (Houghton) Wetherbee.

[Katharine, ———]
Elizabeth, October 17, 1737.
Mary, May 24, 1739.
Anna, September 25, 1741.
Elizabeth, September 3, 1743.
Micah, June 21, 1745.

Children of John and Sarah (Brown) Wetherbee.

Elizabeth, April 15, 1748.
Sarah, August 13, 1750.
John, November 10, 1751.
Elizabeth, April 9, 1753.
Eunice, May 27, 1755.
Ruth, April 29, 1757.
Micah, May 22, 1758.

Joseph, son of Joseph and Elizabeth Wetherbee, May 22, 1751.

Children of John and Martha (Harris) Wetherbee.

Martha, February 21, 1761.
Anna, August 3, 1763.

Children of Jonathan and Abigail (Farwell) Wetherbee.

Polly, September 14, 1772.
Melinda, July 28, 1793.

Children of Josiah and Lucy (Haskell) Wetherbee.

Betty, April 24, 1776.
Sally, August 14, 1778.
Polly, September 20, 1780.
Josiah, June 28, 1783.
Asa, June 24, 1785.
Sukey, January 15, 1788.

WHEELER. *Children of Thomas and Elizabeth.*

Thomas, January 30, 1723.
Elizabeth, February 15, 1727.
Mary, September 19, 1730.
Sarah, August 23, 1733.
Deliverance, July 9, 1737.

Children of Thomas, Jr., and Mary (Daby) Wheeler.

Deliverance, March 18, 1745.
Ephraim, September 21, 1747.

Children of Rev. Joseph and Mary (Greenleaf) Wheeler.

Elizabeth December 31, 1761.
Mary, April 7, 1763.
Theophilus, December 25, 1765.
Joseph, August 27, 1766.
Daniel Greenleaf, March 14, 1768.
John, May 17, 1770.
Moses, April 4, 1772.
Clarissa, February 1, 1774.
Abigail, February 26, 1776.

WHITCOMB. *Children of James and Hannah.*

[Mary, March 4, 1729.]
[Lois, May 13, 1731.]
Peter, July 23, 1733.
Lydia, October 27, 1736.
Patience, April 3, 1739.
James, July 4, 1741.
Abel, June 23, 1744.
Hannah, May 26, 1747.
Luther, June 23, 1753.

Children of William and Hannah (Daby) Whitcomb.

Lydia, January 16, 1744/5.
Lois, January 19, 1748/9.
Oliver, July 2, 1749.
Hannah, April 24, 1752.
Persis, September 17, 1754.
Lucy, November 29, 1756.
Elias, January 26, 1760.

Children of Abraham and Sarah Whitcomb.

Sally, September 23, 1795.
Abraham, August 11, 1797.

John Priest Whitcomb, son of Reuben and Mercy Priest, June 16, 1796.
Joanna, daughter of Chapman and Rhoda Whitcomb, April 6, 1793.
[Phineas Willard, son of Chapman and Rhoda Whitcomb, July 7, 1798, at Lancaster.]

Children of James, Jr., and Lucy Whitcomb.

Sarah, October 2, 1769.
Molly, May 31, 1773.

Children of Phineas and Abigail (Withington) Whitcomb.

Phineas, February 15, 1790.
Phineas, June 24, 1792.
Lucy, March 21, 1786.
William, April 19, 1799.

WHITNEY. *Children of Jonathan and Alice (Willard).*

[Phineas, Sept. 5, 1727, Caleb, Oct. 4, 1729, and Oliver, July 22, 1731, in Lancaster records.]
Alice, April 2, 1733.
Hezekiah, April 14, 1735.
Ruhamah, June 19, 1737.
Sarah, June 1, 1740.

Children of Isaiah and Elizabeth Whitney.

Betty, January 3, 1733/4.
Isaiah, November 28, 1735.

Children of John and Rebecca (Whitney) Whitney.

John, March 20, 1725.
Sarah, February 5, 1727.
Beulah, January 23, 1730.
Ezra, August 24, 1731.
Abner, January 21, 1734.

Children of Jonas and Margaret Whitney.

Moses, October 17, 1733.
Reuben, September 8, 1736.
Aaron, June 2, 1740.(?)
[Jonas, July 2, 1727.]
[Ephraim, September 19, 1728.]
[Timothy, February 1, 1730.]
[Margaret, October 22, 1731.]
[Ruth, September 8, 1740.]

Hannah, daughter of Daniel and Dorothy [Goss] Whitney, April 29, 1746.

Children of Abraham and Sarah (Whitney) Whitney.

Elizabeth, March 22, 1739.
Sarah, May 16, 1740.
Elizabeth, April 25, 1742.
Mary, September 16, 1744.
John, October 3, 1746.
Abraham, December 20, 1748.
Isaiah, October 6, 1751.
Elijah, February 15, 1754.
Ann, May 2, 1760.

Children of Jonathan, Jr., and Sarah (Holt) Whitney.

Phinehas, July 3, 1747.
Jonathan, July 1, 1749.
Sarah, August 5, 1751.
Relief, May 21, 1754.
Hannah, March 24, 1756.
Relief, November 13, 1758.
Annis, February 26, 1761.
Oliver and Abigail, Jan. 29, 1763.
Amos, March 30, 1765.
Rachel, September 19, 1767.

Children of Simon and Olive Whitney.

Wetherbee, May 3, 1746.
Rachel, January 5, 1748.
Sarah, February 5, 1749/50.
Silas, October 16, 1751.
Lois, July 28, 1753.
Alice, May 26, 1755.
Judah, May 17, 1757.
Lois, March 30, 1759.
Judah, June 16, 1761.
Lucy, October 7, 1765.
Simon, January 17, 1767.

Children of Jonas, Jr., and Zebudah (Davis) Whitney.

Levi, June 12, 1751.
Miriam, August 8, 1752.
Ephraim, April 2, 1754.
Jonas, March 3, 1756.
Lydia, October 17, 1757.
Salmon, February 16, 1760.
Joel, October 15, 1762.
Israel, January 16, 1767.
Peter, August 17, 1772.

Children of Elijah and Rebecca Whitney.

Mary, June 26, 1738.
Silas, June 11, 1740.
Rebecca, May 25, 1743.
Lydia, May 7, 1746.
Israel, December 29, 1748.
Israel, June 22, 1751.
Elijah, July 8, 1755.

Children of Richard and Mary Whitney.

Jacob, March 24, 1748/9.
Richard, February 2, 1752.
Mary, July 3, 1755.
Reuben, February 21, 1758.
James, May 29, 1760.
Hannah, October 17, 1763.
Sarah, February 9, 1767.

Children of Caleb and Annis (Church) Whitney.

Elizabeth, June 27, 1751.
Joshua, February 18, 1754.
Annis, May 9, 1756.
Caleb, June 33. 1758.
Joseph, July 9, 1760.

Children of Josiah and Sarah Whitney.

Josiah, February 25, 1753.
Elizabeth, May 7, 1757.
Stephen, May 1, 1757.

Children of (Col.) Josiah and Sarah (Dwelly) Whitney.

Sarah, April 11, 1775.
Oliver, January 9, 1777.
Artemas Ward, November 17, 1778.
Susanna, October 2, 1780.
Dwelly, August 21, 1782.
Lemuel, September 19, 1784.
Daniel, October 25, 1786.
John Hancock, December 13, 1788.
Moses Gill, February 4, 1791.

Children of Timothy and Alice (Whitney) Whitney.

Abel, September 19, 1752.
Oliver, March 10, 1754.
Simon, June 28, 1756.
Relief, February 2, 1758.

Children of Moses and Betty (Hutchins) Whitney.

Betty, December 9, 1756.
Bethiah, January 22, 1757/8.
Lucy, October 10, 1759.
Moses, March 18, 1761.

Children of David and Sarah (Hill) Whitney

Enoch, September 25, 1756.
Isaac, November 27, 1761.

Children of Isaiah and Persis Whitney.

Josiah, June 19, 1758.
Dorcas, April 20, 1760.
Isaiah, December 13, 1764.
Amos, December 27, 1768.
Cyrus, August 17, 1771.

Children of Aaron and Anna (Lawrence) Whitney..

Anna, November 18, 1766.
Sarah, May 23, 1769.
Moses, May 3, 1772.

Mary, daughter of Phineas and Keziah (Farnsworth) Whitney, May 15, 1766.

Simon, son of Simon and Patience (Hazeltine) Whitney, March 17, 1770.

Children of Israel and Hannah (Mead) Whitney.

Hannah, April 23, 1773.
Israel, April 18, 1775.
Rebecca, April 13, 1777.
Lydia, May 25, 1779.
Betsy, May 24, 1782.
Arethusa, December 12, 1783.
Oliver, May 16, 1786.

Children of Aaron and Sarah (Pollard) Whitney.

Moses, October 5, 1775.
[Abel, February 17, 1786.]
Aaron, November 7, 1777.

Children of Hezekiah and Lucy (Pollard) Whitney.

Jonathan, March 4, 1775.
Lucy, June 30, 1778.
Alice, July 29, 1780.
Jonathan, May 20, 1782.
Levi, August 30, 1786.

Artemas, son of Wetherbee and Abigail (Warner) Whitney, June 8, 1775.

Children of Isaiah, Jr., and Mary Whitney.

Mary Hayward, March 9, 1777.
Francis Wheeler, Novem. 30, 1778.
Isaiah, September 8, 1781.
Rebecca, February 15, 1784.
Ruth, April 17, 1786.
George, December 16, 1788.
Amos, March 9, 1795.
Daniel, April 12, 1797.

Children of Richard and Mercy (Willard) Whitney.

Betsy Willard, June 5, 1774.
Polly, March 16, 1777.
Levi, April 26, 1781.
Polly, February 15, 1789.

Nancy, daughter of Josiah, Jr., and Anna (Scollay) Whitney, April 12, 1777.

Children of Jacob and Lois (Hapgood) Whitney.

Hannah, December 14, 1772.
Mercy, February 20, 1774.
Jacob, October 16, 1776.
Lois, August 1, 1779.
Emory, October 1, 1791.

Children of Jacob and Mercy Whitney.

Eli, May 7, 1783.
Nancy, August 7, 1785.

Children of James and Rachel (Laughton) Whitney.

Richard, March 30, 1784.
Rachel, July 21, 1791.
Jeremiah Laughton, Aug. 13, 1788.
John, July 20, 1796.

Children of Abraham and Rebecca Whitney.

Abraham, March 3, 1777.
Abraham, November 29, 1779.
Josiah, August 18, 1781.
John, July 31, 1783.
Samuel, May 28, 1785.
Simeon, March 20, 1787.
Rebecca, October 13, 1789.
Sarah, February 11, 1797.
Mary, January 17, 1800.

Children of Reuben and Lucy (Fairbank) Whitney.

Lucy, January 24, 1782.
Reuben, August 11, 1783.
Mercy Fairbank, July 25, 1786.
Zimri, May 29, 1795.

Children of Isaac and Lucy (Mead) Whitney.

Polly, December 13, 1779.
Moses, February 14, 1782.
Susy, March 26, 1785.
Asa Willard, April 24, 1787.
Clarissa, October 28, 1795.

Polly, daughter of Reuben Jr. and Mary Whitney, December 13, 1779.

Children of Salmon and Hepsibeth Whitney.

Salmon, January 31, 1788.
Ephraim, January 12, 1791.
Nathan, August 1, 1793.
Persis, August 12, 1796.
Justin, July 24, 1801.
John, September 1, 1803.

Israel, son of Israel and Susanna (Geary) Whitney, May 36, 1790, at Littleton.

Children of Moses and Patty Whitney.

Sally, August 12, 1798.
Lucy, September 28, 1800.
Elbridge, November 23, 1802.
Eliza, May 13, 1806.
Maria, December 11, 1808.

Children of Enoch and Hannah Whitney.

Sally, February 21, 1780.
William, February 27, 1785.
Lydia, July 27, 1792.

Children of Israel and Abigail (Puffer) Whitney.

Luther, February 5, 1790.
Luke, February 8, 1793.
Naomi, April 28, 1797.

Children of Cyrus and Asena (Harris) Whitney.

Clarinda, October 24, 1797.
Asena, March 18, 1890.

WHITTEMORE. *Children of Nathaniel and Martha (Farnsworth).*

Joseph, February 1, 1771.
Benjamin, August 30, 1772.
Nathaniel, February 18, 1774.
Calvin March 5, 1776.

Children of Nathaniel and Lydia (Stone) Whittemore.

Lydia, November 28, 1778.
Martha, August 9, 1780.
Dorcas, May 17, 1782.
Asa Dunbar, August 21, 1784.
Prescott, July 28, 1787.

WILDER. David Jennison, son of John and Mary (Holland), Aug. 21, 1795.
Martha White, daughter of " " " July 1, 1798.

WILLARD. [The children of Henry and Mary (Lakin) Willard, married July 18, 1674, were: Henry, born April 11, 1675; Simon, October 8, 1678; John, September 3, 1682; Mary; Hezekiah; Joseph, 1685; Sarah. The children of Henry and Dorcas (Cutler) Willard, married in 1689, were: Samuel, May 31, 1690; James; Josiah; Abigail; Jonathan; Susanna and Tabitha. Perhaps all children by the first marriage were born at Nonacoicus, and all by the second, were born at Still River. The father died in 1701.]

[The children of Henry Jr. and Abigail (Temple) Willard, married July 21, 1698, at Concord, were: Abraham, Henry, Mary, Simon, baptized April 24, 1709. The children of Henry Jr. and Sarah (Nutting) Willard, were baptized at Lancaster: James, March 2, 1711; William, May 24, 1713; Abigail, August 7, 1715; Daniel, June 30, 1717; Sarah, May 31, 1719; Benjamin, April 30, 1721; Lydia, June 21, 1724; Ruth, born May 22, 1726.]

[The children of Simon and Mary (Whitcomb) Willard, married in 1700, were: Aaron, Moses, Eunice, Alice and Miriam. Aaron lived in Lancaster, Moses in Lunenburg; Eunice married Joseph Daby, and Alice, Jonathan Whitney. Simon died in 1706.]

[John and Anne (Hill) Willard had one son, John, baptized at Lancaster, September 8, 1717.]

[The children of Hezekiah and Anna (Wilder) Willard, married 1712, were: Thomas, 1713; Phineas, born October 22, 1714; Hezekiah, baptized May 26, 1717; Anna, baptized April 3, 1720; Mary, baptized December 22, 1722; Ephraim, born October 13, 1726; Elizabeth, born January 28, 1730/1.]

[The children of Joseph and Elizabeth (Tarbel) Willard, married 1712, were: William, baptized May 24, 1713; Sarah, baptized May 22, 1715; Elizabeth, baptized November 3, 1717; Tarbel, baptized November 2, 1719; Sybil, baptized February 19, 1723; Lemuel, born July 28, 1725; Joseph, born May 17, 1728; Amee, born December 25, 1730; Charles, born August 30, 1734.]

[The children of Samuel and Elizabeth (Phelps) Willard, married Aug. 19, 1717), were: Samuel, November 12, 1718; Abijah, July 8, 1720; Nahum, May 28, 1722; Abijah, July 27, 1724; Levi, April 19, 1727; Joshua, January 24, 1729. Abel, January 12, 1731/2: all but the last three born at Still River.]

[The children of James and Hannah (Houghton) Willard, were: Isaac, baptized September 27, 1719; Asa, baptized June 25, 1721; Hannah, baptized May 17, 1724; Abigail, born April 17, 1726; Experience, February 2, 1728; Susanna, July 13, 1730.]

[The children of Josiah and Hannah (Wilder) Willard, were: Josiah, Abigail and Susanna, baptized at Lancaster, August 6, 1721; Lois, baptized at L. February 3, 1723; and Oliver, 1730; Sampson, 1732; Wilder, 1735; Prudence, born after removal from Still River.]

[The children of Jonathan and Keziah Willard were: Keziah, October 15, 1719; Jonathan, February 26, 1720/1; Adonijah, June 1, 1724; Pethula, June 18, 1726; Barzillai, June 5, 1728: Caleb, February 2, 1730/1.]

[The children of Abraham and Mary (Sawyer) Willard, married February 27, 1723/4, were: Abraham, baptized June 5, 1726; David, born December 20, 1727.]

Children of Henry and Abigail (Fairbank) Willard.

[Henry, May 11, 1727.]
Abigail, September 6, 1728.
Annis, June 20, 1730.
Thomas, May 11, 1732.
Jacob, July 20, 1734.
Silas, January 25, 1737.
John, July 26, 1739.
Oliver, October 13, 1741.
Simeon, October 25, 1743.
Mary, February 18, 1745.
Timothy, August 8, 1748.

Phebe, daughter of Henry Jr. and Phebe (Atherton) Willard, July 19, 1753.

Children of Tarbell and Rachel (Haskell) Willard.

Lucy, September 13, 1740.
Lucy, August 26, 1743.
Rachel, November 27, 1745.
Jacob, Novembre 5, 1747.
Josiah, November 9, 1749.
Amy, November 28, 1751.
Sybil, December 5, 1754.

Children of Hezekiah and Lydia (Haskell) Willard.

Lydia, August 3, 1741.
Hezekiah, July 18, 1743.
Ruth, June 22, 1746.
Samuel, April 22, 1749.
Amos, March 27, 1751.
Anna, May 6, 1754.
Mary, June 1, 1756.
Peter, July 9, 1758.
Elizabeth, November 27, 1760.

Children of Thomas and Sarah (Gibson) Willard..

Timothy, December 9, 1733.
Rebecca, February 24, 1737.
Stephen, January 3, 1739.
Solomon, August 29, 1740.
Samuel, July 5, 1742.
Thomas, April 13, 1749.
Gibson, October 13, 1750.
Reuben, November 14, 1755.
By 2d wife, Sarah (Fletcher).
Stephen, October 17, 1768.
Sarah, September 1, 1770.
Rebecca, May 9, 1773.
Hannah, March 1, 1775.
Sybil, November 15, 1778.

Children of William and Ellen (Davis) Willard.

Elizabeth, May 22, 1739.
Dinah, February 21, 1742.
Ellen, January 22, 1744/5.
Philemon and Sarah, March 2, 1748.
Barzillai, December 13, 1750.
William, February 13, 1754.
Catherine, May 7, 1758.

Children of Phinehas and Mary (Sawyer, widow of Abraham Willard) Willard.

Phinehas, October 1, 1736. [Cornelius, August 23, 1743, in Lancaster.]
[Elijah, August 19, 1740, in Lancaster.]

Children of Phinehas, Jr., and Rebeeca (Willard) Willard.

Solomon, September 8, 1758.
Rhoda, April 10, 1760.
Abel and Ezra, November 28, 1761.
Mercy, June 15, 1764.
Sarah, July 1, 1765.
Relief, September 24, 1768.
Caleb, March 12, 1779.

Sarah, daughter of Charles and Sarah (Scollay) Willard, March 26, 1764.

Children of Joseph and Elizabeth (Hapgood) Willard.

Shadrach, December 13, 1753.
Mercy, February 16, 1755.
Elizabeth, June 18, 1758.
Joseph, September 4, 1760.
Elizabeth, November 20, 1764.
Oliver, May 1, 1769.
Levi, August 15, 1775.

Children of Lemuel and Hannah (Haskell) Willard.

Esther, September 6, 1748.
Lemuel, October 19, 1751.
Hannah, November 5, 1753.
Elias, January 6, 1756.
Moses, May 7, 1758.
Moses, September 19, 1760
Abel, December 4, 1763.
Joel, April 25, 1765.

Children of Abraham and Mary (Haskell) Willard.

Mary, April 25, 1747.
Abraham, December 12, 1748.
Elijah, March 12, 1750/1.

Children of Isaac and Hannah (Farnsworth) Willard.

Hannah, January 9, 1748/9.
Sarah, November 26, 1751.
Jeremiah, November 29, 1753.

Children of Simon and Elizabeth (Willard) Willard.

Elizabeth, July 30, 1759.
Ezra, March 19, 1761.
Mary, December 4, 1762.
Amy, July 11, 1765.
[Amasa, March 1, 1772.]
[Sarah, January 7, 1775.]
[Martha, September 20, 1779.]
[Betsy, March 28, 1784.]
[Darby, November 16, 1786.]

Children of Peter and Mary (Stone) Willard.

Joel, December 17, 1763.
Betty, January 30, 1764.

Children of Josiah and Eunice (Farnsworth) Willard.

Josiah, September 17, 1771.
Eunice, June 12, 1774.
Rachel, November 16, 1777.
Josiah, February 28, 1779.
Levi, November 4, 1780.
Rachel, July 4, 1783[5?]
Tarbel, July 23, 1787.

Susanna, daughter of Jeremiah and Bethiah Willard, October 18, 1781.

Children of Elijah and Mary Willard.

Elijah, February 7, 1776.
Polly, December 7, 1777.
Rachel, May 1, 1780.
Martyn, March 4, 1782.

Children of Timothy and Elizabeth (Farnsworth) Willard.

Timothy, July 8, 1780.
Betty, August 20, 1782.

Children of William, Jr,, and Patience Willard.

William, January 4, 1782.
Twins, March 16, 1784.
John, November 29, 1785.
Nathaniel, October 6, 1788.
Artemas, October 6, 1790.
Orsimus, August 7, 1792.
Charles, August 2, 1797.

Children of Barzillai and Silva (Kingman) Willard.

Lewis, March 16, 1782.
Kate, May 2, 1784.
Ira, May 24, 1785.
Fanny, February 21, 1788.
Chloe, March 25, 1790.
William, September 7, 1792.

Children of Joseph, Jr., and Susy (Kingman) Willard.

Joseph, April 14, 1784.
George, January 4, 1787.
Ebenezer, March 17, 1791.
Ithamar, September 7, 1793.
Charles, November 21, 1795.
Robert, August 22, 1798.
Elbridge, March 1, 1801.
Ephraim Stone, January 30, 1803.

Children of Joel and Polly (Haskell) Willard.

Polly, October 15, 1791.
Hannah, March 31, 1795.
Levi, December 26, 1799.
Abel, May 13, 1793.
Nancy, March 21, 1797.

Children of Daniel, Jr., and Lucy (Bachelor) Willard.

[Sally, April 16, 1790.]
[Lovey, January 27, 1792.]
Nathan, December 14, 1793.
Nehemiah Bachelor, May 14, 1796.
Daniel, March 16, 1798.
Hosea, July 16, 1800.
Rowland, July 21, 1802.
Lucy Bachelor, Nov. 27, 1804.
Daniel, December 21, 1806.

WOOD. *Children of Eliphalet and Abigail.*

Jonathan, April 13, 1753.
Betty, April 19, 1755.
Joseph, October 12, 1757.
Abigail, April 20, 1760.
Molly, June 19, 1763.
Jesse, July 28, 1766.
Lucy, June 24, 1768.
Patty, March 22, 1772.
Jabez, April 22, 1775.

Lydia, daughter of Eliphalet and Mary Wood, March 9, 1788.

Children of Jabez and Nabby (Stone) Wood.

Benjamin, August 22, 1799.
Mary, June 10, 1801.
Emery, July 28, 1803.
Lucy, July 27, 1805.
Flavel, December 28, 1807.
Nabby, August 23, 1810.
Lydia, November 12, 1812.
Jonathan, October 2, 1815.
Jabez, June 10, 1818.

WORSTER. *Children of Jonathan and Rebecca.*

Rebecca, February —, 1733/4.
Mary, June 8, 1735.
Jonathan, March 24, 1736/7.
Moses, January 10, 1739.
John, March 8, 1741.
Jonathan, December 5, 1742.
Rebecca, July 16, 1744.
Lois, December 12, 1747.
Ebenezer, July 5, 1749.
John, August 19, 1751.
Lemuel, June 25, 1753.

Children of Ebenezer, Jr., and Mary (Crouch) Worster.

Samuel, October 19, 1743.
Abijah, July 2, 1745.
Molly, April 12, 1747.
Susannah, October 12, 1750.
Gilead, April 8, 1753.

Children of Ebenezer and Elizabeth Worster.

Rebecca, December 30, 1772.
Betty, September 12, 1774.

WRIGHT. *Children of Thomas and Abigail (Sawyer).*

Thomas, May 18, 1730.
Abigail, February 15, 1731.
Caleb, February 3, 1733/4.
Sawyer, May 12, 1736.
Caleb, June 23, 1738.
Sarah, May 9, 1743.
Abel, July 23, 1747.

Children of Thomas and Moriah (Houghton) Wright.

Sybil, March 2, 1756.
Sarah, April 2, 1758.
Oliver, June 2, 1760.

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